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*Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui,
Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal,
Marco Antonio Santamaria et al. (Eds.)*

TRACING ORPHEUS

STUDIES OF ORPHIC FRAGMENTS

Tracing Orpheus

Sozomena

Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts

Edited

on behalf of the Herculaneum Society

by

Alessandro Barchiesi, Robert Fowler,
Dirk Obbink and Nigel Wilson

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Studies of Orphic Fragments

In Honour of Alberto Bernabé

Edited by

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Table of Contents

DIRK OBBINK	
Series Editor's Forward	xi
Editors' Preface	xiii
Alberto Bernabé's Orphic Bibliography	xv
Abbreviations	xxiii

Ad Orphicorum Fragmenta

1. JAN N. BREMMER	
The Place of Performance of Orphic Poetry (<i>OF</i> 1)	1
2. CLAUDE CALAME	
L'écriture de la voix enchanteresse d'Orphée (<i>OF</i> 1)	7
3. FRITZ GRAF	
Exclusive Singing (<i>OF</i> 1a/b)	13
4. M. ^a DOLORES LARA	
El buen médico y el médico ignorante (<i>OF</i> 1)	17
5. SARA MACÍAS OTERO	
Echoes of the Formula "Let the Profane Shut the Doors" (<i>OF</i> 1) in two Passages by Euripides	23
6. JULIA MENDOZA	
Ζεὺς μοῦνος: Philosophical Monism and Mythological Monism (<i>OF</i> 12)	29
7. PILAR BONED	
Orphic Theogonies and the Goddess Isis in Apuleius (<i>OF</i> 14, 31 and 243)	35
8. TOMÁS CALVO MARTÍNEZ	
Aristotle, <i>Metaphysics</i> 14.4: a Problematic Reference to Orphism (<i>OF</i> 20 IV)	41
9. GREGORY NAGY	
Comments on <i>OF</i> 22	49
10. MANUEL SÁNCHEZ ORTIZ DE LANDALUCE	
ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ (<i>OF</i> 40–63)	55

11. ALBERT HENRICH	
Dionysos Dismembered and Restored to Life: The Earliest Evidence (<i>OF</i> 59 I–II)	61
12. PAOLA CORRENTE	
The Gods who Die and Come Back to Life: the Orphic Dionysus and his Parallels in the Near-East (<i>OF</i> 59 I–III and 327 II)	69
13. CHRISTOPH RIEDWEG	
Teilt Kaiser Julian die kritische Sicht auf monströse orphische Mythologeme mit den Christen? Beobachtungen zu <i>Adversus Galilaeos</i> fr. 4 Masaracchia (= <i>OF</i> 59 VII = Kyrill von Alexandrien <i>Contra Iulianum</i> 2.11)	77
14. EUGENIO R. LUJÁN	
The Cosmic Egg (<i>OF</i> 64, 79, 114)	85
15. ROXANA BEATRIZ MARTÍNEZ NIETO	
<i>OF</i> 111: Χρόνος ἀγήραος	93
16. CAROLINA LÓPEZ-RUIZ	
A Hangover of Cosmic Proportions: <i>OF</i> 222 and its Mythical Context	99
17. GLENN W. MOST	
Heraclitus Fragment B 52 DK (on <i>OF</i> 242)	105
18. ROSA GARCÍA-GASCO VILLARRUBIA	
Titans in Disguise: the Chalk in Myth and Ritual (<i>OF</i> 308)	111
19. ÓSCAR PATÓN CORDERO	
The Role of Gypsum in Orphism (<i>OF</i> 308)	119
20. SARAH ILES JOHNSTON	
Hecate, Leto's Daughter, in <i>OF</i> 317	123
21. SILVIA PORRES CABALLERO	
Dionysus' Definitive Rebirth (<i>OF</i> 328 I)	127
22. FÁTIMA DÍEZ PLATAS	
From the Heart and with a Serpent: on <i>OF</i> 329	133
23. CARLOS MEGINO GONZÁLEZ	
Presence in Stoicism of an Orphic Doctrine on the Soul quoted by Aristotle (<i>De Anima</i> 410b 27 = <i>OF</i> 421)	139
24. FRANCISCO MOLINA MORENO	
Non-musical Notes on the Orphic <i>Lyra</i> (<i>OF</i> 417)	147

25. MADAYO KAHLE	
OF 437 and the Transformation of the Soul	153
26. EMILIO SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE	
OF 443.2: ἐνάτωι ἔτει. The Delphic Key	159
27. ANA ISABEL JIMÉNEZ SAN CRISTÓBAL	
Do not Drink the Water of Forgetfulness (OF 474–477)	165
28. JOSÉ JOAQUÍN CAEROLS	
<i>Adnotatiunculae in lamellam Hipponensem</i> (OF 474)	171
29. MARISA TORTORELLI GHIDINI	
La limne divina della lamina di Petelia (OF 476.8–10)	179
30. RADCLIFFE G. EDMONDS III	
Festivals in the Afterlife: A New Reading of the Petelia Tablet (OF 476.11)	185
31. MIGUEL HERRERO DE JÁUREGUI	
OF 485–486: ‘On this Day’	189
32. PALOMA CABRERA	
“Ram, You Fell into the Milk” (OF 485.5–486.4). Possible Orphic Echoes in an Apulian Image	197
33. AURELIO PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ	
En las redes de χρόνος. La peregrinación inicial de las almas con- taminadas (Plu. <i>De facie</i> 943C): sobre OF 487.6	205
34. MARCO ANTONIO SANTAMARÍA ÁLVAREZ	
“I Have Reached the Desired Crown with Swift Feet” (OF 488.6)	213
35. GÁBOR BETEGH	
The “Great Tablet” from Thurii (OF 492)	219
36. EMILIO CRESPO	
OF 496: Dialectal Diversity in Macedon at the End of the Fourth Century BC	227
37. YANNIS Z. TZIFOPOULOS	
<i>Ad OF 496</i>	231
38. ROSA M. ^a AGUILAR	
Reflejos del orfismo en Plutarco (OF 524, 358 II, 31 V; Epimen. fr. 43)	237
39. ELVIRA GANGUTIA	
OF 531 I, Sapph. fr. 58 Voigt y la «nueva Safo»	241

40. GABRIELLA RICCIARDELLI Un dio dai molti nomi (OF 540)	249
41. GIULIA SFAMENI GASPARRO OF 540 = Macrobio, <i>Sat.</i> 1.18.12 e <i>Inno orfico</i> 52: Dioniso tra teo- gonia e attualità religiosa	255
42. ATTILIO MASTROCINQUE Orfismo nel culto romano di <i>Bona Dea</i> (OF 584)	261
43. JUAN RODRÍGUEZ SOMOLINOS Note to OF 586: κραινιάρχης	269
44. ALBERTO NODAR DOMÍNGUEZ Theophrastus, <i>Characters</i> 16.12: Orphism or Rhetoric? (OF 654) ...	275
45. MARÍA PAZ LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ Synesius, <i>Dio</i> 7 (OF 674)	283
46. FELIPE G. HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ Critical Notes to OF 683	289
47. JUAN ANTONIO ÁLVAREZ-PEDROSA NÚÑEZ The Etymology of Gk. Ἔμπουσα (OF 713–716)	293
48. HELENA RODRÍGUEZ SOMOLINOS OF 750: Frost or Snow?	297
49. JOSÉ ANTONIO BERENGUER-SÁNCHEZ Greek ἐπηετανός and Other Possible Compounds of ἔτος ‘year’ in Ancient Greek (OF 773)	303
50. RAQUEL MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ Τύχα in Two Lead Tablets from Selinous (OF 830)	311
51. MARCOS MARTÍNEZ Música y Palabra en Orfeo (sobre OF 960)	317
52. RICARDO OLMOS Heracles y Orfeo. Una relación de por vida (sobre OF 1018 I)	325
53. IRENE PAJÓN LEYRA Extraordinary Orpheus. The Image of Orpheus and Orphism in the Texts of the Paradoxographers (OF 1065, 787, 790, 793, and 794) ...	333
54. FERNANDO GARCÍA ROMERO ἀμουσότερος Λειβηθρίων (OF 1069)	339
55. DAVID KONSTAN and PURA NIETO Orpheus Reunited with Eurydice (on OF 1076–1077)	345

ad Musaei Linique Fragmenta

56. DIRK OBBINK
Orphism, Cosmogony, and Genealogy (Mus. fr. 14) 351
57. MERCEDES AGUIRRE
Linus, fr. 2: Music and Death 355

ad Papyrum Derveni

58. WALTER BURKERT
The Derveni Papyrus on Heraclitus (col. IV) 361
59. FRANCO FERRARI
Eraclito e i Persiani nel Papiro di Derveni (col. IV 10–14) 365
60. JOSÉ LUIS CALVO MARTÍNEZ
Col. VI of the Derveni Papyrus and the Ritual Presence of Poultry 371
61. FRANCESC CASADESÚS BORDOY
The Castration of Uranus and its Physical Consequences in the Derveni Papyrus (cols. XIII and XIV) and the First Stoic Philosophers 377
62. LUC BRISSON
Okéanos dans la colonne XXIII du Papyrus de Derveni 385
63. ANTON BIERL
Enigmatic Hints at the Hidden Meaning of Two Central Homeric Passages. The Derveni-Author as Homeric Philologist in *PDerv.* col. XXVI 393

ad Hymnos Orphicos

64. CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE
Orphic Hymn 37 399
65. SOFÍA TORALLAS TOVAR
Orphic Hymn 86 “To Dream”: On Orphic Sleep and Philo 405

de Orpheo in Moderna Aetate

- CARLOS GARCÍA GUAL
La decisión de Orfeo (según Cesare Pavese) 413

Carmina Orphica Hispanica

LUIS ALBERTO DE CUENCA

Himno órfico a Zeus 419

VICENTE CRISTÓBAL

El Orfeo de Ovidio en hexámetros castellanos 421

Analytic index 427

Index fontium 435

Series Editor's Forward

DIRK OBBINK

It is a pleasure to issue a volume of this series in honour of a distinguished classical scholar who has done perhaps more than anyone in the history of the study of ancient Greek religion to promote and develop the editing and study of fragmentary texts. 'Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts' was established as a monographic series by the Friends of Herculaneum Society to publish research on the recovery and preservation of texts from Greek or Roman antiquity. The primary intention of the series is to edit and interpret texts. Methods of transmission, recovery, and preservation are also discussed in its volumes (Greek 'sozomena' meaning 'saved'), so that Sozomena comprises different types of books: editions of texts, commentaries, monographs and collections.

The focus of the present volume on a particular area, namely Orphism and the texts collected by Professor Bernabé in his Teubner volumes of *PEG*, is a salutary development. In the last two centuries, except during relatively short periods (Formalism, New Criticism, Structuralism) literary studies have never been devoid of some sort of attempt to recover lost texts: philology, literary history, source criticism, the study of influences and allusions have all aimed in this direction. Professor Bernabé's editorial work on the Orphic tradition, on the other hand, does not attempt to establish a single original Orphic text by retrieving its original purity: on the contrary, it shows over and over again the destabilizing effect on the Orphic text by confronting it with the previous stages of its development. His editions have the effect of mapping out the writing events and reconstructing the process of invention of the Orphic tradition. It does not pretend to uncover the forgotten essential truth of the text but it points out a wealth of unperceived agreements and disparities teeming under the glaze of its finish.

In this respect, and in his style and standards of editing the Orphic fragments, Professor Bernabé has set the bar competitively high. He has both inspired the contributors of the present volume to aim for it, as well as acting in his teaching as in his research as a model for generations to come.

Editors' Preface

Orphism has always raised much interest and controversy among classical scholars and historians of religion. After the fiery debates of the first two thirds of the 20th century about its existence and nature, the startling discoveries of the last decades – the Derveni Papyrus, new funerary gold leaves (from Hipponion, Pelinna, Pherae, Macedonia and Crete), bone tablets from Olbia attesting for the first time an Orphic thiasos in classical times – have confirmed the undeniable presence of Orphism in Greek religion, philosophy and literature. Alberto Bernabé has integrated the new testimonies with the previously known material in his Teubner edition of the *Orphicorum Fragmenta* in three volumes (2004, 2005 and 2007), which takes up two centuries of scholarship and sets the grounds for future research. He has also published extensively on various Orphic matters, and co-edited along with Francesc Casadesús the two-volume *Orfeo y la tradición órfica. Un reencuentro* (Madrid, 2008), to date the most comprehensive work on the topic.

The present volume collects several brief studies on different Orphic texts with the intention of advancing further from the basis set by Bernabé's edition. The contributions are short commentaries from different perspectives on one or various specific Orphic fragments, including the gold tablets, the Derveni Papyrus, the *Orphic Hymns*, references to Orpheus, and a fragment of Linus. The variety of scholars, academic traditions, and approaches represented in this collection is not casual. Orphism is intertwined with different dimensions of ancient culture, and is interesting for scholars from multiple angles. In this volume there are studies on the theogonies, katabasis, hymnic poetry, myths, rites, and beliefs; questions of textual criticism, translation, interpretation, and reception are addressed; methods from linguistics, comparative religion, literature, and philosophy have been applied; five languages and many academic institutions are represented. The juxtaposition of these diverse – and sometimes opposed – approaches should not bring confusion, but a clear portrait of the richness of nuances of ancient Orphism and its modern scholarly study. In the 1st century BC Philodemus said, «the Orphics dwell on these things intensively» (οἱ Ὀρφικοὶ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐνδιατρίβουσιν). Perhaps the intensity of the discussion is due not only to the fragmentary state of the preserved evidence, but is also inherent to Orphism, in which dogmas were absent while books and writings under the prestigious name of Orpheus grew up in numerous directions.

This collection of modern *diatribae* intends to contribute with further rings to these secular chains of discussions.

The six editors, disciples of Alberto Bernabé at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, came up with the idea of this volume as a way to celebrate his 65th birthday with a collection of 65 Orphic *symbola* – signs that showed the participation in the mysteries and the link of the initiates, and also objects interchanged by friends as material expression of their agreement and gratitude. Only the Orphic dimension of Alberto Bernabé's prolific scholarship – as shown by his bibliography on these topics collected at the beginning of the volume – is thus paid due tribute. He has also cultivated with the same rigour and enthusiasm other fields like Greek and Indo-European linguistics, Mycenaean studies and Hittitology, and has published numerous other works on textual criticism and Greek mythology, religion, philosophy and literature. And last but not least, Bernabé has skillfully translated many works of classical literature from Greek into Spanish.

Beyond his widely known research activity, he has proven to be an inspiring teacher, a helpful advisor and supervisor, and a generous colleague for 40 years. He has transmitted skills, knowledge and enthusiasm to his many disciples and students while encouraging their independent thought. All the scholars from Spain and other countries who contribute to this volume have great admiration for his work, beyond occasional scholarly disagreements, and in many cases are linked to him by bonds of friendship.

Alberto Bernabé's Orphic Bibliography

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Abbreviations

Common periodicals cited in the bibliography are referred to by standard abbreviations. For full titles of classical works cited in abbreviated forms, see the *Diccionario Griego Español* and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

DGE: F. R. Adrados (dir.) et al., *Diccionario Griego-Español*, I–VII, Madrid, 1980– <<http://dge.cchs.csic.es/lst/lst1.htm>>.

DK: H. Diels – W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I–III, Berlin, 1951–1952.

LIMC: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, I–VIII, Zürich-München, 1981–1997.

LSJ: H. G. Liddell – R. Scott – H. S. Jones et alii, *Greek English Lexicon*, edition with revised Supplement, Oxford, ⁹1996.

PEG: A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta*, I, Leipzig, 1985.

OF: *Orphicorum Fragmenta* = A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta. Pars II. Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta*, fasc. 1 et 2, Monachii et Lipsiae, 2004–2005; fasc. 3: *Musaeus · Linus · Epimenides · Papyrus Derveni · Indices*, Berolini et Novi Eboraci, 2007.

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SVF: H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, I–IV, Leipzig, 1903–1924, repr. 2004.

1. The Place of Performance of Orphic Poetry (OF 1)

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Alberto Bernabé's edition of the Orphic fragments has given us a splendid research tool. It is therefore a pleasure to offer him this small paper as a way to thank him not only for his important contributions to our knowledge of Greek religion but also for his generous collegiality. It surely fits the occasion to concentrate on an Orphic fragment and, given that Alberto has worked on it as well, I have chosen to concentrate on the very first fragment of his collection (OF 1),¹ which he prints as follows:

- a αείσω ξυνετοῖσι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι
b φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι

The double version immediately raises several questions: What was its place in the poem? Which version is the older one or are both equally old? How do we explain the difference? What does it tell us about the Orphic Mysteries? And, last but not least, where were these performed?

The first question is perhaps the easiest to answer. There is general agreement that the verses constituted the beginning of the oldest Orphic theogony. Unfortunately, the Derveni Papyrus (col. VII 7–11, tr. Janko) is not quite clear. It says: “(Orpheus) is speaking allegorically from his very first word right through to his last, as he reveals even in the well-known verse (...) κρινήτωι ξπει): for when he orders them to ‘shut the doors’ on their ears, he is stating that he is not making laws for most people, but teaching only those who are pure of hearing”. We may note in passing that the official edition still prefers Tsantsanoglou's reading εὐκρινήτωι, but this is a *hapax*, which should not be introduced into the text.² In this respect, Richard Janko's conjecture εὐθρυλλήτωι is somewhat more attractive, even though εὐθρύλλητος occurs only in Vettius Valens (187.4, 199.2 Pingree).³ In any case, the context in which the verse is quoted does support its long postulated position at the beginning of the Orphic poem, as does the fact that the Jewish *Testament of Orpheus* starts with it.⁴

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- 1 For the most recent discussions, see Riedweg (1993: 47–48); Bernabé (1996: 13–37); Beatrice (2005: 137–165).
2 *Contra* Tsantsanoglou (1997: 123–124).
3 Compare Kouremenos (2006: 75) with Janko (2002: 14).
4 Riedweg (1993: 28, 47).

A thornier question is the problem of the priority of the two attested beginnings. Opinions vary as to which one stood at the beginning of the Derveni Papyrus. Martin West suggested that the first version with ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι is preferable, as “what remains of the exegesis perhaps suits it better than the other version”.⁵ Unfortunately, although recent editions print complete lines at VII 9–11, line 11 is almost wholly reconstructed. Furthermore, Tsantsanoglou’s generally accepted conjecture ‘pure of hearing’ (τῆ]ν ἀκοὴν [ἀγνεύ]οντας) presupposes a combination that is not attested before Clement of Alexandria.⁶ In other words, the argument is not quite persuasive.

Tsantsanoglou, like Riedweg before him, preferred the second version and even suggested that Empedocles, who was heavily influenced by the Orphics, had imitated the line:⁷

παρθένε Μοῦσα,
ἄντομαι, ὧν θέμις ἐστὶν ἐφημερίοισιν ἀκούειν,
πέμπε (B 3.3–5 DK)

Moreover, in addition to adducing the *Testament of Orpheus*, Tsantsanoglou also observed that Alcibiades’ words to his companions in Plato’s *Symposium* 218b better fit the reading ‘φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί (viz. ἀκούειν)’.⁸ Alcibiades states: ‘that is why you should all listen to me (διὸ πάντες ἀκούσεσθε) because you will forgive me both for my behaviour and my words. But the servants, and all the profane and rustic ones, must close their ears with very big gates’.

Neither argument seems convincing enough to establish the text of the *Vorlage* of the Derveni Papyrus at this point. Yet there are arguments that suggest the priority of the first version in the Orphic tradition. Although Empedocles is a relatively early testimony for one Orphic beginning, we have even earlier ones. Several scholars, Bernabé included, have adduced Pindar’s words in his *Second Olympian Ode* (83–85), βέλη ...φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν. The allusion is the more probable because the eschatology of this 476 BC ode is close to that of Orphic views.⁹ Similarly, the words φρονέοντι συνετὰ γάρω in the *Third Epinician Ode* (85) of Bacchylides, dating to 468 BC, may allude to these views too, the more so since the priamel which follows focuses on issues of life and death.¹⁰ In addition, Walter Burkert has pointed out that the metrically irregular, archaic form ἀείσω also occurs in Sappho (fr. 160.2 Voigt) and Theognis (4) and, therefore, could be a sign of originality. Finally, the expression ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι is explicitly connected with the

5 West (1983: 83).

6 Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5.1.12.4 τὴν ἀγνὴν τῆς πίστεως ἀκοήν.

7 See Bernabé *ante OF 447* with the bibliography; add now Megino Rodríguez (2005).

8 Riedweg (1993: 47); Tsantsanoglou (1997: 125–126).

9 See the parallels collected by West (1983: 110 note 82); Lloyd-Jones (1990: 80–109).

10 Thus Cairns (2010: 211–212).

Orphic *hieros logos* in Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* 636D = OF 101), where one of the interlocutors on the question of whether the chicken or the egg came first, says: ‘and furthermore, “I will sing for those of understanding” that Orphic and sacred tale (τὸν Ὀρφικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν λόγον)...’¹¹ The quotation strongly suggests that Burkert is right in suggesting that the version with ἀείσω seems slightly older,¹² since the Derveni Papyrus often refers to the knowledge of those ‘who know’ or ‘who understand’.¹³ On the other hand, the version with φθέγγομαι must have been old too, if the parallel with Empedocles is valid. In the end, we have to admit that we are neither able to produce a decisive argument to establish the priority between the two versions nor are we able to explain the reason for two versions.

In this connection, it is important to note the stress by both Empedocles and Alcibiades (ἀκούσσεσθε) on hearing, although, as far as I can see, that part of the latter’s words has not yet been noted as a reference to the Orphic mysteries. Moreover, there is an intriguing fragment of Heraclitus (B 34 DK): ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν ἐοίκασι. Even if it probably goes too far to ascribe Orphic views to Heraclitus,¹⁴ it is still interesting to note the combination of ‘hearing’ and ‘understanding’, just as we read in the Derveni Papyrus (col. XX 2–3, tr. Janko) that “it is impossible to hear what is said and to learn it simultaneously”. This focus on hearing highlights an important difference between the Eleusinian and Orphic Mysteries. In the former, the importance of ‘seeing’ and ‘showing’ is continuously stressed by our sources as a fundamental part to the highest degree.¹⁵ In the latter, however, the focus is on ‘hearing’. This is not only clear from the already adduced passages, but an allusion to this ‘hearing’ also occurs in Euripides’ *Bacchae* (474), where Dionysus tells Pentheus: οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαι (viz. τὰ ὄργια) σ’, ἔστι δ’ ἄξι’ εἰδέναι and even Catullus (64.260) knew this aspect well: *orgia quae frustra cupiunt audire profani*.¹⁶

Our final question concerns the original place of performance of the Orphic poem. An interesting, if neglected, aspect of the verse is that part of it was soon considered to be out of date or difficult to understand. This is very clear from the already quoted interpretations of the Derveni Papyrus and Plato regarding our verse as well as from the Roman allusions in Hor-

11 For the connection of the expression *hieros logos* with Orphism, see Henrichs (2003); Bremmer (2010a: 331–333).

12 Burkert (2006: 98).

13 This is well noted by Calame (1997: 65), comparing col. IX 2, col. XII 5, col. XVIII 5, col. XX 2–3 and 8, col. XXIII 2 and 5, col. XXV 13, col. XXVI 8 (slightly corrected).

14 See Sider (1997); Betegh (2004: 325–348, 360–364); Casadesús Bordoy (2009).

15 *h.Cer.* 480; *Pi.* fr. 137.1 Maehler; *S. fr.* 753.2 Radt; *E. Heracl.* 613, *Hipp.* 25; *And. Myst.* 31; *Aristid. Or.* 22.2, 12; Riedweg (1987: 22–26, 37–38); Parker (2005: 353).

16 For more, if later, references, see Riedweg (1993: 28).

ace and Virgil. Both Greek authors allegorise the part ‘Close the doors’ by interpreting it as putting doors on the ears of the audience. The allegorising of the closing of the doors remained popular in later times and can be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 6.25.5), Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 3.50), Galen (*De usu partium* 12.6), Eusebius (*LC* 4) and Gregory of Nazianzus (*Carmen de se ipso*, PG 37.1367). In Roman allusions that part was dropped wholesale. Horace just states in his *First Roman Ode* (C. 3.1.1) of circa 23 BC: *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*.¹⁷ The more or less contemporaneous Virgil (*Aen.* 6.258) lets the Sibyl call out: *procul, o procul este, profani*.¹⁸ No doors here either!

The conclusion must be that the reference to doors, when taken out of the context of the original performance, no longer made sense and had to be reinterpreted or simply dropped. This raises the question as to where Orphic poetry was originally performed.¹⁹ Evidently, the reference to ‘doors’ presupposes a performance inside a building, unlike the performance of epic poetry during festivals or dramatic poetry in theatres. Referring to Pausanias’ mention of Orphic hymns in the rituals of the Attic Lykomids, the family of Themistocles, Dirk Obbink has plausibly suggested a connection between those hymns and the performance of family mysteries.²⁰ The ‘doors’ of the first Orphic fragment are an additional argument, I suggest, as the Lykomids met in a club-house, *klision* (Paus. 4.1.7), or *telestêrion* (Plu. *Them.* 1) in Phlya. A *klision* was a great hall (Ael. Dion. κ 30 Latte), and Plutarch’s Eleusinian term *telestêrion* suggests the performance of mysteries, which were limited to the initiated, in a secluded space.²¹ Apparently, the Lykomids had introduced Orphic poetry into their rituals, as Pausanias had noted.²² As he mentions their singing of hymns of Orpheus (9.27.2, 9.30.12 = *OF* 531) as well as of a hymn of Musaeus to Demeter (1.22.7, 4.1.6 = Musaeus fr. 59 Bernabé), one is reminded of the impact of Orphic poetry on the Eleusinian Mysteries at the end of the fifth century.²³ In any case, the presence of Orphic poetry in the club-house of the Lykomids says something about the prestige of that poetry in Athens in the later fifth century.

Another connection of Orpheus with a respectable Athenian family becomes visible in Euripides’ *Hypsipyle* (ca. 409–406 BC), where Euneus, the ancestor of the Euneids, is instructed on the lyre by Orpheus (fr.

17 Nisbet and Rudd (2004: 6–7) is not wholly helpful on this aspect of the line.

18 Bremmer (2009: 185–186).

19 In the following I elaborate a passage from Bremmer (2010b).

20 Obbink (1994: 125–130).

21 For the secrecy of Mysteries, see Bremmer (1995: 71–78); Burkert (2006: 1–20); Horsfall on *Aen.* 3.112.

22 Paus. 9.30.12 notes that they sang the hymns during their *drômena*, cf. Bernabé *ante OF* 531; Pirenne-Delforge (2008: 139–140).

23 Cf. Bremmer (forthcoming).

759a.1619–1622 Kannicht = *OF* 1009). The play even seems to contain traces of an Orphic theogony (fr. 758a.1103–1108 = *OF* 65), which we can recognise from the mention of darkness in its fragmentary remains, φ]λός ἄσκοπον (1103),²⁴ and perhaps Αἰθ]ήρ (1104–1105)²⁵ with Night and Eros (1106).²⁶ None of these is exclusively Orphic, but their combination will have evoked the picture of a kind of Orphic theogony. Such references to Orphic ideas are very rare in tragedy, and it seems, therefore, likely that Euripides knew of some special tie between the Euneidai and Orphism. The *genos* may well have had a club-house too where they performed music and dances related to Orpheus.²⁷ In the case of the Lykomids we know that Themistocles had restored their club-house after the Persian Wars (Plu. *Them.* 1). Perhaps, wealthy Athenians like him had invited Orpheotelestae into the secluded environment of their *klision*.

However this may have been, in the end, we still very much grope in the dark regarding our fragment. Evidently, the closing of those doors was more effective than we modern scholars would like it to have been!²⁸

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24 I follow the excellent discussion of Martin Cropp in Collard (2004: 251). For darkness in ancient cosmogonies, see Bremmer (2008: 5), where this passage has to be added.

25 For its cosmogonical role, see Bremmer (2008: 8). The mention of πρωτόγονο] could perhaps be connected with the fact that in the Derveni Papyrus πρωτογόνου βασιλέως (col. XVI 3) may have preceded αἰδοῖοι κατέπινεν, ὃς αἰθέρα ἔχθορε πρῶτος (col. XIII 4), cf. Burkert (2006: 103); note that Burkert (2006: 118) favours Αἰθ]ήρ above the also possible Ἀ]ήρ.

26 See Bremmer (2008: 4–5, 8 and 16).

27 For the Euneidai, see Parker (1996: 297–298); Humphreys (2004: 248–249, 262–265); Burkert (2006: 112–119).

28 I am most grateful to Stephen Lambert for information and to Suzanne Lye for kindly improving my English.

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2. L'écriture de la voix enchanteresse d'Orphée (OF 1)

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“Je vais chanter pour ceux qui saisissent; profanes appliquez des portes (à vos oreilles)”. Le fameux hexamètre cité des à plusieurs reprises par Plutarque dans différents contextes est devenu le premier fragment des *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta* édités en trois volumes exhaustifs entre 2004 et 2007 par Alberto Bernabé (chez K. G. Saur, successeur de Teubner à Munich et Leipzig). Comme fragment 1, ce vers, en ses deux versions, s’est substitué à la supposée parodie du début de la cosmo-théogonie orphique offerte par la parabase des *Oiseaux* (690–702) d’Aristophane (OF 64); initialement exécuté en anapestes par le groupe choral des oiseaux, ce chant correspondait au premier des *Fragmenta veteriora* dans l’édition d’Otto Kern (*Orphicorum fragmenta*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1922). Dans les *Propos de table* (636D) de Plutarque en particulier, l’interlocuteur non seulement présente l’hémiépès qui ouvre ce vers fameux comme constituant un discours orphique et un discours sacré (Ὀρφικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν λόγον); mais il le cite au sujet de la question qui fait l’objet du propos, à savoir qui est premier de l’œuf ou de la poule! Allusion à la cosmo-théogonie parodique des *Oiseaux* ou tout simplement à l’une des versions des rhapsodies orphiques plus tardives qui font effectivement de l’œuf l’élément cosmogonique primordial, l’élément dont jaillit Phanès-Prôtogonos (cf. par exemple OF 114 et 121)?

Quoi qu’il en soit, ce qui frappe dans ce qui pourrait constituer l’incipit d’une version relativement ancienne de la cosmo-théogonie orphique, c’est la référence énonciative de cet hexamètre à une voix entièrement orale: adresse directe aux profanes, emploi de l’impératif et surtout forme du futur performatif qui fait d’emblée du chant du poème un acte de parole; αἰείσω: “j’ai l’intention de chanter” et donc je chante maintenant, dans une déclaration vocale qui correspond à l’acte que je suis en train d’accomplir. Cette position énonciative évoque naturellement l’incipit de plusieurs *Hymnes homériques*, parmi lesquels les deux hymnes longs consacrés à Déméter et à Apollon respectivement; ils débutent par des formules telles que “je commence à chanter”, ou “je vais rappeler et je n’omettrai pas”. Dans ces formules initiales à caractère performatif l’affirmation de l’autorité du poète (ou de qui relaie sa voix) est si forte que l’invocation traditionnelle à la Muse

inspiratrice ne semble plus indispensable; apparemment est-ce aussi le cas dans l'incipit du poème cosmo-théogonique orphique. Mais c'est surtout dans les poèmes méliques de Pindare et de Bacchylide, et singulièrement dans les *Épinicies*, que sont réitérées les formes du "futur performatif" qui font de l'énonciation présente des actes de chant.¹

Il est enfin à relever que c'est aussi Bacchylide et Pindare qui prétendent n'adresser leurs paroles poétiques qu'à ceux qui sont susceptibles d'en saisir la signification. Bacchylide d'une part quand, dans l'épinicie consacrée à la célébration de la victoire olympique d'Hiéron au cours de la course de quadriges et à l'éloge du tyran de Syracuse, le *je* poétique déclare: "Je profère des paroles que le sage peut saisir" (φρονέοντι συνετὰ γάρῳ, 3.85); et d'assortir son affirmation performative s'il en est, d'une série de sentences sur la durabilité des éléments tel l'or face au caractère passager de l'homme mortel avant de vanter, dans une forme de 'signature' en tant que "rossignol de Céos", l'éclat de vérité que la Muse saura conférer à la prospérité d'Hiéron. Pindare d'autre part qui, dans l'*Olympique* consacrée à chanter la victoire remportée par le quadriges de Théron d'Agrigente, déclare posséder dans son carquois des traits qui ne résonnent que pour ceux qui saisissent (βέλῃ φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν; 2.83–85); face à l'habileté naturelle du poète et face à son savoir, les autres ont besoin d'interprètes! On notera en passant que les analogies offertes par le vers sans doute initial de la cosmo-théogonie orphique avec les affirmations d'autorité vocale des poètes méliques sont dûment consignées dans l'apparat critique correspondant de l'incomparable instrument de travail fourni par l'édition des *Orphica* d'Alberto Bernabé. L'adoption du modèle allemand du double apparat en contraste avec le mode anglo-saxon de l'apparat spartiate consacré aux seules questions philologiques de l'établissement du texte fournit de précieux éléments de commentaire.

Or l'adresse aux seuls auditeurs capables de comprendre évoque la référence fréquente à "ceux qui connaissent" dans le *Papyrus de Derveni* (col. IX 5 et XXIII 2), en contraste avec "ceux qui ne connaissent pas" (οὐ γινώσκοντες, col. V 6 et 11; IX 2; XII 5; XVIII 14 – en relation avec οὐκ εἰδότες à la l. 5; XX 2; XXIII 5 et XXVI 8). Si la perspective dans le partage entre ceux qui comprennent et ceux qui ne comprennent pas est celle du commentateur d'un poème théo-cosmogonique donné à plusieurs reprises comme 'énigmatique', dans un cas (col. XXV 13) ce point de vue est attribué à l'auteur même du poème commenté: c'est Orphée qui voudrait éviter que tous 'connaissent', lui qui par ailleurs 'connaît' la nature des hommes (col. XXII 2); de là, selon le commentateur de Derveni, la manière du poète de s'exprimer en diction homérique en indiquant (σημαίνειν, l. 13) – comme le

1 On trouvera plusieurs contributions à ce propos dans le numéro spécial d'*Arethusa* 34, 2004.

fait l'oracle de Delphes selon Héraclite (fr. 22 B 93 Diels-Kranz). Présentant toute son exégèse comme une vaste opération de déchiffrement, ce n'est pas uniquement le commentateur qui se fait l'interprète dont Pindare évoque la fonction; mais c'est Orphée lui-même qui, dans des hexamètres énigmatiques, ne parle que pour ceux qui savent. Ces destinataires pourront être identifiés, dans le contexte orphique, avec des initiés. Dans cette mesure, la formule performative initiale qui correspond désormais au *OF* 1 pourrait constituer l'incipit de la version de la cosmo-théogonie orphique commentée dans le *Papyrus de Derveni*.

Mais ce n'est pas tout. En correspondance avec tous les témoignages poétiques et iconographiques contemporains sur les pouvoirs enchanteurs de la voix et de la musique d'Orphée, le probable vers initial du poème cosmo-théogonique classique est de l'ordre de la plus pure oralité. En contraste, le commentaire révélé par le *Papyrus de Derveni* présente tous les traits d'une pratique de l'écriture: rédaction en prose, rhétorique explicative et argumentative, pratique érudite de la citation, usage de signes diacritiques qui anticipent sur ce qui deviendra l'ὑπόμνημα des érudits actifs dans la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie. Le contraste est patent entre la tournure de poésie performative assumée par les vers attribués à la voix envoûtante d'Orphée et les pratiques d'écriture dont témoigne le commentaire anonyme de Derveni.

Or cet oxymore de l'oral-écrit semble inscrit dans la tradition de la parole orphique, dès l'époque classique. En effet un tel contraste est déjà attesté dans l'*Alceste* d'Euripide. D'une part, dans son intention de soustraire son épouse à Hadès, Admète exprime le souhait de disposer de la voix mélodieuse (γλῶσσα καὶ μέλος) d'Orphée; il pourrait ainsi envoûter par des chants (ὕμνοισι) Perséphone, la fille de Déméter (357–362 = *OF* 980). D'autre part, plus loin dans la tragédie, les choreutes opposent au pouvoir souverain de Nécessité l'inefficacité "des tablettes de Thrace que la voix (γῆρυς) d'Orphée a incisées (κατέγραψεν)" (962–971 = *OF* 812). Que son effet soit positif comme l'envisage Admète ou négatif comme c'est le cas pour le chœur qui évoque encore et par analogie l'inefficacité des drogues confiées par Apollon aux disciples d'Asclépios, la parole mélodieuse et enchanteuse d'Orphée détient une capacité tout à fait singulière; non seulement elle peut être transcrite sur des tablettes de bois dont l'origine évoque la patrie du poète et chanteur, mais elle a assez de force pour les inciser et pour s'y inscrire. La voix mélodieuse d'Orphée non seulement s'écrit, mais elle écrit elle-même.

Ce paradoxe de pratiques d'écriture mises au service des pouvoirs enchanteurs d'une voix poétique initiatique particulièrement efficace est repérable dans d'autres tragédies d'Euripide, presque un siècle avant la rédaction du commentaire de Derveni. Si dans l'*Hypsipyle* la mélodie de la cithare thrace d'Orphée accompagne le chant de l'élégie asiatique rythmant le battement des rames des Argonautes (fr. 752g. 8–14 Kannicht = *OF* 1007), dans un passage célèbre de l'*Hippolyte* (948–954 = *OF* 627), Thésée accuse son

jeune fils, victime de son dévouement exclusif à la déesse vierge Artémis, de sectarisme orphique: “Glorifie-toi désormais. Pour toute nourriture fais étalage de ton régime végétarien; avec Orphée pour maître fais le bacchant en honorant la fumée de nombreux écrits”. Ainsi dès la fin de l’époque classique l’autorité à la fois poétique et initiatique d’Orphée est attachée à des textes écrits. On est dès lors renvoyé au célèbre témoignage de Platon. Dans la *République* (364e–365a = *OF* 573), par la voix d’Adimante, le philosophe prend à parti les devins et charlatans itinérants qui offrent leurs services aux particuliers comme aux cités et qui extraient des formules purificatoires et incantatoires d’un amoncellement de ‘livres’ attribués à Orphée et à Musée, les rejetons de Séléné et des Muses. La variété et la complexité des pratiques sacrificatoires et des formules de salut que ces prêtres marginaux tirent de leurs rouleaux de papyrus impliquent sans doute leur consignation dans des recueils écrits; les adeptes lettrés du maître de la voix orale et de son mode de vie intellectuel et ascétique s’en sont fait les dépositaires et les interprètes.

En relation avec l’usage funéraire du *Papyrus de Derveni*, probablement inhumé avec le corps du défunt avant que les restes non consommés en soient déposés sur la tombe du probable adepte d’Orphée, l’oxymore de l’oral-écrit orphique trouve son illustration dans une amphore apulienne qui date comme le papyrus de 325 av. J.-C. environ et que l’on peut admirer à l’Antikenmuseum de Bâle.² (fig. 1) Coiffé d’un bonnet phrygien, le jeune Orphée joue de la cithare face à un homme chenu, assis dans un édicule qui correspond à un tombeau. Ce vieillard ne tient dans la main gauche rien d’autre qu’un rouleau de papyrus: commentaire écrit au poème oral chanté par Orphée lui-même? Quoi qu’il en soit, le défunt emporte dans l’au-delà, comme un viatique, le texte qui a sans doute présidé à son initiation orphique et qui est probablement destiné à lui assurer une vie meilleure auprès d’Hadès et de Perséphone. Dans ce double passage, qui est aussi celui indiqué par les lamelles funéraires d’or, la transcription par les moyens de l’écriture alphabétique est mise au service du pouvoir enchanteur de la voix orale, s’exprimant sans doute en diction homérique.

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2 Amphore apulienne du Peintre de Ganymède, Basel Antikensammlung S 40; voir Schmidt – Trendall – Cambitoglou (1976: 32–35).



Fig. 1: Amphore apulienne du Peintre de Ganymède,
Basel Antikensammlung S 40, 325 av. J. C.

3. Exclusive Singing (OF 1a/b)

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The famous hexameter that opens at least two poems ascribed to Orpheus is preserved in two versions: either φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι (“I will address those to whom it is permitted; non-initiates, close your doors!”) or αἰίσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι (“I will sing to those who have understanding; non-initiated, close your doors!”). Both variations separate non-initiates, βέβηλοι, from initiates; but whereas the second variant is stressing the cognitive state of the initiates, the first variant emphasizes their ontological status: they have divine permission to hear what the speaker is about to say. This permission must be based on a specific ritual status, as already Bernabé saw: they were already initiated, or had undergone preliminary rites that prepared them for the initiation to come.

1. Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.

In his notes on the *Frogs*, John Tzetzes twice uses this hexameter to illustrate what happened at the *prorrhesis* to the Eleusinian Mysteries; the Mysteries had long ceased to exist, the famous hexameter was the best illustration that could be had.¹ Both times, he introduces the verse with ὥς καὶ ὁ μέγας Ὀρφεὺς ἐν ὀργηστηρίῳ φησίν. In preserved literature, the word is attested only once, in the prologue of Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* as “the place of the Attis mysteries, ὀργηστήριον Ἄττεως” (v. 8), an idiosyncratic derivation from ὀργιάζω “to celebrate mystery rites”, instead of *ὀργιαστήριον. But Tzetzes' formulation without the definitive article cannot mean “as Orpheus says at the place of initiation”; a book title is more natural.² Nouns on -τήριον designate either places or tools;³ the ὀργηστήριον is not just a place

1 Bernabé (1996) published a thorough analysis of these two variants, their sources and their background; he will know best how impossible the following observations would have been without his work. Tz. in *Ar. Ra.* 359a and 369.9 (p. 799.10 and 804.6 Koster).

2 Cf. OF 403 (Paus. Attic.): ἐν δὲ Δικτύῳ Ὀρφεὺς λέγει.

3 Schwyzer (1953: 470).

of mystery rites, in Orpheus' voice it is also a book used for mystery rites, as did Plato's itinerant priests (R. 364e). In its opening statement, Orpheus assumes a hierophantic role in some mystery cult, and like the Eleusinian hierophant he defines his addressees and excludes everybody else from the following ritual.

The same situation is apparent in the final sentence of the Hippocratic *Law*, albeit in metaphorical transposition. The short text ends with the injunction: "The things that are sacred are shown only to sacred men, and they are forbidden to the uninitiated before they are initiated with the rites of the profession".⁴ The itinerant Hippocratic doctors are special ("sacred") members of an exclusive society into which rigorous and long training introduced them, as the mysteries language underlines, and they are forbidden to practice before fully trained and tested. But I am not convinced that this text alludes to our verse: the Hippocratic text resonates with a specific ritual situation, the address to a closely and ritually linked group of medical specialists,⁵ not necessarily with a literary text.⁶ It is only much later, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, where the very hexameter is explicitly cited as a metaphor for the exquisite knowledge of a specialist, here the grammarian.⁷

Plato's *Symposium* (218b) constructs the same situation as the Hippocratic *Law*. Alcibiades introduces his own speech as something that only those may hear who share the community of Socratic mystery ritual (*mania* and *bakcheia*), whereas the uninitiated should close the gates of their ears. Here, the resonance with the second half of the hexameter is obvious, as is the metaphorical context of Bacchic mysteries; a mystery context it is extremely apt for Alcibiades, the drunken symposiast who was famed for dancing out the Mysteries and who, in this passage, uses what I call the "initiatory perfect" *κεκοινωνήκατε*, "you have come together in unity (and remain in this changed status)". Although it was the Eleusinian Mysteries that Alcibiades danced out, the connection with Bacchic mysteries makes more sense in the context of a philosophical thiasos such as the one of Socrates/Plato: it was such private ritual communities for whom Orpheus was singing.

The commentator of the Derveni Papyrus might be a contemporary of Alcibiades. The Derveni Theogony itself is older, and it opens with the first attestation of variant [A]. Although col. VII cites the second, ambivalent hemiepes only, at the very beginning of the column the commentator refers to a hymn that is "saying *θεμιτά*"; this makes it virtually certain that the

4 Hp. *Lex* 5 τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ ὄντα πρήγματα ἱεροῖσι ἀνθρώποισι δείκνυνται, βεβήλοισι δὲ οὐ θέμις πρὶν ἢ τελεσθῶσι ὀργίοισιν ἐπιστήμης; in 4, the writer addresses their itinerant status, ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις φοιτεῦντας.

5 See also the parody – not of an "Orphic" poem but of a ritual – in Ar. *Nu.* 140.

6 We perhaps glimpse such a group much later in Elea/Velia under the patronage of another initiator, Parmenides, see Pugliese Carratelli (1990).

7 D. H. *Comp.* 6.25.5 Heiberg = 25 Radermacher.

theogony open with [A].⁸ The Derveni poem was used as the sacred text of an initiatory ritual, as an ὀργαστήριον; the performative utterance of its introductory verse creates the very sacred space of an initiation rite. This ritual function explains the shortness of the poem when compared to other theogonical poems.⁹ The same holds true for the so-called Testament of Orpheus (*OF* 377 and 378), a monotheist text of (Alexandrian?) Jewish origin adopted by a Christian apologist that imitates a ritual text of Orpheus.¹⁰ The address to Musaïos in vv. 2–3 jars with the very opening that assumes a crowd of initiates. But this suggests that such a “ritual prorrhesis” was seen as a characteristic of such ritual poems spoken by Orpheus. When Porphyry used the same verse at the outset of his treatise on images, this same claim to be a ritual text served to underline the theological message embedded in his text and the revelatory nature of his instruction on how to read images.¹¹

2. Αείσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ’ ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.

The cognitive variant lacks such contexts. True, Olympiodorus who cites the entire verse ascribes it to the priests who used it “in order not to reveal the mysteries openly to everybody”, as a sort of curtain, παραπέτασμα.¹² He does so in a programmatic passage where he explains Aristotle’s lack of clarity as a test for prospective students (he knew of similar tests by Plato and Pythagoras); at the same time, the philosopher hid the truth in the same manner as poets, priests, and oracular Apollo did. Although he is aware of the religious nature of these texts, Olympiodorus stresses the cognitive gesture. A text in Stobaeus, perhaps gleaned from Plutarch, does the same: it connects the hexameter with both “the teaching in a mystery ritual that combined reticence and voice” and with Pythagorean symbolism.¹³ In a second citation, Stobaeus firmly ascribes the verse to Pythagoras.¹⁴ There is nothing surprising in the connection of mystery rituals with special knowledge; rather, Aristotle’s well-known rejection of cognitive experience in mystery rituals in favor of emotions gains relief if we see it as his contribution in a debate on whether these rituals did teach something; we hear an

8 Bernabé (1996) seems to suspend opinion, but see *OF* 3 with his commentary.

9 West (1983: 114–115) reconstructs a poem of 47 hexameters, but he thinks too much in categories of fixed texts when he regards this as an extract from a longer poem, but he interprets the entire poem. See Burkert (2006: 97).

10 Riedweg (1993).

11 Porph. fr. 351 Smyth (Euseb. *PE* 3.7.1).

12 Olymp. *Prol.* 11–12.

13 Plu. fr. 202 Sandbach = Stob. 3.1.199.

14 Stob. 3.41.9.

echo of this in *PDerv.* col. XX.¹⁵ But it is striking to realize that only the cognitive variant is connected with Pythagoreanism and its concomitant allegorical modes of expression, whereas the ritual one is connected with Orpheus only and might have been used in ritual poetry. I do not think that the theory of a Pythagorean origin of the poems ascribed to Orpheus is a sufficient explanation of this, given the clear distribution of the two variants, although the explanation goes back to Ion of Chius and Epigenes. I rather wonder whether the second variant was prominently used in a poem that was consciously allegorical, showed clear traces of a Pythagorean origin and at one point was ascribed to the sage from Samos; besides his Golden Verses, we know the opening verse of a second poem, the *Hieros Logos*.¹⁶ Given Parmenides' poem, an allegorical text needs not to be recent; to underline the poet's special knowledge is, after all, a well-known Pindaric gesture. In this reading, the two variants are no more fully equivalent, even if both might be pre-Hellenistic.¹⁷

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15 Arist. fr. 15 Rose.

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17 On chronology see also Burkert, *l. c.* 98 who prefers version [B] for *PDerv.* not the least because of the “metrically irregular and archaic form ἀείω”. But the form is in literary use until Byzantine authors, including in a theological oracle in from Porphyry ap. Eus. *PE* 4.9.2 and *Or. Sib.* 13.50, 13.74, 14.296.

4. El buen médico y el médico ignorante (OF 1)

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En el artículo «La fórmula órfica “Cerrad las puertas, profanos”» publicado por el profesor Bernabé¹ en aquellos tiempos, si no me equivoco, en que comenzaba a hacerse realidad su edición de los fragmentos de los poetas órficos, comentaba él la fórmula órfica que en dicha edición es el OF 1. Como no creo tener ninguna posibilidad de aportar nada que A. Bernabé no haya dicho acerca de los avatares y el desarrollo posterior de esa famosísima fórmula con la que se iniciaban los textos sagrados de la religión órfica, voy aquí sólo a hacer un breve comentario del “Hablaré a quienes es lícito. Cerrad las puertas profanos” empleado por los dos médicos griegos más famosos de la medicina antigua, a saber, Hipócrates y Galeno.² El foco lo pondré en el contexto en el que ambos autores recurren a esa fórmula mediante la cual, en los textos órficos, se excluía a todos aquellos a los que, por no estar iniciados, no les era permitido el acceder a ellos, o sea, que en principio ni siquiera escucharlos. Si bien la fórmula inicialmente era retomada una y otra vez por distintos autores y con distintos motivos, pero siempre en el ámbito de lo ritual, al correr del tiempo llegó a hacerse proverbial y aplicarse metafóricamente en otros ámbitos, textos prosaicos alejados totalmente del mundo de la religión. Hipócrates, en un texto del s. IV a. C., y Galeno, casi seis siglos después, recurren a ella para mostrar su rechazo a determinada manera de practicar la medicina y por tanto a que cierto tipo de médicos participen de las enseñanzas que ellos ofrecen. Ello habla de la alta valoración que tienen de sí mismos y de la importancia que dan a su dedicación a esa rama del saber.

En el pequeño tratado que, dentro del llamado *Corpus Hippocraticum*, nos ha llegado con el nombre de *Ley* (Νόμος)³ el autor se indigna con los

1 Bernabé (1996: 13–37).

2 Los pasajes de ambos autores referidos a la fórmula son citados en Bernabé (1996: 20 y 27).

3 Hablo de Hipócrates refiriéndome al gran médico del s. V a. C. que figura como autor de un gran número de escritos médicos de distinta época que fueron apareciendo en Alejandría y que son los que hoy conocemos bajo el nombre de *Corpus Hippocraticum*. Si de alguno o algunos de esos textos médicos fue autor el mismo

médicos que con su mala manera de practicar la medicina desprestigian a toda la profesión (τέχνη). Son médicos ignorantes a los que no importa el deshonor (ἀδοξία), y que por eso son médicos de palabra (φῆμη), pero no de hecho (ἔργον). Tal cosa era posible porque en la antigua Grecia todo el mundo era libre de practicar la medicina y no había una regulación de requisitos ni poder público que controlara su ejercicio.⁴ De manera que normalmente podía haber abusos que probablemente quedaban impunes ya que el único freno era la propia conciencia del profesional. Por ello entre los textos del *Corpus* nos han llegado obras de carácter deontológico, como *Juramento o Sobre la decencia* y por eso también algún autor hipocrático se siente obligado a escribir la llamada *Ley* para guía de médicos que pensarán ser competentes en su *téchne*. En las escasas líneas del breve tratado ofrece él unas pautas resaltando con sus opiniones lo que a su juicio hace de alguien un buen médico. Es en este contexto en el que el autor, al término del escrito, recurre a la cita de la famosa fórmula órfica.

En el *Corpus Hippocraticum* es bastante frecuente, incluso en ocasiones parece casi obligatorio, que los tratados más de orientación teórica finalicen acudiendo a algún tipo de máxima o sentencia muy general para así poner de relieve el principal objetivo del escrito y dar mayor realce al tema propuesto. Lo que deseo destacar aquí es que, tras haber expuesto las cuatro o cinco condiciones para la formación de un buen médico (disposición natural, buena instrucción en la infancia, enseñanza del arte y una continua praxis), el autor recurra inopinadamente, como para remachar la intención pedagógica de esta ley médica, a una fórmula religiosa que hasta el momento en general se venía citando en contextos del ritual y lo sagrado. Es interesante reseñar cómo el autor eleva a tan gran altura la dedicación a la medicina, que termina su *Ley* diciendo que “las cosas que son sagradas les son reveladas a hombres sagrados”. La verdad es que esta frase final de tono elevado no parece guardar relación con el resto del tratado, más que como resumen de quien tiene una concepción pedagógica de la ley, a la vez que un gran orgullo de lo que representa su *téchne*. Así, el tratado se había iniciado comparando a los verdaderos médicos con los primeros actores del teatro y a los que no lo son con los extras que llevando máscara y vestimenta de actor no son actores. La opinión del autor es que de estos últimos falsos médicos hay muchos y en cambio muy pocos son los auténticos. La contraposición φῆμη/ἔργον, de palabra/ de hecho, es muy propia de la época

Hipócrates es una cuestión tan debatida como poco resuelta. Las grandes afinidades de actitud y visión de la medicina que hay entre la mayoría de ellos es lo que ha llevado a mantener la idea de que salieron de la mano de discípulos de las dos grandes escuelas médicas del momento, Cos y Quíos.

- 4 Había un aprendizaje del arte que se hacía dentro de la propia familia del médico y esa fue una práctica muy corriente en algún tiempo. Posteriormente se fue substituyendo a la familia por las escuelas médicas.

en que este tratado se escribe y la antítesis junto con esa comparación del mundo del teatro deja bien situado el objetivo: distinguir los dos tipos de médico. En un paso más adelante se introduce en el escrito una segunda comparación para una mejor comprensión de lo que la *Ley* desea transmitir: el aprendizaje del arte de la medicina tiene todos los mismos elementos que en la agricultura la eclosión de los frutos de la tierra. Porque el terreno de cultivo (χώρη), será el equivalente de la disposición natural en la persona, la simiente (τὰ σπέρματα), las enseñanzas del maestro, la siembra en el momento oportuno (τὸ καθ' ὥρην αὐτὰ πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν ἄρουραν), sería la instrucción en la infancia, y en fin todo lo que hace llegar a su maduración al fruto, τροφή, φιλοπονίη, χρόνος, que es el equivalente del buen médico. Tras estas dos comparaciones, el autor eleva el tono y nos lleva a los conceptos básicos de su materia, refiriéndose primero a lo que debe ser el complemento de una buena formación, la experiencia, “debe el médico marcharse, cargado de conocimientos, a recorrer las ciudades”, e introduciendo poco a poco conceptos más elevados traídos de otros ámbitos, como el de la filosofía natural de Demócrito, “la falta de experiencia, ἀπειρίη”, dice, “no tiene ni alegría ni felicidad, (ἄμοιρος εὐθυμίας, εὐφροσύνης). La ciencia (ἐπιστήμη), y la opinión (δόξα), son dos cosas distintas, pues la primera conduce al conocimiento y la opinión a la ignorancia”. Estos últimos conceptos son los importantes porque cuando se hable unas líneas más abajo de profanos se identificará a éstos con los no iniciados en los misterios de la ciencia, esto es, los que no tienen los conocimientos precisos.⁵ Con ello el discurso ha ido adquiriendo cierta altura y puede abordar el epílogo, como se debe, con una gran sentencia de tipo general, “las cosas que son sagradas (ἱερὰ πρῆγματα), se les enseñan (δείκνυται), a hombres sagrados (ἱεροῖσιν ἀνθρώποισι); y a los profanos (βέβηλοι), no les están permitidas en tanto no hayan sido iniciados en los misterios de la ciencia (πρὶν ἢ τελεσθῶσιν ὀργίοισιν ἐπιστήμης)”. El escrito, que no olvidemos es una ley para el futuro médico, llega al clímax señalando la altura de miras y el alto concepto en el que tiene a su profesión. Evidentemente el autor no está pensando que los médicos son personas sagradas, no, ningún autor médico del *Corpus* se permitiría decirlo; tan sólo lo que hace es recurrir a una tercera comparación en la que el médico es comparado al hombre sagrado cerrando así el círculo (los actores de teatro/ la agricultura/el hombre sagrado). Y lo hace con una fórmula señera, que seguramente era bien conocida en la época, tanto como podían sus oyentes conocer el mundo del teatro o el de la agricultura.

Por su parte Galeno, seis siglos después, él que también tenía una altísima opinión de su propio trabajo vuelve a recurrir a esas fórmulas órficas

5 Precisamente una de las variantes de la fórmula órfica dice “cantaré para conocedores (ξυνετοῖσι)” que son aquellos que tienen un conocimiento previo e imprescindible. Cf. Bernabé (1996: 17).

para poner en valor su enseñanza y su obra. Es sabido que Galeno a lo largo de sus escritos médicos recurre constantemente a la mención de Hipócrates para apoyar la validez de sus propias teorías. De sus muchos comentarios a diferentes tratados que hoy día forman parte del *Corpus Hippocraticum* se deduce que conocía bien las opiniones de los médicos anteriores a su tiempo, y muy especialmente a los que él denomina οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. Y de entre éstos es Hipócrates, como digo, el que le sirve siempre de coartada para autenticar sus teorías y contribuir a su propio prestigio. También es bien conocido el tema de su continua rivalidad con sus más inmediatos predecesores, médicos de otras escuelas, y con sus contemporáneos. Es tremendamente crítico y no duda en echar por tierra cualquier opinión o teoría que no se avenga con las que él mantiene. En el tratado *De usu partium* 12.6 Galeno discute con otros médicos acerca de la disposición de las vértebras del cuello con relación a la cabeza. A él le parece que la correcta disposición es la que se adecua al orden natural, aquella que sigue a la φύσις. Frente a su opinión hay muchos a los que llama detractores del orden natural a los que censura el dejarse llevar por razones plausibles pero no verdaderamente científicas. A éstos quiere hacerles ver que no hay otro método que el de la pura demostración (ἀποδεικτικὴ μέθοδος) método especialmente querido a Galeno al que dedicó muchas de sus obras esenciales y mediante el cual él trataba de seguir la estela de Hipócrates y Platón. Cuando él haya expuesto sus argumentos espera que sus oyentes cambien de opinión por otra que es la mejor “si es que, además de tener un rostro humano, tienen un alma y algo de inteligencia, por poca que sea”. Y es en este contexto, pesimista porque sabe que hay algunos que de ninguna manera le van a comprender, en el que expresa clara y textualmente el mandato órfico:

Así que lo mismo que en los textos místéricos mandan a los profanos cerrar las puertas sobre sus oídos, así también yo ahora, al iniciar (τελῶν), no en preceptos humanos sino en los más verdaderos misterios, mando poner puertas sobre sus oídos a los profanos en el método de la demostración (τοὺς ἀποδεικτικῆς μεθόδου βεβήλους), ya que los burros percibirían mejor el sonido de la lira que aquéllos la verdad de lo que aquí se dice. Y ciertamente, sabiendo que unos pocos serán los que sigan totalmente mis argumentos, no he dudado en formular, precisamente por ellos, palabras místicas (λόγους μυστικούς) incluso para los no iniciados (ἀμυήτοις). Pues mi libro no discriminará, ni distinguirá a quien lo va a leer, y no podrá esquivar al obtuso para ir a ponerse en manos de los ilustrados (τῶν πεπαιδευμένων).

La comparación es perfecta desde el punto de vista del que considera que también los términos empleados por una ciencia son “palabras místicas” para el que desconoce esa ciencia, esto es, para los profanos. Galeno en este pasaje la lleva a la exageración y, una vez más como tantas otras, con la intención de menospreciar al oponente, dado que con toda seguridad sus lecciones eran para médicos. Y no siendo precisamente profanos, son en cierto modo ridiculizados al mantener una teoría distinta y considerados

como no iniciados en la verdadera ciencia: en sus propias palabras, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀληθεστάτοις τελῶν μυστηρίοις ἐπιθέσθαι θύρας κελεύω. Unas líneas más abajo de este pasaje uno ve el verdadero alcance del sentido de la comparación: su libro no va a distinguir en manos de quién cae y lo leerá tanto el estúpido (ὁ σκαίός), como el docto (ὁ πεπαιδευμένος).

La misma idea subyace en una nueva alusión a esa fórmula órfica, en esta ocasión sin ser una cita tan textual como la anterior. En el proemio del libro VII del tratado *Sobre el Temperamento y Propiedades de los medicamentos simples* Galeno distingue entre sus oyentes a unos, que leyeron con atención los seis libros anteriores y a los demás, “que escucharán sin prestar atención y, luego, criticarán el que algunas cosas no estén escritas correctamente”. Por eso advierte que el presente libro no debe leerlo nadie que no esté convencido y que sepa interesarse por volver a leer toda la obra cuando le llame la atención algo de la teoría expuesta, porque «ni los libros de misterios se escribieron para profanos, ni yo (escribo) estas cosas para quienes aún no se han ejercitado (τοῖς μήπω ... γεγυμνασμένοις), en los principios básicos”. Al final la idea es la misma que en Hipócrates, para el que era fundamental la *práxis* y sólo a aquel que, tras su período de instrucción, salía a ejercer su arte, se le suponía ya iniciado en los misterios de la ciencia. Según Galeno su libro sólo será claro para aquellos que se han ejercitado en la lectura de sus anteriores libros y que accedieron a ellos convencidos de los conocimientos que han de obtener y no por mera curiosidad.

De esta manera son tres los aspectos relevantes en cada uno de los tres pasajes. En el primero ‘profano’ es el que todavía no se ha iniciado en los misterios de la ciencia. En el segundo ‘profano’ se opondrá al no iniciado en el método de la demostración, y en el tercero profano será el no ejercitado en los principios básicos de la medicina. Lo que en último término preocupa a ambos médicos es señalar las diferencias entre los médicos buenos, aquellos para los que ellos escriben, y los que tan sólo lo aparentan o simplemente curiosean los libros sin ningún otro interés, los médicos ignorantes. A éstos, acudiendo a la fórmula órfica, los llamarán ‘profanos’ con su sentido de ‘no iniciados’, ofreciendo de esta forma, con el uso metafórico del término religioso βέβηλος, del ámbito del ritual, la palabra justa para designar al que no tiene los conocimientos que se deben tener para ejercer la profesión como un buen profesional.

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5. Echoes of the Formula “Let the Profane Shut the Doors” (*OF* 1) in two passages by Euripides

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1. Introduction

There are many sources which transmit or allude to a certain hexametrical formula that exists in two variants (*OF* 1):¹

a) φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι.

I shall speak to those allowed: let the profane shut the doors.

b) ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι.

I shall sing for those in the know: let the profane shut the doors.

The persistence of the formula has proved considerable, for we find instances of it dating from possibly the sixth century BC up to Byzantine times. Its meaning, however, has not remained unchanged. The formula came up in the realm of mystery religion with the aim of preventing the uninitiated from watching and hearing certain rituals. If we take the expression “shut the doors” in its literal sense, it could refer to some particular outdoor rites which only the initiated were allowed to watch, requiring all others to shut their house doors and continue to ignore the details of the ritual.²

Given that Orphism and Pythagoreanism are based on writings, there was a tendency to include the formula at the start of their sacred texts. In this case, the expression “shut the doors” takes on a metaphorical meaning, that is, it warns the uninitiated so that they stop reading any further, because, lacking the knowledge acquired by means of the initiation, they cannot understand the doctrines therein revealed. Even though the sacred text could circulate freely, its recipients would only be the faithful, the sole persons capable of understanding it. Besides, the formula doubles as a ‘seal’ (σφραγίς) which permits to identify Orphic-Pythagorean writings as such.

1 About the formula, its variants and its survival, cf. Bernabé (1996) with earlier bibliography.

2 West (1983: 82–83) and Bernabé (1996: 17) interpret it that way.

Concurrently, the formula is also used figuratively in poetry, philosophy and medicine.³ These texts have nothing to do with any religious beliefs, but, as in the case of the mystery cults, they are used in restricted circles where specific knowledge rules. Those who have that knowledge must also be endowed with certain moral characteristics and it is understood that their activities stem from the gods.

Lastly, having lost all linkage to its original meaning, the formula appears finally, as a topic, at the start of some technical writings that bear no relation whatsoever to religion or to any kind of moral attitude.⁴

2. The Euripidean passages: fr. 648 Kannicht of *Protesilaus* and vv. 471–474 of *Bacchae*

The texts where this formula seems to be reflected are two:

A) fr. 648 Kannicht of *Protesilaus*:⁵

οὐ γάρ θεῖμς βέβηλον ἄπτεσθαι δόμων.

Because the profane is not allowed to place his foot on the dwellings.

No solid evidence has been found to ascertain the particular moment in the tragedy to which fr. 648 could correspond. However, some hypotheses exist: either the fragment could correspond to the moment where the servant tells Acastus that he had not been allowed to enter Laodamia's bedroom and that he thought he saw her with a lover, or, conversely, this verse was uttered by Hermes, who would stand guard at the bedroom's door while husband and wife gathered privately.⁶

In none of the two instances would the use of the formula have anything to do with the context of celebration and mystic texts in which it was generated. At first sight, however, it would seem odd to find the term βέβηλος, 'profane' to designate either the servant intending to enter the bedroom or whomever was trying to interrupt the couple's reunion. We must take into account, though, that several sources find something Dionysiac in the fact that Laodamia is so devoted to her husband's image: Hyginus states that the heroine concealed her worship of Protesilaus' image by pretending she

3 Cf. for instance, Pi. O. 2.83–85, Pl. *Smp.* 218b, Hp. *Lex* 5 [8.15 Heiberg].

4 Cf. for instance, D. H. *Comp.* 6.25.5 [176. 2 Ajuac-Lebel], Aristid. *Or.* 3.50 [308. 15 Behr], Gal. *De usu part.* 12.6 [II 196. 5 Helmreich], Gal. *De simpl. med. temper.* 12.2 Kuhn, Gaudent. *Harm.* p. 327.3 Jan.

5 About the myth of Protesilaus and the tragedy Euripides devotes to him, cf. Mayer (1885); Buonamici (1902); Herzog-Hauser (1937); Séchan (1953); Jouan (1966: 317–336); Oranje (1980); Ruiz de Elvira (1991); Jouan – Van Looy (2000: 567–589).

6 The first hypothesis belongs to Jouan – Van Looy (2000: 578), the second to Mayer (1885: 115).

was worshipping Bacchus, Statius tells us that she transformed herself into a maenad, whereas Philostratus describes us a garland-crowned Laodamia celebrating Bacchic rites.⁷

If we center on Hyginus’ version, which seems closest to the one Euripides staged, in *Protesilaus* Laodamia would have concealed her true devotion under the guise of a Dionysiac cult and the offerings the servant carries were probably meant for that supposed celebration. Therefore, when he tries to enter the bedroom, he is sent away and called profane. If that was the case, the use of an adaptation of the formula would make more sense and would be related to the mystery sphere.

B) *Bacchae* vv. 471–474.

Πε. τὰ δ’ ὄργι’ ἐστὶ τίν’ ιδέαν ἔχοντά σοι;

Δι. ἄρρητ’ ἀβακχεύτοισιν εἰδέναι βροτῶν.

Πε. ἔχει δ’ ὄνησιν τοῖσι θύουσιν τίνα;

Δι. οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαί σ’, ἔστι δ’ ἄξι’ εἰδέναι.

Pe: And those rites of yours, what kind are they?

Di: That knowledge is forbidden to mortals uninitiated in the bacchic mysteries.

Pe: And in what do they profit those taking part in the sacrifices?

Di: It is not licit that you hear it, but they are worthy of knowing.

This passage corresponds to the moment when Pentheus questions Dionysus to know about those rituals which the women of the land are taking part in, becoming bacchae. No doubt, this is a reflection of the formula in a Dionysiac context.

In these Euripidean texts, some echoes of the formula may be ascertained in the first variant (OF 1a). The key words in these texts are θέμις, βέβηλος and ἀβάκχευτος, which we will analyse now.

3. A religious prohibition (οὐ θέμις)

In both Euripides passages we find the expression οὐ θέμις, which indicates that both are reworkings of the first variant of the formula, where the term θέμις appears. The formula uses an affirmative expression: “I shall speak to those allowed”, while the Euripidean version expresses the same idea from an opposite point of view, using a negation: “it is not allowed” to the profane. Therefore, while in the formula οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ it refers to the initiated, in the texts of the tragedian οὐ θέμις means the uninitiated, the ‘profane’.

The term θέμις belongs generally in the realm of religious language, because it refers to that which is licit under religious or divine law and it is not an imposition by humans or civic legislation. We may stress that the expression οὐ θέμις also appears in an Orphic inscription (OF 625), dated around

7 Hyg. *Fab.* 104; Statius *Silv.* 3.5.49; Philostr. *Iun. Im.* 2.9.6.

the middle of the fifth century BC, which prohibits the ‘profane’ to be buried beside the initiated, so he cannot contaminate them with his impurity.

In the *Bacchae* passage a certain redundancy appears: οὐ θέμις in verse 474 identifies itself with the adjective ἄρρητος of 472, meaning the inefable, forbidden and secret. In this case it indicates the closed, secretive character of Dionysiac cults. It is a term which, together with the composite ἀπόρρητος, is used a lot in the context of mystic religion to allude to their secretive character, closed to those who do not participate in their rituals.

The reflection of the formula can be found in the two verses uttered by Dionysus. The first part of verse 474 (“it is not licit that you hear it”) insists on what is already said in 472 (“that knowledge is forbidden to mortals uninitiated in the Bacchic mysteries”). We could paraphrase that as follows: “it is forbidden for the uninitiated to know about those rituals, and therefore, as Pentheus is not an initiate, it is not licit that he knows about them”.

4. The profane (βέβηλος and ἀβάκχευτος)

Βέβηλος⁸ is the word which appears at the end of both versions of the formula and is also the designation we find in the fragment of *Protesilaus*. When applied to a person, this term is usually related to the realm of mystic religion. It refers to someone who does not belong to any closed, religious circle requiring of a previous initiation process. βέβηλος is the ‘profane’ in the sense that he is unaware of all those ‘truths’ that are revealed in the mystic cults and provide a different experience of life. Therefore, that person who is ignorant of the revelations supporting those doctrines must not hear or see what happens in the said rituals, because he could not possibly understand it and he might even contaminate them with his impurity, devoid as he is of the degree of ritual cleansing attained by the participants in those rites.

But this is not the only designation for those who do not participate in the mystic rites. In this sense, in verse 472 of *Bacchae* the term ἀβάκχευτος functions as a synonym of βέβηλος: it refers to a person who is considered profane for not having taken part in Bacchic rites. It derives from the same stem as βάκχος and βακχεύειν.⁹ These terms, crucial in Dionysism and Orphism, are, however, understood differently in each particular religion: in

8 The seemingly oldest reading transmits it in the vocative plural (βέβηλοι) as an exhortation to the initiated. But sometimes it has been transmitted in the dative (βεβήλοις), making the subject of the imperative to change, no longer alluding to the profane but to the initiated: “close the doors on the profane”. However, this seems to be a later variant. Cf. Bernabé (1996: 14, n. 3).

9 About βάκχος and βακχεύειν cf., for instance, Turcan (1986: 227–244), Jiménez San Cristóbal (2009) with copious bibliography.

Orphism the βάκχος hankers after a durable condition, an ecstasy that is not constrained to the time of the ritual, but starts with it and must be the result of the perseverance and constancy in ascesis that Orphic life precepts require. Conversely, in Dionysism, the βάκχος wants a transitional ecstasy that ceases at the precise moment the ritual is completed.

5. To conclude

In fr. 648 Kannicht of *Protesilaus* and in *Bacchae* 471–474, Euripides seems to echo the widely-known formula “let the profane shut the doors”. This formula belongs to the mystic realm and is specially used as heading in sacred texts, mainly attributed to Orpheus. These two Euripidean passages match with this formula, not only in their meaning, but in the use of certain terms: both texts contain the word θέμις, which points directly to the first version of the formula (*OF* 1a). However, the original formula is an affirmative sentence, whereas, on the contrary, Euripides reworks it into the negative: while the first part of the formula stresses the fact that religious law demands that the participants are initiated, the tragedian says likewise from an opposite point of view; religious law forbids the profane to take part in those rituals. In the passage from *Bacchae* this idea is strengthened by the use, in verse 472, of the term ἄρρητος, which functions as a synonym of οὐ θέμις from verse 474.

At the end of the formula, regardless of which version, appears the term βέβηλος, which Euripides also employs in the fragment of *Protesilaus*. On the other side, we find in *Bacchae* the term ἀβάκχεντος. Both words refer to the profane in the sense that they have not been initiated and, thus, are not in possession of the necessary previous knowledge required to take part in mystic rites.

It seems evident, therefore, that both Euripidean passages may reflect the known formula “let the profane shut the doors” which appears especially in texts of an Orphic-Pythagorean nature. However, in the case of the Euripides passages, the context points towards Dionysism: in *Bacchae* it refers, no doubt, to the Dionysiac celebrations, as the plot of the play revolves around the establishment of that cult in Greece. In *Protesilaus* the context is not quite so evident, though some authors, basing their hypothesis on such later sources as Hyginus, Statius or Philostratus, propose that it may allude to certain supposed celebrations (of a Dionysiac or maybe Orphic character) of Laodamia to cover up her devotion to his husband’s effigy.

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6. Ζεὺς μούνος: Philosophical Monism and Mythological Monism (OF 12)

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πρωτογόνου βασιλέως αἰδοίου, τῷ δ' ἄρα πάντες
ἀθάνατοι προσέφυγ μάκαρες θεοὶ ἡδὲ θείαι
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ κρήναι ἐπήρατοι ἄλλα τε πάντα,
ἄσσα τότε ἦν γεγαῶτ', αὐτὸς δ' ἄρα μούνος ἔγεντο
from the phallus of the first-born king, and in it all
immortals were generated, the blessed gods and the goddesses,
the rivers and the pleasant springs, and all the other things
that existed in those days. And then he himself became the only one.

1. The cosmogonic myth that aims at explaining how the world that we know came into existence and which are the forces dominating this Universe and the divinities ruling over it, poses certain questions directly related to philosophical speculation, and they both face the task of explaining the multiplicity and diversity of the universe and how it has come into existence.

It is not difficult to understand, therefore, that at both levels of speculation, philosophical and religious, we come across tenets that try to explain diversity and multiplicity stemming from unity, and tend to elaborate, consequently, a monist theory of the Universe.

In general, it could be considered that a tenet of personal monism, this is, of a First Principle incarnated in a god, who creates and ordains the universe, and/or generates it, either creating or modifying it by ordering a pre-existent undetermined matter, belongs to a religious, mythological level, and it is, therefore, previous to the postulate of an abstract principle (the One, the Being) as stemming point of diversity, which would belong to a rational, philosophical thinking, and would emerge in a second phase of abstraction.

2. The tendency towards a monistic formulation of the origins of the Universe is to be found in parallel in Indian and early Greek thought. In the former, it had already been formulated in the latest hymns of the *Rigveda* (RV), and would eventually culminate in the Upanishad theory that consid-

ers the *brahman* as essence and principle of the Universe. In the latter, Milesian philosophers were undoubtedly forerunners of this tendency, having Parmenides on the one hand and Pythagoras on the other as initial points of the philosophic formulation of an abstract First Principle, beginning and generator of the whole universe.

One of the common threads between Orphism and Pre-Socratic philosophers, whose relation has been long studied and substantiated by many scholars,¹ is the tendency to explain multiplicity from unity, which was formulated in Orphism in religious terms, therefore adapting itself to conventions of cosmogonic generation imposed by Greek myth, since Orphism did not want to break up definitively with it.

This parallelism between Greek philosophical premises and those of Indian philosophy, already acknowledged by Megasthenes,² needs to be reformulated and thoroughly studied, in particular those aspects regarding the relation between Pre-Socratic philosophy and Vedic cosmogonic ideas. In our comparative study on Pythagorean cosmogonies and philosophical cosmogony as expressed in hymn 10.129 of the *RV*³ we managed to point out at least some interesting similarities. In both cases, there is an abstract element, 'the One', which constitutes the beginning of the Universe. In both cases, the process of generation of the world is produced by means of an immanent vital energy, expressed by the breathing of this One, which is precisely what characterises it as being alive. And in both versions, Pythagorean and Vedic, we find the expression of a philosophical monism, although in the Vedic case there is no dissociation between religion and philosophy characteristic of the Greek spirit.

This abstract First Principle is combined in the Vedic hymn with the postulate of pre-existing material element, characterized by the non-order, by indistinctiveness, which is nothing and contains everything at the same time, and which is metaphorically identified with certain Primordial Waters,⁴ an Indistinct Wave⁵ in whose core the One was generated, 'hollowness covered by hollowness'.

1 Cf. Burkert (1968), Finkelberg (1986). A general outlook of the question in Bernabé (1997) and (2002).

2 Cf. Megasth. fr. 41.

3 Bernabé – Mendoza (forthcoming).

4 The parallel of Water as ἀρχή to be found in Thales is only superficial: in Thales, Water is only a primary matter, whose transformation gives rise to the diversity of beings, while the Vedic Waters are only the beginning, the pre-existent, in a process of cosmogonic creation, cf. Nakamura (1986: 56–58).

5 This is, it does not contain internal limits that could separate certain elements from others, cf. Mendoza (2008).

RV 10.129.3: At the beginning, Darkness was hidden by Darkness, everything was an indistinct Wave. By the power of Heat the One was born, what was hollowness was covered by hollowness.

The generative power of this One is identified as an internal, inherent power, *tapas* ‘heat’, the creative source of the cosmic seed both in these versions of recent RV hymns as in Brahmanic cosmogonies, where original unity is assumed by a personal divinity, Prajāpati.

3. The Orphic version that we find in this fragment and in column XIII of the Derveni Papyrus⁶ reconciles the monist theory with a religious vision, postulating a personal monism. At a culminating point of the cosmogonic process, Zeus appears as only god, and the only existing thing. The whole universe, which he would recreate himself further on, albeit in order, stemming from himself, is absorbed in him. Zeus is, therefore, an immanent divinity.⁷

The formulation of a personalised First Principle, of a god who is at the same time the only god and the only existing reality from whom all others stem, responds to a vision in the macrocosm of the problem of the One and the multiple that Milesians⁸ took into consideration and aimed at resolving in the microcosm, proposing a single original matter.

This only existing god, who is alone at the beginning of the generation of Cosmos, coincides in many aspects with the Brahmanic Prajāpati. This one, who rises from almost a simple demiurge to superior divinity to all other gods,⁹ because he precedes them and generates all of them and all the other beings,¹⁰ is born at the beginning of creation, from the Golden Seed¹¹ which is condensed at the core of the Primaeval Waters thanks to the *tapas*, the Heat produced by his wish to procreate:

RV 10.121.1: The Golden Embryo was born at the beginning. Immediately after being born he was the only Lord of all existence. / He consolidated this Earth and this Heaven, which god shall we honour with the sacrifice?

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.1.6: (1) At the beginning in truth there was nothing but the Waters, the Wave. The Waters wished, ‘How will we manage to procreate?’ They tried hard, filled themselves with *Heat* and in them, thus burning with *Heat*, a golden embryo was developed. The year had not come into existence then, but this

6 All commentators of the Derveni Papyrus underline the relation between this fragment and col. XIII of the papyrus, cf. Laks – Most (1997: 14–15), Betegh (2004: 220–221), Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 14–15).

7 Cf. Alderink (1981: 29).

8 Finkelberg (1986: 322–323).

9 Cf. Gonda (1986).

10 This is already expressed in Vedic hymns by Prajāpati’s assumption of the characteristics, functions and actions of the other gods, cf. Gonda (1989).

11 Nakamura (1986: 58) points out parallels of cosmogonies based in a primaeval egg in China and Japan.

Golden Seed floated for as long as a year lasts. (2) In this year, however, a Man developed: Prajāpati.

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 10.1: In the indistinct Wave, in the centre of the Universe, above the vault of heaven, greater than greatest, penetrating the Lights with his splendour, Prajāpati becomes active in the embryo.

The theology of Prajāpati is incorporated into Vedic cosmogony in an apparently non-conflicting manner. We do not have the old version of the birth of the gods,¹² but it does not seem that such process was formulated in as strictly genealogical terms as the succession of generations and sovereignties in Greek mythology. The tenet of a *primaeva* divinity is integrated, in principle, as an explanation of the cosmogonic initiatory process to which mythology had probably not paid special attention and was therefore left open to priestly speculation.

However, the choice of Zeus as this *primaeva* and immanent divinity forces to change the place of this god in the process already established by traditional mythology. As such, it was reinterpreted by the Orphics, although they tried to alter it as little as possible. Zeus, within the strongly genealogical cosmogonic process of the Greeks, is one of the gods that ‘has been born’ and who succeeds as sovereign other generations of gods. A rise of Zeus to First Principle and Sovereign of the Universe cannot be made directly, but rather requires a re-examination of established mythology.

A reinterpretation of the myth of gods’ generations and of Uranus’ castration, the *πρωτόγονος βασιλεύς* of the fragment,¹³ is then proposed. Uranus’ penis, castrated by Cronus, does not fall into the sea, but it is rather swallowed by Zeus¹⁴ and, by doing so, Zeus swallows the totality of the gods and beings of the time previous to him. The phallus, symbol of generation, is consumed by Zeus who, despite having been born in the course of such creation and after the First Born King, is left alone, as only god and only existent being, who contains the plurality of all gods and all beings. At this point of the cosmogony, everything is contained in Zeus and Zeus himself is alone, he is the only existent being.

12 It is clear, however, that Vedic gods ‘are born’ as a consequence of creation, cf. *RV* 10.129.6. “Who, then knows, who could claim here whence was he born, whence this creation? The gods (were born) afterwards, by means of this creation, but it, who knows whence does it come from?”

13 *OF* 12; cf. Betegh (2004: 117), Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 25)

14 αἰδοίου is interpreted as neuter ‘penis’ both by Bernabé (1996: 22–24) and by Betegh (2004: 220–221). West’s interpretation (1983: 25) as ‘venerable’, followed by Laks – Most (1997: 14) and Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 25) would imply that Zeus swallows the whole body of a Protogonus, not always interpreted as Uranus.

The gods and all the beings have to be recreated by Zeus after having been consumed by him. And, in this process of recreation, what emerges is an ordained cosmos, subject to the laws and to justice, which brings us back again closer to Prajāpati, who in RV 10.121.9 is invoked as ‘the god of true Laws’.

What Zeus returns simultaneously is and is not the same that he has swallowed; it is an ordered cosmos and a series of gods subject to his sovereignty and to justice. This is the reason why he can be considered, to a certain extent, previous to the other gods (Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο OF 31.1) and sovereign of creation.

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7. Orphic Theogonies and the Goddess Isis in Apuleius (*OF* 14, 31 and 243)*

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OF 14, 31 and 243 in A. Bernabé's edition contain three *Hymns to Zeus*. Different in extension, they all have a set of verses in common.¹ These *Hymns* are examples of Orphic theogonies with narratives about the origins of Zeus from the traditional Orphic perspective, and explanations of the god's powers, which sometimes have been assimilated from other deities. The tendency to syncretize divinities is one of the basic original components of Orphic theogonies that can be found in the texts: what other versions of Greek religion present as separate gods is transformed into different aspects of a single deity. However, the most important feature of these Orphic myths is the anthropogony/theogony couple.² Since human souls undergo purification cycles which start with the anthropogony/theogony separation from divinity and finish with the restoration of this primal unity, the fate of men is linked to cosmic cycles. Each divine kingdom leads to different relations between the god, and between gods and humans, details which are stated in the Orphic *Hymns to Zeus*. The similarities of these texts with the *Hymn to Isis* in book XI of Apuleius' *Metamorphosis*, as well as the many common traits of Orphic and Isiac mysteries are striking. However, it is important to bear in mind that Isis is the only goddess that equals a male deity in power and privileges. Even though the Egyptian goddess Isis underwent a process of hellenization in the post-Alexandrine time, Isis' omnipotence reached its highest momentum during the early Roman Empire, as proven by two fundamental powers: the power to instil her devotees with immortal life and the control over Fate. Fate is a very complex notion; arguably, it refers to the cosmic but contingent order to which the very gods subdue. Isis' victory over Fate is an idea from the Imperial time.

* The Spanish version of this article was translated by Jaime González-Capitel.

1 The translations of all three fragments in Bernabé's edition follow the same numerical order (2003: 43, 66 and 163).

2 Bernabé (2003: 20).

A translation of the original Greek text in *OF* 31 follows, which is longer than *OF* 14 (from the Derveni Papyrus) and covers its content with some variations. Like most Orphic literature, it probably underwent successive rewritings, additions and erasures:

Zeus is the first-born, Zeus is last, the lord of the lightning,
 Zeus is the head, Zeus the centre; from Zeus comes all that is,
 Zeus is the foundation of the earth and the starry heavens,
 Zeus is a man, Zeus an immortal maid,
 Zeus is the breath of all things, Zeus is the spring of tireless fire, 5
 Zeus is the root of ocean, Zeus is the sun and moon,
 Zeus is king, Zeus is the master of all, the lord of the lightning.
 For he hid all men away, and has brought them again to the lovely light
 from the holiness of his heart, working great marvels.

Verses 1, 2 and 7 are exactly the same in *OF* 14, and only the second part of verse 5 is different: "Zeus the breath in all things, Zeus is the fate of all". On the other hand, *OF* 243 is the longest of all three hymns and repeats many verses from the other texts:

Zeus the first born, Zeus the last one, the resplendent lightning,
 Head Zeus, center Zeus, everything perfectly arranged by Zeus;
 Zeus was born a male, Zeus was an immortal nymph,
 Zeus, ground of the earth and the starred sky,
 Zeus the King, Zeus the author of all things first, 5
 The only strength, born as an only god, supreme governor of all things,
 Only sovereign body in which all things fulfill their cycle,
 Fire, Water, Earth and Ether; night and day
 and Metis, the first breeder, and Eros the joy-maker.
 All these things dwell in Zeus' body; 10
 His head, how true and beautiful his countenance, in view
 Of the gleaming sky around which his golden hair
 Ripple, resplendent under the light of the bright stars;
 Two gold taurine horns in each side of his head:
 The rising and setting, the paths of celestial gods; 15
 His eyes are the sun and the moon after it
 With his intelligence the eternal, royal ether of no deception,
 Everything he hears and ponders; and there is no
 Rumor nor noise or sound
 That escapes to Zeus' ear, the powerful Cronion, 20
 Such is the immortal head and his understanding.
 And his radiant body, infinite, unflappable,
 Dauntless, of stout limbs, powerful, such is his shape:
 The god's shoulders, breast and back
 Are mighty air, and is fitted with wings 25
 Which take him over all things. His sacred bosom
 Is the Earth, universal mother, and the unreachable peaks.
 The center his waist, waves of the deep roaring sea
 And of the Pontus. The last ground, the roots down in the womb of Earth,
 The rusty Tartarus and the utmost bounds of the Earth. 30

And after having hidden all things, again promptly
 He offers what belonged in his innards to the joyful light,
 Thus accomplishing formidable deeds.

This text has many elements in common with the *Hymn to Isis* in book XI of Apuleius' *Metamorphosis*. Isis is a true example of religious syncretism that blends traits of Oriental, Egyptian, Greek and Latin deities in a single goddess, and even Christian influences are often mentioned. Usually the syncretism works with other goddesses whose powers and forms of action are embodied, as is the case with the Greek Demeter, the Roman Ceres or the Egyptian Isis. However, in Apuleius' work Isis presents herself with attributes and spheres of influence which are identical to the omnipotent powers mentioned in the *Hymns to Zeus*. She utters these words regarding herself:³

I am she that is the natural mother of all things, mistress and governess of all the elements, the initial progeny of worlds, chief of the powers divine, queen of all that are in hell, the principal of them that dwell in heaven, manifested alone and under one form of all the gods and goddesses. At my will the planets of the sky, the wholesome winds of the seas, and the lamentable silences of hell be disposed; my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world, in divers manners, in variable customs, and by many names.

The goddess resumes her speech with a list of the different people by whom she is adored under her different names: starting with the Phrygians, who call her Mother of the Gods, and following with Minerva Cecropia amongst Athenians, Venus Paphia by the Cypriots, Diana Dictynna in Crete, Proserpina Stygia for the people of Sicily, Ceres in Eleusis, Juno, and Bellona. Peoples in lands where the sun rises as well as the western peoples, Ethiopia and the Egyptians know the goddess by her real name: "I am Queen Isis". When Lucius, transformed into a donkey, pleads the goddess to assist him in the recovery of his human figure, he uses the names of Queen of Heaven, Ceres, Venus, sister of Phoebus and Proserpina; when the goddess appears to Lucius she still uses other names not mentioned by him. The goddess instructs him on the method to regain his human nature, "but you shall remember until the last of your days, until you use up your last breath, that you are to remain my servant". Obviously, this means that Lucius will have to be initiated in the goddess' mysteries.

The content of book XI of the *Metamorphosis* is mainly religious: the hymn to Isis, a presentation of the powers and their extension, the procession in honor of the goddess, the preparations and rules for the initiation of Lucius in the Isiac mysteries. All these elements bear an important similarity to Orphic mysteries, which is easy to follow insofar as both Zeus and Isis are identified with other gods, a process by which their functions and powers are identified as attributes of single deity (henotheism). On the other

3 Apul. *Met.* 11.5 in translation of Adlington – Gaselee (1965: 545).

hand, many components of the Isiac rituals mentioned in book XI recall consistently the forms usually mentioned when describing Orphism.

Thus Isis, like Zeus, governs the Afterlife. In the words of the goddess to Lucius, “and when after thine allotted space of life thou descendest to hell, there thou shalt see me in that subterranean firmament shining (as thou seest me now) in the darkness of Acheron, and reigning in the deep profundity of Styx, and thou shalt worship me as one that hath been favourable to thee. And if I perceive that thou art obedient to my commandment and addict to my religion, meriting by thy constant chastity my divine grace, know thou that I alone may prolong thy days above the time that the fates have appointed and ordained”.⁴ Isis also governs the human Fate and has a power which is largely admired by her followers and potential adorers: the power to make a human immortal, also usually ascribed to Demeter.⁵ The exaltation of the goddess’ absolute might has been traditionally disregarded as rather inconsistent with the conventions of Hellenic religious literature; however, in the Hellenistic era Greek hymns had praised the gods with similar intensity. It is important to keep in mind that Apuleius’ work was written in the 2nd century AD, a time when the hellenization of the Egyptian Isis had long culminated. The *Metamorphosis* contain the phase of Roman influence over Isiac cult. According to Alvar,⁶ the most peculiar feature of the religious atmosphere at that time was individual soteriological strain, a condition that results in different proposals of an Afterlife in which the believer can depict himself as having reached happiness. To this end, different rituals are proposed which vary in their symbolic and real meaning because they respond and adapt themselves to the changing ideological and historical conditions: a typical process when different religions encounter and coexist.

Some of the traits in common with Orphic rituals⁷ are mentioned as such ritual objects in the description of the Isis procession: mirrors; the basket or *cista* where the sublime secrets of the cult are kept; libations of milk, but also of water drawn from the sanctuary of Isis, all of them by a sacred pontiff; the linen robes of priests and initiates. The adorers who are going to be initiated have to follow some prescriptions: chastity, abstinence from unwholesome food, ritual baths and sprinkling with lustral water, instructions “that human language may not unveil”, “I would tell you if it were possible to say it”, “I will tell you only those details that may be revealed to the profane mind without committing sacrilege”. Even the watchword sentence used by the Orphic followers is used here in a reversed form: “open your heathen eyes”, instead of: “close the gates, o heathen”. Perhaps the reason is

4 Apul. *Met.* 11.6. See Adlington – Gaselee (1965: 549).

5 Vid. Muñiz (2006: 26).

6 Vid. Alvar (2001: 312).

7 On Orphic rituals, vid. Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: I, 731–770).

that the cult to Isis is open to a larger row of initiates: men and women of all social stands. Promises for the initiates: “Lucky and thrice happy is the mortal whose innocence and probity in a former live makes him worthy of such eminent protection! He is born again... returns from the hideous abodes back to daylight”. A thorough reading of the text will surely detect other similar elements.

Book XI in the *Metamorphosis*, the closing chapter in Apuleius’ work, may be regarded as an open statement of religious principles, as well as an instrument for teaching and attracting new followers of Isis. Apuleius was a very successful orator in Carthage, he attracted a massive audience to his speeches although he never held a public position; however, he was indeed a priest of the imperial cult in the province of Carthage (*sacerdos provinciae*) and Isiac priest.⁸ On the other hand, hymns to the gods are a traditional form of religious propaganda, and hymns to Isis have been found across Mediterranean cities in a timely range that extends from the second century BC to the III century AD. It is therefore only logic to think of the influence of other religious traditions such as Orphism. Moreover, Apuleius was a neo-Platonist, he travelled to Greece in his youth and gained contact to the mysteries. His philosophical writings have been object of study in this context. The fact that the contribution made by the *Metamorphosis* in the field of religion has been considered unimportant may be due to its genre: a novel, not a treatise.

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8 Vid. Albrecht (1999: 1317).

8. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 14.4: a Problematic Reference to Orphism (OF 20 IV)

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In book 14th, chapter 4, of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* there is an incidental reference, as brief as it is problematic, to the Orphic theogony. It is the following text, the substantial part of which I quote in full.

A difficulty, and a reproach to any one who finds it no difficulty, are contained in the question how the elements and the principles are related to the good and the beautiful; the difficulty is this, whether any of the elements is such a thing as we mean by the good itself and the best (αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ ἄριστον), or this is not so, but these are later in origin.

The theologians (παρὰ τῶν θεολόγων) seem to agree with some thinkers of the present day (τῶν νῦν τισίν), who answer the question in negative (οἱ οὐ φασί), and say that both the good and the beautiful appear only when nature has made some progress (προελθούσης τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐμφαίνεσθαι). This they do to avoid a real objection which confronts those who say, as some do, that the one is a first principle. (The objection arises not from their ascribing goodness to the first principle as an attribute, but from their making the one a principle – and a principle in the sense of an element – and generating number from the one). And the early poets (οἱ ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι) agree with this inasmuch as they say that not those who are first in time, *e.g.* Night and Heaven or Chaos or Ocean, reign and rule (βασιλεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν φασὶν οὐ τοὺς πρῶτους), but Zeus. These poets, however, speak thus only because they think of the rulers of the world as changing (διὰ τὸ μεταβάλλειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ὄντων); for those of them whose works are a mixture, in that they do not use mythical language throughout, *e.g.* Pherecydes and some others, make the original generating agent the Best, and so do the Magi, and some of the later sages also, *e.g.* Empedocles and Anaxagoras, of whom one made friendship an element, and the other made thought a principle. (1091a 29-b 112) (Trans. W. D. Ross with some minor changes).

1.

The first lines of this passage clearly show the specific context in which this reference to the Orphic theogony takes place. Aristotle deals with the following “aporia” – which was probably debated among the members of the

Platonic Academy – about the nature of principles: what is the relationship of the first and universal principles to the Good and the Beautiful? Are the principles perfect realities or, on the contrary, are they imperfect in themselves, perfection being attained by things, rather, at the end of their generation process?

This question could be answered – and it was in fact answered – by the two contradictory answers: the affirmative and the negative. Thus, on the one hand, we have the answer of Aristotle himself, for whom the Supreme Principle is an utterly perfect being: it is the divine entity, permanent actuality, an eternal and perfect living being (ζῶον αἰδίων ἄριστον, *Metaph.* 12.7, 1072b 29), whose thinking is a thinking of thinking (*Metaph.* 12.9, 1074b 33–34). And on the other hand, in turn, we have the opposite opinion of those “who answer the question in negative” (‘who say no’: οἱ οὐ φασί), that perfection is not to be found at the beginning, but is reached at the end of the process of generation of beings.

This thesis that perfection is not to be found at the beginning, but at the completion of the process of generation of things is attributed by Aristotle to ‘theologians’ and also to some present day, contemporary philosophers (τῶν νῦν τισίν).¹ It is not, of course, difficult to identify these ‘contemporary’ philosophers. They are the Pythagoreans and the academic Speusippus, as shown explicitly in the following parallel text from *Metaphysics*:

Those who suppose, as the Pythagoreans and Speusippus do, that supreme beauty and goodness are not present in the beginning, because the beginnings both of plants and of animals are *causes*, but beauty and completeness are in the *effects* of these, are wrong in their opinion (*Metaph.* 12.7, 1072b 30–34). (Trans. W.D. Ross)

It is therefore clear that Aristotle’s criticism is directed against the Pythagoreans and, very particularly, against his colleague, Speusippus, who tried to generate all mathematical and natural entities from the absolute simplicity of the One, of the Unit (τὸ ἓν) together with a Principle of Plurality (πλῆθος) that seems to be similar to the Platonic Indefinite Dyad. But who are, in turn, “the theologians” referred to? The passage does not mention any name in particular, nor does it offer any identifying feature of the same, except that they are ancients, they are poets and they expressed themselves exclusively through myths. The fact that they are ancient is indicated twice, first when they are contrasted with the “contemporary” (*philosophers*) (τῶν νῦν τισίν), and then when they are referred to as “the early poets” (οἱ ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι). The fact that their explanations contained nothing more than

1 In his commentary to this passage the Pseudo-Alexander made the genitive τῶν νῦν depend on the substantive θεολόγων, whereby we would not be talking about “some of today’s philosophers”, but “some of today’s theologians”. This interpretation was followed in the 19th century by Brandis. Nevertheless, this reading has been generally rejected, for good reasons, bearing in mind the way Aristotle usually uses both the word θεολόγος and the expression οἱ νῦν. Cf. Bonitz (1960: *ad loc.*).

mythical tales is involved, in turn, in the opposition then established between them and those others “whose works are a mixture, in that they do not use mythical language throughout” (οἱ γε μεμιγμένοι αὐτῶν τῷ μὴ μυθικῶς πάντα λέγειν). Aristotle is therefore referring to the early theologian poets whose theogonies were expressed exclusively through mythical tales.

Later on I shall return to these early theologian poets, narrators of myths. Before doing it, however, it is important to establish clearly the difference between these theologians and the contemporary philosophers with regard to the way they respectively adhere to the thesis of the imperfection of principles. Indeed, Aristotle indicates that theologians and philosophers come to this thesis in different ways and adhere to it for very different reasons. Speusippus reached this thesis, according to Aristotle, “to avoid a real objection which confronts those who say, as some do,² that the One is a first principle”. The difficulty Speusippus wanted to avoid, according to the Aristotelian account, is the following one: the elements are necessarily simpler and, therefore, they are less perfect than the realities derived from them. Therefore, if you establish that the One is a principle, and “a principle in the sense of an element”, you also have to accept that it is less perfect than the entities derived from it. According to Speusippus, the strength of this argument prevents us from identifying the One with Goodness, unlike Plato, whose thesis seems to lead necessarily to identify the Evil with plurality, whenever the One is identified with Goodness. This seems to be the trend of Speusippus’ argument according to Aristotle’s account of it. Maybe Speusippus himself compared the universal genesis from the One with the generation of plants and animals from their seeds, arguing that the seed is simpler (less perfect) than the adult organisms developed from it. The above text from *Metaphysics* (12.7) suggests that Speusippus himself proposed this analogy. This analogy is also suggested, in my opinion, by this passage which concludes the Aristotelian criticism of Speusippus’ proposal:

Nor do we conceive the matter correctly if we compare the principles of the universe to that of animals and plants (οὐκ ὀρθῶς δ’ ὑπολαμβάνει οὐδ’ εἴ τις παρεικάξει τὰς τοῦ ὅλου ἀρχὰς τῇ τῶν ζώων καὶ φυτῶν), on the ground that the more complete always come from the indefinite and incomplete – which is what leads this thinker to say that this is also true of the first principles of reality, so that the one itself is not even an existing thing. For here too the principles from which these come are complete; for it is a man that produces a man, and the seed is not first. (*Metaph.* 14.5, 1092a 11–17). (Trans. W. D. Ross)³

2 This “some” undoubtedly refers to Plato and those who shared with him the concept of the Principle as the Good/One.

3 Naturally, there is no need to discuss the degree of reliability of this Aristotelian account of Speusippus’ doctrine. At all events, the reply of Aristotle himself to the thesis of the latter, as he himself then emphasizes, is that the difficulty comes not so much from attributing perfection to the Principle as something inherent to the

2.

Let us now come back to the theologian poets. Aristotle points out that their doctrine is not exactly the same as that of the alluded contemporary philosophers – and it could hardly be the same, since the poets are not φυσικοί, but θεολόγοι. Nevertheless, there is some similarity or analogy between them, inasmuch as the theologian poets “say that not those who are first in time, *e. g.* Night and Heaven or Chaos or Ocean, reign and rule (βασιλεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν φασὶν οὐ τοὺς πρώτους), but Zeus”. From this observation, and through a transposition – by analogy – of the theogonic myths, Aristotle concludes that these theologians adhered to the thesis that perfection is not to be found at the beginning, in the First Principle (*i. e.* in the first cosmogonic entities), since good government, order and justice were not effectively established until Zeus became the ruler of the Universe. As for the reasons leading the theologian poets to “accept” (in their own way) the thesis of the imperfection of the principles, Aristotle insists that they have nothing to do either with Speusippus’ reasoning. According to Aristotle, the theologian poets are forced to accept this thesis in so far as in their stories the rulers of the universe change successively (διὰ τὸ μεταβάλλειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ὄντων).⁴

As is known, since ancient times these theologian poets have been identified with Orphism. A well-known example of this identification can be found in the author traditionally known as the Pseudo-Alexander.⁵ In his commentary to this passage from *Metaphysics*, he explicitly states that Aristotle’s words ‘the early poets’ refer to Orpheus (αἰνιττεται δὲ τὸν Ὀρφέα), and adds:

same, as from making the One a principle “in the sense of an element”. Aristotle considers himself to be free of this difficulty in so far as he places Goodness in the first entity, which is pure actuality and the ultimate cause of movement. As for the generation of natural beings (animals and plants), the Aristotelian doctrine establishes that the potential (and therefore imperfect) precedes the actual in each individual (the seed precedes the individual that proceeds from it), whereas the actual (and therefore perfect) always precedes the potential with regard to the species: as he says in the text quoted (and in many other places), “it is a man that produces a man, and the seed is not first”. Regarding the Speusippus’ metaphysics, in relation to this subject and to the testimony of Aristotle, see: Cherniss (1964: ch. 1), Merlan (1975: ch. 5), Tarán (1981) and Dillon (2003: ch. 2).

- 4 Perhaps Speusippus himself made reference to the analogy existing between the narrative of these theologians and his own doctrine of principles. This is what Anas (1976: *ad loc.*) suggests, for example. We do not know for sure.
- 5 Nowadays it is an almost unanimous opinion that the traditionally named Pseudo-Alexander is in fact Michael of Ephesus. It should be taken into account that this means delaying the date of his commentary until several centuries after Syrianus’, who I shall later refer to, and, therefore, inverting the possible relationship of dependence between them.

[...] he refers to Orpheus. He says, in fact, that the good and perfection come after the other things. And, in fact, what governs and rules the whole nature is good and the best. Zeus governs and rules, therefore he is good and the best. And since, according to Orpheus, first Chaos was generated, then Ocean, Night the third, Heaven the fourth and then Zeus, king of immortal gods, it is obvious that he considers that Zeus (that is, the good and perfection) is later than Chaos, Ocean, Night, Heaven and Cosmos. These poets say that because they change the rulers of the things that are, and they make them different in different moments. In fact, “First reigned the illustrious Ericepaius” (πρῶτον βασιλευσε περικλυτὸς Ἡρικεπαῖος), the poem says, and after him Night “grasping Ericepaius’ distinguished sceptre” (σκήπτρον ἔχουσ’ ἐν χερσὶν ἀριπρεπὲς Ἡρικεπαίου), and after her Heaven, “who was the first in reigning after Night, mother of the gods” (ὃς πρῶτος βασιλευσε, θεῶν μετὰ μητέρα Νύκτα). Thus, these poets make the good and perfection something subsequent for the sake of the change of the rulers. (*In Metaph.* 821).

There is no doubt that Pseudo-Alexander interprets the Aristotelian sentence “*not those who are the first in time, e. g., Night and Heaven, or Chaos or Ocean, but Zeus*” as a list of five cosmic entities or deities generated successively in that precise order. From this reading, Pseudo-Alexander himself offers a rather peculiar order of succession (Chaos-Ocean-Night-Heaven-Zeus) which arouses quite a few perplexities and doubts. In fact, it is such a strange order that it does not match (a) either the order in which Aristotle lists the concerned entities, or (b) any of the known cosmogonic successions, or (c) even the entities and order established in the verses he himself quotes. Observe how in these verses the first to rule is not Night, but the illustrious Ericepaius, besides the fact that Chaos does not seem to have a place on such a list of Cosmic rulers.

Syrianus (*in Metaph. ad loc.*), whom probably follows Pseudo-Alexander (see n. 5 above), had previously proposed exactly the same line of interpretation: he established the same order of succession and quoted the same verses. Moreover, Syrianus attempted to overcome the inconsistency about Chaos by specifically stating that “Chaos is above the position of ruler” (τὸ δὲ χάος ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντός ἐστι σχέσιν). Finally, on the basis of this interpretation of the Aristotelian passage, Syrianus accuses Aristotle of distorting the doctrine of the “theologians” regarding the government of the universe: indeed, according to the verses adduced, all the entities mentioned governed, all successively ruling the Universe, and not just Zeus, as Aristotle claims they say.

3.

What can be done with such an accumulation of doubts and perplexities? Certainly, I cannot discuss in detail all the aspects regarding this problematic reference to Orphism. However, I would like to clearly indicate the

trends according to which, in my opinion, this passage of Aristotle should be interpreted. They are as follows.

1. Firstly, I think it is reasonable to assume that Aristotle *does not intend to propose an order of succession* for the first four or five cosmo-theogonic generations. As shown by the context, Aristotle is only interested in explaining the thesis that perfection is not to be found in the Principle, in the original entity. This becomes evident from the example of the seed and the adult being: for the purposes of argument, it is the imperfection of the seed as opposed to the perfection of the adult what really matters, and not at all the intermediate stages of development of the latter. It can be assumed, by analogy, that what really matters for Aristotle in his reference to the theogonies is the imperfection of the primordial entity, of the ἀρχή, together with the fact that perfection and order come later. The intermediate stages – what they are and what they are like – are totally irrelevant for his argument.

This being the case, I would suggest that the Aristotelian words “*not those who are the first in time, e.g., Night and Heaven, or Chaos or Ocean*” are simply meant to recall, by way of example, some cosmogonic ‘principles’ proposed by different theologian poets.

2. Aristotle does not therefore refer exclusively to Orphic theogony, or to any single cosmogony in particular. I agree with those contemporary interpretations of this passage that relate the principles of Night and Heaven with Orphism,⁶ Chaos with Hesiod, and Ocean with Homer (cf. *Metaph.* 1.3.983b 27–33). This diversity of references is also consistent with the Aristotelian use of the expression οἱ θεολόγοι, which certainly includes Orpheus, but also Homer and Hesiod. If the reference were exclusively to Orphism, one might expect some restrictive expression to this effect, such as ‘*some theologians*’ and not just ‘*theologians*’ (παρὰ τῶν θεολόγων), in the same way that regarding the concerned philosophers we have the restrictive ‘*some of the contemporaries*’ (τῶν νῦν τισίν) and not just ‘*the contemporaries*’.

3. Finally, we are left with Syrianus’ reproach that Aristotle distorts the doctrine of the ‘theologians’ on the universal government, since all the entities mentioned were rulers of the Universe, and not just Zeus. In my opin-

6 The conjunction ‘and’ (καί) in the words ‘Night and Heaven’ can induce to think that they are the primordial couple of some cosmogony, what would make difficult its ascription to Orphism. In fact, we do not know any cosmogony, Orphic or not, that places this strange couple in the beginning of the cosmic generations (cf. Martínez Nieto 2000: 207; in general, the author’s observations regarding the passage that I am analyzing seem to me substantially reasonable). In any case, I consider that it would perhaps be preferable to interpret this καί as disjunctive and not as conjunctive. Besides, I do not reckon necessary to substitute this καί for ἢ in the text, since καί may also acquire a logically disjunctive value. In this way we would have four possible principles instead of three, and the first two would refer respectively to two different versions of Orphic cosmogonies.

ion, this reproach of Syrianus would make sense if the Aristotelian passage referred to the verses adduced by Pseudo-Alexander and by Syrianus himself. But even in this case the reproach would, in my opinion, be misguided. Indeed, if we read Aristotle's text carefully, we observe that *he does not deny that the entities that succeed each other exercise power*. In fact, he says literally that the theologians reach a position similar to that of Speusippus only because in their various theogonies "*they think of the rulers of the world as changing*" (διὰ τὸ μεταβάλλειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ὄντων), which implies that they each govern successively, if government simply means control or the exercise of power. However, according to the use Aristotle makes of the poets in this context, it would also be reasonable to say the opposite: that in fact they do not govern, if government means the ordered and just exercising of power, *i. e.* goodness and perfection in government. Indeed, in the usual cosmogonies, it is necessary to await the later advent of Zeus for this situation of good government to become permanently established.

In short, I think that from this incidental reference to the theologian poets it is not possible to deduce any relevant information regarding any cosmo-theogony, either Orphic or non-Orphic. As on so many other occasions, Aristotle is not at all interested in collecting and transmitting objective detailed information about such doctrines. His practice consists of selecting a particular aspect and using it to illustrate and discuss the philosophical issue that really interests him. In this case, the issue – discussed among philosophers related to Platonism – about the Good and the One as first universal principles.

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9. Comments on *OF* 22

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Ὠκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλίρροος ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὃς ῥα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθύν ὄπνιεν.

Ōkeanos, with his beautiful streams [*kalli-rrhoos*], was the first to start a marriage, and he married his sister Tethys, who was his mother's daughter.

These two consecutive Orphic verses, as we see them displayed in *OF* 22 of the masterful edition of Bernabé, are quoted in Plato's *Cratylus* (402a–c). As I argue in my book *Homer the Classic*, these two Orphic verses are cognate with a single Homeric verse as quoted by Plato in the same context:

Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

Ōkeanos, the genesis [*genesis*] of gods, and mother Tethys (*Iliad* 14.201, 302).¹

Both the Orphic and the Homeric passages, as quoted by Plato, center on the idea that Ōkeanos is the generative force under everything that exists on the face of the earth. Such an idea is recaptured in these words of Plato:

τὰ μὲν οὖν δὴ ἄλλα πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παντοδαπὰ ρεύματά ἐστι· τυγχάνει δ' ἄρα ὄντα ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολλοῖς τέτταρ' ἅττα ρεύματα, ὧν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον καὶ ἐξωτάτω ρέον περὶ κύκλῳ ὁ καλούμενος Ὠκεανός ἐστιν.

There are many and various great streams [*rheumata*] of all kinds in the world, but among these there happen to be four streams [*rheumata*] to be noted in particular, and among these four the greatest is the one that flows [*rhein*] around the world at the outermost periphery in a circle [*kuklos*], and that stream is called the Ōkeanos. (Plato, *Phaedo* 112e).

In the passage from the *Cratylus* where Plato quotes the matching Orphic and Homeric verses about the Ōkeanos (402a–c), we read that this stream is connected with the idea of cosmic fluidity, which converges with the theory of Heraclitus (A 5 DK), as also quoted here by Plato (402a), about a universe that is perpetually in flux.

In general, this passage from Plato's *Cratylus* deals with two subjects: cosmogony and initiation into mysteries, and Plato examines these two subjects by way of quotations from 'Homer', 'Orpheus', and Heraclitus.

1 Nagy (2008–2009: 2§§145–147).

These quotations are relevant to what we find in the Derveni Papyrus.² This text, which is a commentary on poetry attributed to Orpheus, centers on two subjects: cosmogony and initiation into mysteries.³ Moreover, the anonymous commentator of the Derveni Papyrus quotes from ‘Homer’,⁴ ‘Orpheus’,⁵ and Heraclitus.⁶ It is clear that the commentator understands his main poetic source to be Orpheus (δηλοῖ, column 26 lines 2 and 5).⁷

As we see from Plato’s wording in the *Cratylus* (402a–d), the idea of initiation into the mysteries is expressed by the theme of a secret name given to the mystical *pēgē* ‘source’ of initiation. The etymologizing of the name of Tethys is unscientific from the standpoint of modern historical linguistics, but the actual idea conveyed by the false etymology, *pēgē* as ‘source’, reveals a conventional mentality deriving from traditions of initiation.

The same theme of a secret name given to a source of initiation is attested in Plato’s *Theaetetus* (179e–180d). Here the idea that everything is fluid – or, more generally, that there is no hard and fast dichotomy between rigidity and fluidity – is being treated as a mystical tradition originating from both Orphic and Homeric poetry. This mystical idea is a ‘tradition’ (as expressed by the wording *παρειλήφαμεν* at 180c) derived from the *arkhaioi* ‘ancient ones’, who communicate by way of poetry to the initiated few (180c–d *παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τοὺς πολλούς*). The *arkhaioi* ‘ancient ones’ are contrasted with the *husteroi* ‘later ones’, who express their ideas about fluidity and rigidity for all to hear, without any mystery (180d). The contrast here is between earlier thinkers who depend on mystical sources and later thinkers who depend on non-mystical sources. Plato’s wording leaves it ambiguous whether Homer himself belongs to the earlier mystical sources or to the later non-mystical sources. As I argue in *Homer the Classic*, Homer is mystical only if he is left undifferentiated from Orpheus.⁸ If that is the case, Homer’s followers belong to the *arkhaioi* ‘ancient ones’. If, however, he is differentiated from Orpheus, then Homer’s followers become the *husteroi* ‘later ones’. It is made explicit that there are thinkers who are *palaioteroi* ‘more ancient’ than the thinkers who specialize in Homer (179e *Ὁμηρείων καὶ ἔτι παλαιωτέρων*). The primary source of such relatively ‘more ancient’ thinkers, as we can see from all the

2 Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006). What I have to say here about the Derveni Papyrus is a compressed version of what I offer in Nagy (2008–2009: 2§§131–141).

3 Obbink (1997).

4 Derveni Papyrus column XXVI adduces verses that match *Odyssey* 8.335 and *Iliad* 24.527–528.

5 Derveni Papyrus column XXII adduces a number of verses from the *Orphic Hymns*.

6 Derveni Papyrus column IV adduces Heraclitus B 3 and B 94 DK.

7 Obbink (1997: 41, n. 4).

8 Nagy (2008–2009: 2§138).

relevant Platonic contexts taken together, was Orpheus, whose poetry was conventionally thought to be older than the poetry of Homer.

There is no need to infer that Plato himself thought of Orpheus as genuinely more ancient than Homer. Still, Plato's wording regularly features Orpheus as a predecessor of Homer in conventional references to the ancient poets. Further, Plato's wording consistently characterizes Orpheus as a mystical figure, whereas the figure of Homer is mystical only in contexts where he is not being differentiated from the 'more ancient' Orpheus.

Pursuing the idea of Orpheus as a master of mysteries, I draw attention to the use of the adjective *ainigmatōdē* 'full of riddles' applied to *rhēmatiskia* 'initiatory formulas' in the passage I cited from Plato's *Theaetetus* (180a). We may compare the word *ainigmatōdēs* 'riddling' applied to the 'Orphic' poem that is being interpreted by the anonymous commentator of the Derveni Papyrus (column VII 5). In the passage from the *Theaetetus*, we see not only the theme of initiation but also the content of the mystery of this initiation: it concerns a contrast between *kineîsthai* 'to be in motion' and *hestanai* 'to be static', which is comparable to a contrast between the metaphors of fluidity and rigidity. Elsewhere in the *Theaetetus* of Plato, the idea of *kineîsthai* 'to be in motion' is explicitly correlated with the idea of fluidity, and an undifferentiated Homer is specified as the source for such a correlation. In fact, the Homeric verse that is cited as the specific context is the same verse about the Ōkeanos that we have already seen quoted by Plato, that is, *Iliad* 14.201, 302:

ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε' οὐδέν, αἰεὶ δὲ γίγνεται. καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου συμφερέσθων, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, Κωμωδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγωδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος, (ὅς) εἰπὼν –

Ὤκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν (*Iliad* 14.201, 302)

– πάντα εἶρκεν ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως· ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ τοῦτο λέγειν;

For nothing ever is, and things are always becoming. In this matter let us take it for granted that, with the exception of Parmenides, the whole series of wise men [*sophoi*] agree – Protagoras, Heraclitus, Empedocles – and among the poets the ones that are first and foremost in each of the two kinds of poetry [*poiēsis*], Epicharmus in comedy, and Homer in tragedy. When Homer says ...

Ōkeanos, genesis of the gods, and mother Tethys (*Iliad* 14.201, 302)

he has just said that all things are the offspring of a flowing stream [*rhoē*] and of motion [*kinēsis*]. Or don't you think that is what he is saying? (Plato, *Theaetetus* 152e)

In the era of Zenodotus, who was head of the Library of Alexandria in the third century BC, the Ōkeanos was considered to be an Orphic infiltration into the Homeric text, and Zenodotus in his edition of Homer systematically athetized mentions of the Ōkeanos. An explicit example, as I show in *Homer the Classic*, is a sequence of verses at *Iliad* 21.194–197.⁹ At verse 196, we see a relative clause describing Ōkeanos as the source of all fresh-water

9 Nagy (2008–2009: 2§196).

springs and rivers. Zenodotus rejected as non-Homeric the preceding verse, 195, where Ōkeanos is named as the referent of the relative clause.¹⁰ This way, the referent shifts from the river Ōkeanos to the river Akhelōios, which is named at verse 194. Zenodotus' rejection of verse 195 was not the result of some arbitrary editorial decision: there is external evidence for an alternative textual tradition of the *Iliad* where this verse 195 was in fact missing, and there is also external evidence for an alternative poetic tradition where Akhelōios rather than Ōkeanos figures as the primal stream that generates all other streams.¹¹

In the era of Aristarchus, who was head of the Library of Alexandria in the second century BC, we see in this scholar's own editing of Homer a comparable attitude concerning the Ōkeanos. By contrast, we see a radically different attitude when we consider the editorial policy of Crates of Mallos, who was director of the Library of Pergamon and a rival of Aristarchus. This policy is reflected in a verbal exchange, as staged by Plutarch, between proponents of Crates and Aristarchus:

ἀλλὰ σύ, τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀγαπῶν αἰεὶ καὶ θαυμάζων, οὐκ ἀκούεις Κράττητος ἀναγινώσκοντος

Ὤκεανός, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται (Iliad 14.246)

ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ θεοῖς, πλείστην <τ'> ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵησιν. (Iliad 14.246a)

But you are always so enamored of Aristarchus and so impressed with him that you do not hear [*akouein*]¹² Crates as he reads out loud [*anagignōskein*].¹³

... Ōkeanos, who has been fashioned as genesis for all (Iliad 14.246)

men and gods, and he flows over the Earth in all her fullness. (Iliad 14.246a)

(Plutarch *On the face in the moon* 938D)

The first of these two verses as quoted by Plutarch corresponds to *Iliad* 14.246 – with verse-initial Ὤκεανοῦ, continuing the syntax of verse 245 as we have it – while the second, “14.246a”, has been omitted from the text proper of modern editions of the *Iliad*. Evidently, the base text of Homer as established by Aristarchus excluded this plus verse, while the base text as established by Crates included it.

The cosmogonic themes of *Iliad* 14.246–246a, less explicit as read by Aristarchus (without 246a) and more explicit as read by Crates (with 246a), are deeply rooted in the Homeric tradition. The more explicit Homeric

10 According to the scholia Ge (Geneva), Zenodotus athetized *Iliad* 21.195. That is, he did not actually omit this verse.

11 Pausanias 8.38.10 follows a version of *Iliad* 21.194–197 that does not include the verse we know as 21.195, where the Ōkeanos is privileged over the Akhelōios as the primal river. For more on the Akhelōios, see D'Alessio (2004).

12 For *akouein* 'hear' in the sense of 'have a piece of writing read out loud', see Nagy (1996: 33, n. 94), with reference to Aelian *De natura animalium* 5.38.

13 For *anagignōskein* 'read out loud' in the technical sense of an editorial speech-act, see Nagy (1996: 149–150, 174–177, especially 175–176, n. 83).

readings of Crates reflect, more clearly than the corresponding readings of Aristarchus, an Orphic phase in the evolution of the Homeric tradition.

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10. ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ (OF 40–63)

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The significant improvement that Alberto Bernabé's edition of the *Orphicorum et Orphicis Similium Testimonia et Fragmenta* provides over Otto Kern's *Orphicorum Fragmenta* is unanimously admitted. One of the many advantages the former has over the latter is that it is the result of updating Kern's compilation of texts, an updating that has been largely due to the finding of new materials that were unknown at that time, one of the most outstanding ones being the Derveni Papyrus. By no means does this, however, downplay the relevance of the exhaustive review of the testimonies and fragments considered as Orphic by Kern. Indeed Bernabé rejected some of them following good criteria, as he did not see them as Orphic, and in turn included other ones that did not appear in his predecessor's work. In addition to this, he occasionally grouped under the same section passages that Kern had presented separately, which renders their meaning clearer. Such is precisely the case we are tackling in this article, Αἰγυπτίων ἱερὸς λόγος, which according to the pseudo-Orpheus narrator of the *Orphic Argonautica* ἐξελόχευσα, / Μέμφιν ἐς ἡγαθέην πελάσας, ἱεράς τε πόλιν / Ἄπιδος ἅς πέρι Νεῖλος ἀγάρροος ἐστεφάνωται, "I brought forth when I left for the divine town of Memphis and the sacred towns of Apis, which the Nile crowns with its impetuous flow"¹ (Orph. A. vv. 43–45 = OF 40 = p. 299 K.).

O. Kern titles ΙΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ] the short chapter 14 (p. 299 and the following one) from the section "*Pars posterior. Fragmenta Orphicorum*". In it, apart from the above mentioned lines of the *Orphic Argonautica*, there is also verse 32 of this work, θρήνους τ' Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ὀσίριδος ἱερὰ χύτλα, "the Egyptians mourning chants and the sacred libations in the honour of Osiris" (= OF 41),² as well as other ones from different *Orphic Hymns*.

1 Translation into English from the Spanish version by Sánchez Ortiz de Landaluce (2005: 127), "alumbé cuando marché a Menfis divina y a las sagradas ciudades de Apis, a las que el Nilo de impetuosa corriente ciñe con su corona".

2 It is surprising that v. 101 and the following one of this poem are not included, where Orpheus informs Jason that from time immemorial, "I arrived to the earth without limits and its towns, and in Egypt and Libya I revealed God's intentions to men" (= OF 41; translation into English from the Spanish version of Sánchez Ortiz

Kern then takes you to p. 305, section ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΙΔΟΥ,³ and *Testimonia* 95–98, in which he refers to several passages of Diodorus of Sicily and one of *Praeparatio Evangelica* by Eusebius, where a mention is made to Orpheus' introduction in Greece of Egyptian myths and rites. *Testimonia* 99a, 100, 103, 165, 216 and 225, and *Fragmenta* 247 (p. 264 m.), 293 (p. 305 m.) and 301 are no less important on this matter, as they contribute to throw some light into the contents of that sacred Egyptian story. Nonetheless, not only are they not mentioned in the above cited chapter 14, but they are dispersed, a circumstance that adds to the difficulty of finding them in the various indexes of this book,⁴ thus preventing its proper contextualisation and interpretation.

This flaw has been fortunately rectified in A. Bernabé's edition, who had already tackled in several works the existence of an "Egyptian-influence version" of the Orphic myth about Dionysus' death, a variant that seeks to compare this myth to the Osiris myth, while emphasizing the similarities between both of them. Unlike O. Kern, A. Bernabé succeeds in including under a single section heading, titled "ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ET CARMINA IN RITIBVS BACCHICIS ADHIBITA QUIBVS AEGYPTIA ORIGO TRIBVITVR" (OF 40–63), news, testimonies and fragments where Egypt is related both to Orpheus and to different rites and sacred texts that might have been used in Orphic τελεταί.⁵ Moreover, he does not just only compile texts, but, like the remaining sections of the work, this one is preceded by explanatory notes and a selection of the comments made by researchers on this matter. The result is an exact exegesis of this complex issue.

The chapter contains several sections in order to provide textual material with a logical and coherent order.

First of all, Bernabé gathers *testimonia* of the existence of one or several Αἰγυπτίων ἱεροὶ λόγοι (OF 40–44): in addition to the passages of the Orph. A. present in Kern's work, he includes verses 101–102 of that same poem, which are not mentioned by Kern (OF 42), a few lines from chapter 81 of book II of *The Histories* of Herodotus (OF 43),⁶ and an edict on a Ptolemaic

de Landaluce (2005: 129), "llegué a la tierra sin límites y a sus ciudades, y en Egipto y Libia revelé a los hombres los designios divinos").

3 In this place he just indicates, with no explanation, "cf. *supra* s. ΙΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ]". As Bernabé says (2002: 69, n. 7), due to this cross-reference "you get the impression that Kern hesitates to assign Diodorus' quote to one work or another".

4 The work consists of several indexes. In order to find the passages on the matter we are dealing with, it is not enough to consult the I, *Orphic libri et similia*, s. v. 'Ἱεροὶ λόγοι, but it is essential to look into VI, *Notabilia potissimum testimoniorum*, s. v. Αἴγυπτος.

5 Cf. sp. Bernabé (2002: 89, 95–96).

6 In the section accompanying the fragment, Bernabé quotes a passage of Hdt. 2.48.10, where an Αἰγυπτίων ἱερὸς λόγος, regarding a feast to honour Dionysus,

papyrus from the end of the 3rd century BC, about Dionysian rites and a sacred text (OF 44).

In the second section, he brings together three testimonies about rites and sacred Orphic or Bacchic poems that appear to have an Egyptian origin: a passage by Diodorus of Sicily 1.22.7 (OF 46), another one from *De Iside* by Plutarch, 35 (OF 47) and yet a few more lines from the above mentioned chapter 2.81 by Herodotus (OF 45). Bernabé was precisely forced to split a text into several *testimonia* or *fragmenta*, some of them even as short as Herodotus narrative, in order to achieve better expository clarity (which makes his editorial practice different from Kern's, who did not classify the contents offered by the old sources). This earned him Edmonds' (2004) criticism, and according to him "such dismemberment of a unified piece of evidence puts the emphasis on the reconstructed elements... rather than on the text itself and makes it harder to figure out the source's treatment of the material". Even though this might have well been true in some cases, there is no doubt that Bernabé's guidelines favour a proper understanding of the texts preserved. It would be perhaps sufficient to include a reference in the notes section or in the text itself, as he does with a second similar example in this chapter, D.S. 1.96 (= OT 96 K.), whose paragraphs 3 and 4 appear as OF 48 II, whereas 5 as OF 61, in different sections depending on their contents. Therefore, the division is totally appropriate.

As for the third section, it contains testimonies of Egyptian rites and stories introduced by Orpheus in Greece. The fourth section has texts that attribute such task to Melampous, an *alter ego* of the former. The difference then between the passages included in either section appears to lie in the character that 'imported' such rites and narratives. Nonetheless, *sensu stricto*, these pieces of news mention two different issues: some of them refer to the arrival of Greek travellers in Egypt, with theologians among them, such as the cases of Orpheus and Melampous; others do expressly refer to the introduction of Egyptian myths and rites in Hellas by these personages. Because of this, it might have been preferable for these texts to have a different arrangement: a first section should include those texts that only mention they were in Egypt, D.S. 1.69.3–4 (OF 48 V); 1.96.1–2 (OF 55);⁷ and 4.25.3 (OF 48 IV); whereas a second part could start with D.S. 1.96.3 (OF 48 II), where it is said that Egyptian priests proved that the eminent Greeks mentioned in §§ 1–2 did export from their country everything that had excited the Hellenes' admiration, and present sections 2 and 3 of the Bernabé's edition as two sub-sections. Moreover, D.S. 1.23.6–7, a passage that

is mentioned without specifying why it is not included in the *testimonia*; this is perhaps due to the fact that it is not expressly mentioned that they are Orphic texts.

7 There is actually no claim in this passage that Melampous wrote sacred texts based on the Egyptian ones, but only that παραβαλεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους).

Bernabé does not include in this section heading, but as *OF* 327 IV, could well be added here, because it also describes Orpheus' stay in Egypt and the institution of a new rite from Osiris'; likewise, Theodoret. *Affect.* 2.30 (146, 12 Canivet) (= F 247 p. 264 *m. K.*), which appears as F 377 XI and 378 III, despite the fact that it states that Orpheus arrived in Egypt, where he learnt and then proclaimed τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος.

Finally, sections 5 to 7, the most revealing ones, are about the Orphic narratives that resulted from the influence of Egyptian literature: a new version of Dionysus torn apart by the Titans (*OF* 57–59), god Phanes (*OF* 60), and the description of the subterranean world (*OF* 61–63).

In short, you could really disagree with Bernabé on the arrangement of the material presented by him, but in no way on its relevance. The texts offered undoubtedly allow researchers to carry out a proper reconstruction of this intricate issue.

To come to an end, I would like to point out just a few matters of form, which have risen as a result of Olson's (2006) unfortunate criticism about "the low quality of the proof-reading and reference-checking", which makes "a fully revised and corrected second edition" advisable. I believe that the exceptional value of this fabulous work is not discredited just for a few typographic errors. In fact, nobody questions that it has become a work of reference for scholars of Orphism. However, just in case such a second corrected edition ever came out, I would not like to fail to point out some oversights (*OF* 48 gathers several *testimonia* of Kern, listed at the headline; here Bernabé omits that some lines of *OF* 48 I, D. S. 1.92.3, correspond to 293 K., and *OF* 48 IV to T 97 K., although he does mention so in the *numerationum tabulae*; the same applies to *OF* 55 = F 293 K.), there is a small misprint (on line 21 of *OF* 48 IV there should be a space between Ὀρφεὺς and καὶ) and a layout mistake (the headline of the section "*e inferorum descriptione*" is on page 69; however, the fragments that make it up start on page 70, and the third part of *OF* 60, which includes references to comments made by scholars, continues on page 70, which in a way could mislead readers or make this section's headline pass unnoticed).

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11. Dionysos Dismembered and Restored to Life: The Earliest Evidence (*OF* 59 I–II)

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One of the most enigmatic and intriguing of all Greek myths is that of Dionysos Zagreus, the son of Zeus and Persephone, which relates how the infant god was torn to pieces by the Titans and restored to life with the help of Athena or Demeter-Rhea.¹ The antiquity along with the significance of the so-called Zagreus myth continue to be debated. It is widely assumed that the story of Dionysos' death, dismemberment and rebirth originated in Orphic poetry of the archaic period and that Plato, Xenokrates and Kallimakhos were familiar with it. No explicit reference to this myth can be found before the end of the Hellenistic period when it is first mentioned by Philodemos and Diodoros, whose versions derive from an identical source, namely the *Περὶ θεῶν* or *On the Nature of the Gods* by Apollodoros of Athens (ca. 150 BC).² The Zagreus myth was used as a favorite paradigm for the dual nature of mankind by the Neoplatonists, one of whom reports how the first humans arose from the ashes of the Titans after they had been consumed by Zeus' lightning as a punishment for killing the young god and feeding on his flesh.³ In a metaphorical sense, mortals are thus descendants of both the Titans and Dionysos. Due to their dual ancestry they carry the seeds of primordial violence as well as a divine spark in their genes.

Alberto Bernabé has collected all the relevant texts that attest to this myth in its successive versions and ramifications from the earliest allusions in Plato to the Neoplatonic interpretations.⁴ He has also paid due attention to the earliest version of the story of Dionysos' dismemberment as preserved

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- 1 This is the dominant version of the myth, which shows affinities to the dismemberment and recomposition of Osiris (below, n. 20). On the scattered attestations of the various versions of the Zagreus myth see Henrichs (1972: 56–73); Bernabé (1998 and 2008c); Edmonds (1999 and 2008); Johnston in Graf – Johnston (2007: 66–93).
 - 2 On Apollodoros of Athens as a source for *de Pietate* see Henrichs (1975: esp. 34–38); Obbink (1994: 113–114, 116–117, 121–122, and 2008: 1449–1450).
 - 3 Bernabé (2002 and 2008c: 592–594); Edmonds (1999).
 - 4 *OF* 34–39, 57–59 and 301–333; cf. Bernabé (1998 and 2008c).

in the two texts of Philodemus discussed below.⁵ By contrast, Radcliffe Edmonds ignored the testimony of Philodemus' *On Piety* (Περὶ εὐσεβείας) in a seminal article in which he has set new and important standards for any treatment of this myth by arguing that the conglomerate of mythological references known as "the Zagreus myth" is nothing but a modern construct. In fact he claims that "the first fully extant telling of the myth of the *sparagmos* and rebirth of Dionysos" can be found in Diodoros.⁶ In biographical terms, the interval between the two authors – no more than a few decades – is rather negligible, but Philodemus provides an important piece of information that is absent from Diodoros. Like Philodemus, Diodoros identifies the tradition of the dismemberment of Dionysos explicitly as Orphic.⁷ But unlike Diodoros, Philodemus mentions Euphorion of Chalkis (b. 275 BC) as one of poets who treated the dismemberment and rebirth of Dionysos.⁸ It follows that this particular myth must be at least as old as the early Hellenistic period⁹, and in all probability much older.¹⁰

The main text under discussion survives only in the form of a modern facsimile drawn by a draftsman in the early 1800's and designated by the siglum *N*; the original papyrus was destroyed in the process of separating the layers of the carbonized roll.¹¹ The fragment was first published as an edited text in Theodor Gomperz's critical edition of 1866; in subsequent years, it was re-edited by Robert Philippson, Adolf Schober, Dirk Obbink and myself.¹² In what follows I reproduce the text of lines 1–13 largely as it will appear in Obbink's forthcoming edition in the second volume of his

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- 5 *OF* 59 I–II, on which see Bernabé (1998: 36–38; 2008a: 306; 2008c: 591 n. 2; 2008d: 906); Johnston in Graf – Johnston (2007: 75–76); Herrero de Jáuregui (2006: 397–403; 2010: 328, 333, 355–356); Santamaría Álvarez (2008: 1358). However, Bernabé does not discuss the significance of the two texts from *de Pietate* as the earliest extant attestations of Dionysos' dismemberment.
 - 6 Edmonds (1999: 51), with reference to D.S. 3.62.6 = *OF* 59 III. Edmonds finally touched upon the Philodemus fragment in a later article that is available in electronic form on the website of the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington DC (Edmonds 2008: 18, with n. 142). See below, n. 9.
 - 7 D.S. 5.75.4 (*OF* 283 I, 311 XII and 530), cf. 3.62.8 (*OF* 58); Phld. *Piet.* N 247 III 11–13 (*OF* 59 I reproduced below).
 - 8 Euph. fr. 33 Scheidweiler, 36 Powell, *Coll. Alex.* = 53 de Cuenca = 39 van Groningen; cf. Santamaría Álvarez (2008: 1358–1359).
 - 9 Edmonds (2008) acknowledges as much, but minimizes the relevance of *de Pietate* N 247 III 3–13 for the reconstruction of the earliest Hellenistic versions of the Zagreus myth.
 - 10 For arguments in support of the antiquity of the Zagreus myth see e.g. Bernabé (2008c: 602–605); *contra* Edmonds (1999).
 - 11 On the modern history of the text of *Piet.* prior to the publication of Gomperz (1866) see Obbink (1996: 24–31).
 - 12 Gomperz (1866: 16), Philippson (1920: 266), Schober (1923/1988: 81), Henrichs (1975: 35), Obbink (1994: 132).

Philodemus On Piety,¹³ followed by (a) a critical apparatus, (b) a selection of testimonia in the form of references to related texts and of cross-references to the standard editions of the authors adduced by Philodemus in support of the multiple births and deaths of Dionysos, and (c) my own translation. In returning to this fragment from *Piet.* as well as to a related one that is partially identical, I intend to set the chronological record straight and to draw attention to some implications of the two fragments that complement the observations offered by Bernabé on several occasions.¹⁴

Philodemus, *Piet.* N 247 III (HV² II 44) lines 1–13¹⁵

[Διονύσωι δέ φασιν]	28	col. deperdita
[εἶναι τρεῖς γενέ-]		
[σεις, μίαν μὲν τοῦ]-	30	
των ἑτὴν ἐκ' τῆς μ[ητρούς],	1	247 III
ἐτέραν δὲ τ[ῆν ἐκ]		
τοῦ μηροῦ [Διός, τρι]-		
την δὲ τῆ[ν ὅτε δι]-	4	
ασπασθεῖς ὑ[πὸ τῶν]		
Τιτάνων Ῥέα[ς τὰ]		
μέλη συνθε[ίσης]		
ἀνεβίω[ι]. κὰν [τῇ]	8	
Μοῦσῳ[πία] δ' Εὐ[φορί]-		
ων [ὁ]μολογεῖ [τοῦ]-		
τοις. [οἱ] δ' Ὀρ[φικοὶ]		
καὶ παντά[πασιν]	12	
ἐνδιατρε[ῖβουσιν].		

col. deperd. 28–30 suppl. *e.g.* Obbink 30 [μίαν μὲν τοῦ]|των Henrichs; [πρώτην μὲν τοῦ]|των Obbink, fort. longius; [πρώτην τοῦ]των Gomperz 1866: 16 247 III 1–3 Gomperz l.c. 1 τηκε supra lineam scripta 2 τ[ῆν Gomperz l.c. : γ or π[N 3 Luppe 1991: 27–28: [τρι]την Gomperz l.c. 4–7 Gomperz l.c. 4 τῆ[ν ὅτε Wilamowitz 1898: 521 = 1962: 32: τῆ[ν ὅτι/ὡς Gomperz l.c. 5 τ[N 8 κὰν [τῇ] Philippson 1920: 266 9–11 Wilamowitz l.c. 11 [οἱ] δ' Ὀρ[φικοὶ] Henrichs 1975: 35 : [ὁ] δ' Ὀρ[φεὺς] Wilamowitz l.c. 12 Schober 1923/1988: 81 13 ἐνδιατρε[ῖβουσιν] Obbink 1975: 132 : ἐνδιατρε[ῖβουσι] Henrichs l.c. : ἐνδιατρε[ῖβειν] Gomperz l.c.

(b) Testimonia selecta: 1 *e.g.* E. Ba. 2–9, 91–92 2–3 *e.g.* E. Ba. 94–98 4–8 Phld. *Piet.* N 1088 XI (vide infra) = OF 59 II; D. S. 3.62.6 = OF 59 III; Corn. ND 30 = OF 59 IV. 8–11 Euphr. fr. 33 Scheidweiler, 36 Powell, *Coll. Alex.* = 53 de Cuenca = 39 van Groningen 11–13 Orph. fr. 36 Kern, OF 59 I.

13 To be published by Oxford University Press as a sequel to Obbink (1996). I am grateful to Prof. Obbink for allowing me to consult his unpublished edition.

14 Above, n. 5.

15 In the Greek text below the asterisks denote emendations of incorrect letters on the *disegni* that resulted from misinterpretation of the papyrus letters on the part of the modern copyists. The square box in line 8 marks an empty space left intentionally by the ancient scribe.

(c) “[They say that Dionysos had three births: one] of these is that from his m[other], another [that from] the thigh [of Zeus], and the third the one [when] he was torn apart by [the] Titans and came back to life after Rhea reassembled his limbs. (space) And in [his] *Mopsopia* Euphorion agrees with this (account); [the] Orph[ics] too dwell on (it) intensively.”

The text falls into two thematic parts, which are separated by a blank space (line 8). The first part is an enumeration of the three births of Dionysos, with emphasis on the third. This list is a variant of a well-known Hellenistic catalogue of multiple Dionysoses – the count ranges from three to five – with a corresponding number of multiple births. Different versions of this catalogue can be found in authors as diverse in period and interest as Cicero, Diodoros and Lydos.¹⁶ According to Philodemos, the god’s “third birth” occurred when Rhea put him together again after he had been killed and dismembered by the Titans. This is the earliest known attestation of Dionysos’ *sparagmos*, reconstitution, and rebirth; it is ultimately derived from the discussion of Dionysos and his epithets in Apollodoros, *On the Gods*, as are the immediate parallels in Diodoros and Cornutus.¹⁷ In a later section of *Piet.* that deals with divine wounds and deformations, the reference to Dionysos’ dismemberment by the Titans is repeated almost verbatim, with or without mention of the rebirth (*N* 1088 XI 14–21; *HV*² II 9 = *OF* 59 II):

τινὲς δὲ καὶ | τὸν Διόνυσον μετὰ | τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτά|νων διασπασμὸν | συντεθέντων |
αὐτοῦ τῶν μελῶν | καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας | τῶν τραυμάτων | [θεραπευθέντων ἀνα-
βιώναι ?].¹⁸

Some (report) that Dionysos too [came back to life] after his dismemberment by the Titans when his limbs were reassembled and his wounds [healed] by Rhea.

As Dirk Obbink reminds me, given Philodemos’ practice in *de Pietate* of accumulating sources, “it is not unusual for the same mythologoumenon to appear under different headings” (*per litt.*). Given the importance of the information provided by Philodemos, we ought to be grateful to him for rubbing it in. The dismemberment of Dionysos and the reassembling of his limbs correspond to the fate of Osiris as described in Greek sources.¹⁹ The reconstitution of the divine body in particular has been taken as a sign of Egyptianizing influence on the Zagreus myth in the early Ptolemaic period.²⁰ But as

16 Cic. *ND* 3.23.58 (*OF* 497 I); D. S. 3.63.1–6 (*OF* 59 III); Lyd. *Mens.* 4.51 (*OF* 327 I, 497 II). See Henrichs (forthcoming).

17 D. S. 3.62.6 (*OF* 59 III); Corn. *ND* 30 (*OF* 59 IV). On Apollodoros of Athens see above, n. 2.

18 The principal editions are Gomperz (1866: 47), Schober (1923/1988: 83–84) and Henrichs (1975: 35–36), which will soon be superseded by Obbink’s forthcoming edition (above, n. 13). The tentative supplements at the end of this text are owed to Friedrich Bücheler (1865), who was followed by Gomperz.

19 Burkert (2006: 158–163).

20 Henrichs (1972: 58, n. 7, 62–63, 72–73); Bernabé (1998: 36–38), (2008a: 306), (2008c: 591, n. 2), (2008d: 904–909); cf. Graf – Johnston (2007: 67).

Giovanni Casadio has pointed out, the influence may have gone in the other direction.²¹

The second part of *N* 247 III provides the references to Euphorion and ‘the Orphics’ as witnesses for the death and subsequent third birth of Dionysos. As we have already seen, these names provide precious information on the antiquity of the Zagreus myth. ‘Orphics’ is a term used by Hellenistic scholars such as Apollodoros of Athens for the authors of writings that circulated under Orpheus’ name.²² The correct text of lines 11–13 was not restored until 1975.²³ Oblivious to considerations of space and context, previous editors took the ambivalent word ἐνδιατρίβειν erroneously in the sense of ‘dwell in’ rather than ‘dwell on’ and reconstructed a text which assumed that according to ‘Orpheus’ Dionysos “dwelt all the time in Hades.”²⁴ While it is true that Dionysos descended to Hades to fetch his mother Semele, a prolonged sojourn in the underworld was never part of his mythical biography.

In the lines that follow after the reference to the Orphics, the death of, and lament for, Adonis as well as the mourning rituals for Egyptian gods like Osiris are mentioned as further examples of gods who experience death. The fragment that precedes *N* 247 III deals in rapid succession with the violent deaths of the Kyklopes, Asklepios and Kheiron. It is obvious that this particular section of *Piet.* was concerned with divine deaths and that the enumeration of the three births of Dionysos functions as a priamel in disguise in which the first two items – the god’s double birth from Semele and from the thigh of Zeus – prepare the stage for the third, namely his return to life or his ‘rebirth’ after his dismemberment by the Titans. It is his extreme form of death that puts Dionysos into the ranks of ‘dying gods’ as defined by J. G. Frazer.²⁵ Yet the ultimate emphasis in Philodemos’ text is not on Dionysos’ violent death, but on the reconstitution of his limbs by Rhea and thus on his rebirth (ἀνεβίω). After all, Greek gods are by definition immortal but not eternal – they are born but they do not die.²⁶

The shift from birth to death to rebirth and new life reflects a universal Greek preoccupation with the nexus of life and death in both the human

21 Casadio (1996).

22 Henrichs (1975: 36, n. 162); (2010a: 100); Obbink (2008: 1449–1450).

23 Henrichs (1975: 35). My restoration of lines 11–13 has been adopted by Obbink (1994: 132); Bernabé (1998: 36) and *OF* 59 I; Edmonds (2008: 40, n. 142).

24 For instance Gomperz (1866: 16); Schober (1923/1988: 81), and most recently Luppe (1995: 33). The restoration adopted by Wilamowitz (1898: 521 = 1962: 32) is typical: [ὁ] δ’ Ὀρ[φεὺς (sc. φησὶν) ἐν Ἀΐδου] | καὶ πάντα [χρόνον] | ἐνδιατρε[ίβειν]. On the two basic meanings of ἐνδιατρίβειν see *DGE* 7, 1542.

25 Frazer (1911).

26 On the tension between the postulate of divine immortality and the death of Dionysos see Henrichs (2010b: 29–33).

and the divine realm. A comparable if more generic pattern of the triumph of life over death can be found in one of the Orphic bone tablets from Olbia incised with the abbreviated name of Dionysos, the designation ‘Orphics’ (Ὀρφικοί) and the words “life – death – life” (βίος θάνατος βίος), which assert the Greek belief in life after death. As has been pointed out by Alberto Bernabé and others, the revived Dionysos who died and came back to life again was regarded as a divine role model for the Dionysac initiates and their expectations of a happy afterlife.²⁷

The two fragments from *Piet.* are by no means a panacea that remedies the fragmentary and inconsistent state of our documentation for the Zagreus myth. Important components of “the modern fabrication” of the Zagreus myth, to borrow Radcliffe Edmonds’ provocative but apt description,²⁸ are not mentioned in *Piet.*, including the cannibalism of Dionysos by the Titans, their punishment by Zeus and the generation of human beings from their ashes. For these and other details of the mythical tradition that surrounds the Orphic Dionysos we must still turn to later sources that range from Plutarch to Olympiodoros. But the silence of Philodemos does not necessarily imply that the theophagy of the Titans and their incineration as the mythical foundation for an Orphic anthropogony are necessarily “late” aspects of the Orphic Dionysos. They may or may not be; we just don’t know. The argument *e silentio*, which is repeatedly used by Edmonds, is an imprecise tool that doesn’t prove anything.²⁹ The fact remains that the two authorities quoted in *Piet.* – Euphorion and the anonymous authors of Orphika, who are potentially much older – push the timeline for the dismemberment of Dionysos by the Titans and his restoration to a new life by Rhea back into the earliest Hellenistic period and beyond. If we had Euphorion’s *Mopsopia*, Apollodoros’ *On the Gods* or more pre-Hellenistic Orphic texts such as the Orphic poem quoted in the Derveni Papyrus, we might look at the Orphic Dionysos with different and more open eyes.³⁰

27 OF 463; Bernabé (2008b: 438–440); Henrichs (2010a: 100–101).

28 Edmonds (1999: 37; 2008: 1, 33, n. 4).

29 E.g. Edmonds (1999: 50, n. 42) “only in Olympiodorus are all three strands combined” and (2008: 18) “mention of the Titans comes only in later sources”, his disclaimer notwithstanding: “too many texts are missing from antiquity to make a simple argument from silence persuasive” (2008: 1).

30 I am grateful to Robert Cioffi, Paola Corrente, Miguel Herrero, Ana Jiménez, Sarah Nolan, Dirk Obbink, and Yvona Trnka-Amrhein for their help.

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12. The Gods who Die and Come Back to Life: the Orphic Dionysus and his parallels in the Near-East (OF 59 I–III and 327 II)

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In the history of religions, the gods who die and come back to life have received the denomination ‘dying gods’ since Sir James G. Frazer postulated a theory on their myths and rites in his *The Golden Bough*.¹

Since he was particularly interested in the ritualistic scenario of the ancient religions, Frazer focused on the figures of Attis, Osiris and Adonis. The analysis of their mythical and ritual vicissitudes led him to conclude that the divinities that could enter this category were characterized by a mythical history of death and resurrection reenacted in the rituals, and that these gods were in substance a symbol of the seasonal changes that affect the natural world.

The death and resurrection of the gods were the main points of the Frazerian discussion, as well as its criticisms. Indeed, after the author and the book’s initial success both inside and outside the academic worlds, many scholars started to highlight the theory’s mistakes.²

It is possible to summarize almost one century of uninterrupted and systematic attacks on the Frazerian category with the words of J. Z. Smith, who is likely the most eminent among the opposing voices.³ Smith basically argues that gods can die or disappear and reappear, but that they never die and come back from the dead: the “resurrection” is in fact not applicable to the pagan deities, and serious doubts can be expressed on the death as well. Moreover, he argues that the texts used by Frazer to analyze the topic were too late and generally not taken from the original culture of the gods. His conclusion, therefore, is that ‘dying gods’ in the way Frazer described them

1 *The Golden Bough* has three editions: the first in 1890, the second in 1900 and the third between 1907 and 1915. We refer here to the last edition. The ‘dying god’ is treated in the volumes “The dying god”, “Adonis, Attis, Osiris” (in two parts) and “Spirits of the corn and the wild” (in two parts).

2 For the history of the criticism and the *status quaestionis*, see Mettinger (2001: 15–52).

3 Smith (1978: 208–239; 1990: 185–115; 2005: 2535–2540).

(*i. e.*, as gods who die and come back to life) did not exist in any ancient society. Rather, cases of apparent ‘death and resurrection’ are simply the result of a Christian influence in the interpretation of the events narrated in the classical texts.⁴

It is precisely in reference to this affirmation that I would like to present the case of three deities who are not usually considered among the ‘dying gods’: the Greek Dionysus,⁵ the Sumerian Inanna, and the Ugaritic Baal. After discussing each myth, I shall return to Smith’s assertions.

The Greek Dionysus

A significant part of the Orphic texts concerns the myth of Dionysus’ death and coming back to life, which was an extremely important factor in the ideas and – above all – in the rituals built on the doctrines predicated by the mythical bard.

Several accounts provide us with the story of the Orphic myth of Dionysus Zagreus, the son of Zeus and Persephone who would soon inherit the supreme powers of his father. When he was still an infant, Dionysus, sitting on his father’s throne, was given the symbols of his divine powers. While he was playing with them, he was approached by the malicious Titans, who were probably encouraged by Hera to kill the child, once again betrayed by her unfaithful husband, or out of jealousy because the little god was going to be king of all the universe.

They dismembered him, and then boiled, grilled and ate his flesh. The revenge of the Greeks’ supreme god was tremendous, and the consequences of this action remain central to Orphic beliefs: Zeus blew up the Titans with his thunder and reduced them to ashes. From these ashes, he created human beings, who, in this way, were endowed with both a good part (the Dionysiac components), and an evil one (the Titans’ component).

As for what happened to Dionysus after his death, there are many, often discordant, versions of the myth: in some texts Dionysus died and his remains were buried, whereas others recount his return to life.⁶ With regards to the latter, we have at least three authors who are explicit in referring to the coming back to life of the dead god: the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus (5th century AD), the historian Diodorus Siculus, and the philosopher Philodemus (both 1st century BC).

4 Smith (2005: 2535–2540).

5 For Frazer, Dionysus was a ‘dying god’, and he refers to him in this way in the first chapter of the first volume of “Spirits of the corn and the wild”.

6 Bernabé (1998: 29–39).

According to Proclus, Semele enters the story, getting pregnant after drinking a potion made with the heart of Dionysus, the only part of his body that was saved by his sister Athena:

You (Athena), who saved the heart, as yet un-chopped, of lord Bacchus in the vault of heaven, when he was once divided up by the hands of the Titans, and brought it to his father, in order that, through the ineffable wishes of his begetter, a new Dionysus would grow again from Semele around the cosmos.⁷

According to Philodemus and Diodorus Siculus, either Rhea or Demeter were able to put together the little god's severed limbs after the *sparagmos*.

In *De pietate* of Philodemus we read:

[They say that Dionysus had three births: one] of these is that from his m[other], another [that from] the thigh [of Zeus], and the third the one [when] he was torn apart by [the] Titans and came back to life after Rhea reassembled his limbs. (space) and in [his] *Mopsopia* Euphorion agrees with this (account); the Orphic too dwell on (it) intensively.⁸

Around the same time, Diodorus claimed:

And though the writers of myths have handed down the account of a third birth as well, at which, as they say, the Sons of Gaia tore to pieces the god, who was a son of Zeus and Demeter, and boiled him, but his members were brought together again by Demeter and he experienced a new birth as if for the first time, such accounts as this they trace back to certain causes found in nature.⁹

The Greek verbs to express the rebirth of Dionysus are: ἀναβαίνω, 'to go up' (in Proclus), ἀναβίωω, 'to come back to life' (in Philodemus), and ἐξ ἀρχῆς νέον γεννηθῆναι, 'to be born young again' (in Diodorus). Particularly in Philodemus and Diodorus, the expressions used refer to the idea of the god's new birth, and all three texts connect the regeneration of Dionysus to the death of the god at the hands of the Titans. These two elements allow us to claim that Dionysus does die and come back to life, or, in Frazerian terms, 'dies and resurrects'.

The Ugaritic Baal

One of the main deities among the Western Semitic peoples was Baal, the storm god, whose most famous myths, called "the Baal cycle", are narrated in six tablets found at Ras Shamra, the mound in the northern coast of modern Syria, where Ugarit lay in the ancient times.

The myth goes like this: to reach the highest rank among the gods, Baal had to fight against his divine brother, Yam, 'the sea' and Mot, 'the death'.

7 Procl. *H.* 7.11–15 (*OF* 327 II).

8 Phld. *Piet.* (Henrichs, *Cron. Erc.* 5, 1975: 35) (*OF* 59 I–II).

9 D.S. 3.62.6 (*OF* 59 III)

After beating the former, he faced the obscure power of Mot and succumbed to it, dying. In his case, death arrived in the form of a (spontaneous) *descensus ad inferos*, since he literally took the most representative symbols of his strength as a god of the sky, and went to Mot's dwelling under the earth:

As for you, take your clouds, your wind, / your watering devices, your rain, / with you your seven lads, / your eight officers, / with you Pidary, daughter of 'Aru, / with you Tallay, daughter of Rabbu. / Head off / For the mountains of my covert; / lift up (one) mountain on (your) hands, / (one) wooded hill on (your) palms. / Then go down to the place of seclusion (within) / the earth, / you must be counted among those who go down / into the earth, / and the gods will know that you are dead.¹⁰

After searching in vain for the disappeared Baal, the gods could not do anything but recognize his death. Even El, the supreme Semitic deity, gave the plaintive news that:

Ba'lu is dead, what (is to become of) the people, / The son of Dagan (is dead), what (is to become / of) the hordes (of the earth)? / After Ba'lu, I also shall descend to the earth.¹¹

Funerary honors were paid to him, and his devoted warrior-like sister, the violent goddess Anat, prepared her revenge. When Mot refused to give back the god, she dismembered him and scattered his remains. Now that his enemy and cause of death had been defeated, Baal could come to life again and regained his powers.

His revival is announced to El in a dream:

For Mighty Ba'lu is alive, / The Prince, master of the earth, exists (again).¹²

The story is incomplete because the tablets are broken in the key passages. We do know however that Baal was dead after challenging Mot, and that he is again present on earth after a certain amount of time. In fact, he is considered alive by the same gods who previously mourned him.

Although we do not know precisely how he died and how he came back to life, these facts allow us to assert that what happened to Baal are a real death and a real revivification. The Ugaritic text does not leave room for misunderstanding: the words used for the two main events in Baal's mythological adventures are *mt*, 'to die', and *hyy/hwy*, 'to live'. Moreover, the fact that in all Semitic languages these verbs can only mean 'to die' and 'to live' shows that there is no possibility for multiple readings of the text or metaphorical interpretations. The struggle with Mot and its consequences cannot be expressed or translated differently: when Baal goes down to the Netherworld (as this is the metaphor used to express his death), he does not 'disappear' like the seasonal deities, but rather dies and comes back to life, or, in Frazerian terms, he 'dies and resurrects'.

10 CTA 5 (v?–17), translated by Pardee (1997: 241–274).

11 CTA 5 (vi?–25).

12 CTA 6 (iii 1–21).

The Sumerian Inanna

The last ‘dying god’ to be discussed here is the Sumerian Inanna.

The famous and beautiful myth on her death and revival tells us that the powerful Inanna, mistress of sky and love, decided to go to the underworld to obtain another reign – the subterranean world – in addition to her own – the sky –.¹³

Inanna put on all the attributes of her divine power and prepared to leave, but, aware that something terrible might happen down there, she asked her maid Ninshubur to request the help of three major gods if she failed to return: Enlil, lord of wind, Nanna, the moon-god, and Enki, the cunning god.

After this, she went down. The subterranean palace of Ereshkigal was surrounded by seven gates, guarded by seven gatekeepers, who removed one of her garments at every door, causing her to arrive naked in the presence of Ereshkigal. Once there, the haughty Inanna pushed her sister off the throne, sitting there in her place. This behavior irritated the infernal judges and as a punishment, they decreed the goddess’s death.

After she had crouched down and had her clothes removed, they were carried away. Then she made her sister Ereškigal rise from her throne, and instead she sat on her throne. The Anunna, the seven judges, rendered their decision against her. They looked at her – it was the look of death. They spoke to her – it was the speech of anger. They shouted at her – it was the shout of heavy guilt. The afflicted woman was turned into a corpse. And the corpse was hung on a hook.¹⁴

Inanna was dead. On earth, seeing that she had failed to return, her loyal maid mourned her with due lamentation, and, following her orders, went to see Enlil, Nanna and Enki. The first two did not want to help, feeling that Inanna was fully responsible for what had happened. Only Enki agreed to rescue her because he understood the terrible consequences her death could have. From the filth of the gods’ nails, he created two magical creatures, the *gala-tura* and the *kur-gara*, sexless beings to whom he gave the life-giving water and the life-giving plant, and the instructions to make Ereshkigal render Inanna’s corpse, on which they were to sprinkle the water and rub the plant. Inanna then came back to life:

“They were offered a river with its water – they did not accept it. They were offered a field with its grain – they did not accept it. They said to her: “Give us the corpse hanging on the hook”. Holy Ereškigal answered the *gala-tura* and the *kur-gara*: “The corpse is that of your queen”. They said to her: “Whether it is that of our king

13 There are two sources of the myth, one in Sumerian script, “The Inanna’s descent to the Netherworld”, and the other in Akkadian, “Ishtar’s descent to the Netherworld”, Ishtar being the Akkadian form for Inanna. The Akkadian version is shorter and less detailed than the Sumerian, which is a prototype for the other.

14 *The Inanna’s descent to the nether world* 164–172 in Black *et alii* (1998–2006).

or that of our queen, give it to us". They were given the corpse hanging on the hook. One of them sprinkled on it the life-giving plant and the other the life-giving water. And thus Inanna arose."¹⁵

The myth on what Inanna's new life provokes is well known: the goddess had to find a replacement back on earth, since no one can escape the reign of the Netherworld without leaving someone in his place. Among all the people she met during her quest, she decided to hand over her own husband Dumuzi to her demon escorts, because it seemed that he was not saddened by his wife's fate. The rage of the royal Inanna is terrible and the fate of the unfortunate shepherd god too, and he is eventually taken to the Underworld.

But this is another story about another 'dying god'. With regard to our Inanna, the Sumerian text is clear on what happened to her: the judges condemned her to death, and hence the word used to refer to her is *uzu nig₂-sag₃-ga-še₃*, which is usually translated as 'corpse'. Moreover, throughout the text, the idea that Inanna can be killed if she enters the domain of Ereshkigal is frequently expressed: "Don't let your young lady Inanna be killed in the underworld", said Inanna herself when she instructed Ninshbur to request the help of the three gods, and the maid repeated herself when she actually went to see Enlil, Nanna and Enki. As for her coming back to life, the Sumerian verb used is *gub*, 'to arise'.

According to the texts, then, Inanna too suffers death and enjoys a return to life. The events of her mythological existence are not symbolic at all: she 'dies and resurrects' in the true sense of the Frazerian expression.

Conclusion

As we have seen, a Frazerian 'dying god' is a deity who dies and resurrects. This statement was highly contested, together with other elements of the theory. The current position is that there is not even one clear case in the ancient religions of a god who dies and resurrects, a position which demonstrates the role of Christianity in shaping the content of the category.

However, texts from the original culture of the gods seem to suggest that this view may be flawed.

In the case of Dionysus, there is no doubt about what happens to him: he dies, but is then able to come back to life. The most ancient texts are from the first century BC, which is not exactly an old period in antiquity, although it is old enough to be isolated from any Christian influences.

Moving to the Near Eastern deities, the 'Baal cycle' tells of the god's death and resurrection. The date of the Ugaritic texts is to be placed some-

15 *The Inanna's descent* 273–281.

where in the II millennium BC, which means that it was impossible for the authors to use a Christian optic in writing the mythical adventures of Baal.

Inanna's case is interesting since she is involved in the discussion on the 'dying gods' because she was the wife of one of them, Dumuzi. Nevertheless, the Sumerian myth is about her death and return to life, and its composition has to be placed back to the III millennium B. C.

This brief excursion through Greek and Near-Eastern mythology demonstrates that the idea of the death and resurrection of the gods is not as impossible as is usually argued. Moreover, the texts are ancient enough to consider them independently from the most famous case of the death and resurrection of a god, the history of Jesus. Perhaps it is time to discuss this famous and popular topic from a different perspective.

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13. Teilt Kaiser Julian die kritische Sicht auf monströse
orphische Mythologeme mit den Christen?
Beobachtungen zu *Adversus Galilaeos* fr. 4 Masaracchia
(= OF 59 VII = Kyrill von Alexandrien
Contra Iulianum 2.11)

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Die Art und Weise, wie sich Kaiser Julian, der Halbneffe Konstantins des Grossen, in seiner bis heute vielbeachteten antichristlichen Kampfschrift *Κατὰ Γαλιλαίων* über die Mythen der Griechen äussert, deckt sich auf den ersten Blick erstaunlich weitgehend mit der jüdisch-christlichen Einschätzung. Von "Erfindungen" ist die Rede, von "unglaublichen und monströsen Mythen". Als Beispiel wird Kronos genannt, der seine Kinder verschlingt und sie dann wiederum "erbricht". Wir hören weiter von "gesetzwidrigen Hochzeiten", vom Göttervater Zeus, der sich mit seiner eigenen Mutter "vermischt" – und dann dasselbe auch mit der aus dieser Verbindung hervorgegangenen Tochter tut, wobei er letztere danach umstandslos einem anderen als Frau überlassen haben soll.

Sind schon diese inzestuösen Vermählungen Anlass, um auf einen orphischen Hintergrund von Julians Aufzählung zu schliessen, so scheint dieser Zusammenhang durch die abschliessend genannten "Zerstückelungen des Dionysos" und die "Wiederverleimungen seiner Glieder" bestätigt zu werden. Alberto Bernabé hat dem Mythos von den "nacimientos y muertes de Dioniso" eindringliche Studien gewidmet¹. Kein Wunder, dass seinem Späherblick auch dieses Fragment nicht verborgen geblieben ist: Während es in Otto Kerns *Orphicorum fragmenta* noch fehlte, figuriert es in Bernabés monumentaler Neuedition als OF 59 VII. Die folgenden Anmerkungen, welche aus der Arbeit an einer Edition von Kyrills *Contra Iulianum* hervorgegangen sind,² seien dem Freund und συνθιασώτης in Bewunderung und Dankbarkeit für sein unermüdliches Schaffen gewidmet.

1 Bernabé (1998, 2002, 2003 und 2008). Vgl. jetzt auch Johnston in Graf – Johnston (2007: 73 ff.).

2 In Zusammenarbeit mit Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich (Bern), Wolfram Kinzig (Bonn), Stefan Rebenich (Bern), Adolf Martin Ritter (Heidelberg) und Markus Vinzent (London).

Die Textgestalt des Fragments ist im wesentlichen unproblematisch. Sie wird im folgenden gegenüber Bernabés Ausgabe nur geringfügig verändert und um Kyrills Einleitung ergänzt wiedergegeben (Kyr. *Contra Iul.* 2.10f. [568 B–C]):³

Εἰ δὲ δὴ βούλοιτο νοεῖν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην αἰτίαν, ἐφ’ ἣ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀφέντες τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τετιμήκαμεν, τὰ αὐτοῦ λαβόντες φαμέν. Ἔφη γὰρ οὕτως·

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ

(2,11) Οὐκοῦν Ἕλληνες μὲν τοὺς μύθους ἐπλασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν ἀπίστους καὶ τερατώδεις. Καταπιεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν τὸν Κρόνον τοὺς παῖδας,⁴ εἴτ’ αὐθις ἐμέσαι. Καὶ γάμους ἤδη παρانونόμους· μητρὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη, καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγημεν μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ⁵ θυγατέρα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἔγημεν⁶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα,⁷ ἀλλὰ μιχθεὶς ἀπλῶς ἄλλω παραδέδωκεν⁸ αὐτήν· εἴτα οἱ Διονύσου σπαραγμοὶ [C] καὶ μελῶν κολλήσεις.

ΚΥΡΙΑΛΟΣ

Τοιαῦτα⁹ οἱ μῦθοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων φασί. Ἐχεις ἀποχρῶσαν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἀπολογία. Von einem Orphikerfragment im eigentlichen Sinn kann zunächst nicht die Rede sein. Bestenfalls handelt es sich um ein Testimonium, wobei der Name Orpheus in den Worten Julians allerdings gar nicht fällt. Was erlaubt uns dann überhaupt, die Zeilen als orphisch inspiriert zu betrachten? Um nach dem hermeneutischen Schalen-Prinzip vorzugehen, sei in einem ersten Schritt versucht, Julian aus Julian zu erklären: Wie äussert sich der Apostat über Orpheus und die ihm zugeschriebenen Dichtungen? Unzweifelhaft ist, dass er – in Übereinstimmung mit Jamblich, dem Begründer der von Julians philosophischen Lehrern und Freunden vertretenen Richtung des Neuplatonismus – ‘theologische’ Schriften des Orpheus gekannt und grundsätzlich geschätzt hat: Im 10. Kapitel der für seine Haltung gegenüber den Mythen fundamentalen Rede gegen den Kyniker Herakleides erwähnt

3 Bernabé stützt sich weitgehend auf die Ausgabe von Masaracchia (1990), wobei er allerdings in der *Interpunktion* von ihr abweicht und bis zum Syntagma καὶ γάμους ἤδη παρانونόμους lediglich Kommata verwendet (richtig ist, dass dieses Syntagma immer noch vom Hauptverb ἐπλασαν abhängt, doch wird diese Beobachtung durch die Kommata eher verunklart; vgl. ausser der oben vorgeschlagenen, mit Masaracchia übereinstimmenden Interpunktion auch die Lösung von Burguière/Évieux, welche den Satz καταπιεῖν – ἐμέσαι in Klammern setzen). Im *kritischen Apparat* ist die von Masaracchia übernommene Trennung der beiden Einträge 39 ἔγημεν] ἔγημε μὲν M und 40 μᾶλλον – θυγατέρα om. V irreführend: Es handelt sich in Wirklichkeit um einen Zeilensprung von ἔγημεν zu ἔγημεν, d.h. die Codices F und V lassen μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἔγημεν aus.

4 καὶ add. Neumann (obl. Gollwitzer).

5 αὐτοῦ Migne Neumann Burguière/Évieux, sed cf. Kühner – Gerth I, 564 et Masaracchia *ad loc.*

6 μὲν – ἔγημεν κME : om. FV.

7 αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα del. Neumann.

8 παρέδωκεν Klimek Burguière/Évieux (obl. Masaracchia).

9 Τοιαῦτα βκ : Ταῦτα V.

er “den überaus alten und göttlich-inspiriert philosophierenden” (ἐνθέως φιλοσοφήσας) Orpheus als leuchtendes Beispiel für die vielen Philosophen und Theologen, welche sich der Mythographie bedient hätten,¹⁰ und in 12.217b–c macht er sich die von Jamblich vertretene positive Beurteilung der “initiatorischen Mythen, die uns Orpheus, der Stifter der heiligsten Initiationen, überliefert hat”, ausdrücklich zu eigen.¹¹

Über den konkreten Inhalt der orphischen Mythen erfahren wir in Julians umfangreichem Œuvre dagegen insgesamt wenig. Er erwähnt lediglich, dass der “Sohn der Kalliope” bereits vor Platon Unterweltsmythen verfasst habe,¹² und spielt im Hinblick auf die Verwandtschaft aller Menschen untereinander¹³ – wiederum ohne namentliche Erwähnung des Orpheus, jedoch dunkel-ehrfürchtig an die Überlieferung “durch die alten Theurgen” anknüpfend¹⁴ – auf die Entstehung des Menschengeschlechts “aus Tropfen heiligen Bluts” an, welche bei Zeus’ Ausgestaltung des Kosmos “vom Himmel heruntergefallen” sein sollen: eine Anspielung, welche verschiedene Forscher seit langem auf die orphische Anthropogonie aus der Zerreissung des Dionysos bezogen haben.¹⁵

Zur Erklärung der μῦθοι τερατώδεις unseres Fragments müssen wir den Blick über Julian hinaus erweitern. Die engste Parallele liefert der frühchristliche Apologet Athenagoras, der im 20. Kapitel seiner *Legatio* dieselben Mythologeme präziser wiedergibt und sie in den grösseren Zusammenhang der orphischen Kosmo-Theogonie eingliedert.¹⁶ Nach einem Lob auf Orpheus, dessen Erzählung über die Entstehung der Götter von den Griechen als “wahrer” erachtet werde als diejenige Homers, finden wir bei Athenagoras eine Theogonie, die, ausgehend vom Okeanos als dem Prinzip des Wassers, folgende Sequenz bietet: Wasser, → Sumpf, → Drache mit Löwenhaupt und Gesicht eines Gottes (Herakles und Chronos genannt), → übergrosses Ei, zerbricht in zwei Teile, → es entstehen Himmel und Erde sowie ein dritter Gott mit zwei Körpern, → aus Verbindung von Himmel und Erde gehen die drei Parzen hervor sowie die hundertarmigen Götter, welche der Himmel in die Unterwelt verbannt, → die Erde erzeugt, darob erzürnt, die Titanen (so-

10 = OF 1021 II.

11 = OF 550 und 676 I.

12 = OF 710.

13 Aus dieser leitet er die Verpflichtung zu gemeinnützig-karitativem Handeln ab.

14 In *Her.* 14, 219a setzt Julian Dionysos mit “Theurgie und Weihetechnik” (θεουργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς) in Verbindung.

15 *Ep.* 89.292a–b Bidez = OF 320 IX (cf. *ibid.* V = Orph. A. 18 ff. etc.; Bernabé 2002: 409 ff. und 2003: 31 ff. sowie 2008: 595 ff.). Vgl. im übrigen auch OF 279 II (eine m.E. unsichere Anspielung auf Bewachung der neugeborenen Persephone mit ihrer Mutter Demeter durch Kureten/Korybanten) und OF 435 I (Uneingeweihte werden ἐν βορβόρῳ liegen).

16 Cf. auch Herrero de Jáuregui (2007b: 154–156).

weit Kapitel 18 der *Legatio*).¹⁷ Nach einer philosophischen Reflexion über das Gewordensein der Götter in Kap. 19 greift Athenagoras den Faden in Kap. 20 wieder auf, erwähnt nochmals Herakles als gewundenen Drachengott in orphischer Tradition, die Hundertarmigen sowie – und damit kommen wir zu der für Julian wichtigen Parallelstelle¹⁸ – “die Tochter des Zeus, die er aus der Mutter Rhea bzw. Demeter gezeugt hatte. Zwei Augen, sagt man, habe sie von Natur aus und auch auf der Stirn zwei [sc. Augen] und ein Tiergesicht am hinteren Teil des Nackens, auch Hörner habe sie. Deswegen sei selbst Rhea erschrocken und vor dem Monstrum ihrer Tochter (τὸ τῆς παιδὸς τέρας) geflüchtet, ohne ihr die Mutterbrust zu überlassen. Aus diesem Grund werde sie im Rahmen der Mysterien A-thela [sc. die nicht an der Mutterbrust Gestillte] genannt, gemeinhin jedoch Phersephone und Kore, wobei sie von der Athene, welche nach der ‘Kore’ [sc. jungen Frau] benannt werde, verschieden sei”.

Es folgt anschliessend eine Aufzählung der Taten der Götter, die sich mit der Liste der von Julian genannten ‘Monstrositäten’ in den kursiv markierten Punkten berührt:¹⁹ *Kronos* entmannt seinen Vater und wirft ihn aus dem Wagen; er tötet die Kinder, indem er die männlichen *Nachkommen verschlingt*; Zeus fesselt den Vater und verbannt ihn in den Tartaros; er kämpft mit den Titanen um die Herrschaft; die *Mutter* Rhea, welche sich ihm verweigert und sich in eine Schlange verwandelt, *vergewaltigt er*, indem er sie, ebenfalls zur Schlange geworden, im sogenannten Heraklesknoten fesselt; *mit der Tochter* Persephone *verbindet er sich danach ebenfalls gewaltsam* und zeugt mit ihr Dionysos. Gegenüber Julian erfahren wir hier zusätzlich die Namen von Mutter und Tochter und des mit der Tochter gezeugten Sohnes *Dionysos*,²⁰ wodurch auch der Bogen zu den von Julian hinzugefügten “Zerreissungen des Dionysos” genealogisch geschlossen ist (frühestes Zeugnis für diesen auch Zagreus genannten Dionysos ist Kallimachos fr. 43.117 Pfeiffer = OF 34).²¹

Zu diesem zuletzt genannten Mythologem bietet ein anderer Apologet, wiederum unter explizitem Verweis auf Orpheus, aufschlussreiche Ergänzungen: Clemens von Alexandrien paraphrasiert in seinem handbuchartigen, orphisch beeinflussten Abschnitt über die Mysterien²² u. a. auch die “völlig unmenschlichen Weihen des Dionysos”, den die Titanen noch als Knaben ‘*zerrissen*’ (διέσπασαν) und durch Kochen und Braten zum Verzehr zugerichtet hatten. Dem habe Zeus mit seinem Blitz ein Ende bereitet und “die Glieder des Dionysos dem Kind Apollon zum Bestatten übergeben”,

17 = OF 75 II, 76 II (cf. III), 79 II, 80 II (cf. III), 82 I, 83.

18 Ich folge hier der Textgestaltung von Alberto Bernabé in OF 88.

19 = OF 84, 87 I, 89 I (cf. II).

20 Vgl. auch OF 283.

21 Vgl. Bernabé (1998: 30 f. und 2002: 416 f.).

22 Cf. dazu Riedweg (1987: 117 ff.), jetzt auch Herrero de Jáuregui (2007a, sowie 2007b: 135 ff.) und Jourdan (2010: 164 ff.).

was dieser auf dem Parnass getan habe (*Prot.* 2.17.2–18.2).²³ Julians ‘Verleimung’ der Glieder dürfte allerdings weniger auf diese Version²⁴ als auf jene andere Variante zu beziehen sein, in der Rhea/Demeter “*die Glieder wieder zusammenfügt*” (*OF* 59, u. a. III = D. S. 3.62.6 *πάλιν δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τῶν μελῶν συναρμοσθέντων ἐξ ἀρχῆς νέον γεννηθῆναι*). Entsprechend wird das Julianfragment bei Bernabé eingeordnet.²⁵

Es sind fürwahr absonderlich krude Geschichten, welche Julian hier in äusserster Knappheit aufgreift und deren orphische Provenienz durch die genannten Parallelstellen ausreichend gesichert ist.²⁶ Dass sich die engsten Parallelen ausgerechnet bei frühchristlichen Apologeten finden, mag zunächst den eingangs formulierten Eindruck der Übereinstimmung mit der jüdisch-christlichen Position bekräftigen: Könnte es sein, dass Julian, der ja christlich aufgewachsen ist und erzogen wurde, auch später an der skeptischen Beurteilung extremer paganer Mythologeme festhielt, wie dies Kyrills Verwendung des Fragments nahelegt? Oder gibt Julian an dieser Stelle vielleicht gar nicht seine eigene Meinung wieder, sondern lässt sich – in Form einer *prosopopoeia* bzw. im Sinne einer rhetorischen *concessio* – kurz auf den Standpunkt seiner Gegner ein? Da Kyrill die mythenkritisch anmutenden Zeilen aus dem Zusammenhang gerissen hat, lässt sich textimmanent keine eindeutige Antwort auf diese Fragen geben. Eine weitere Stelle bei Kyrill scheint nahezulegen, dass er den Dichtern tatsächlich kritisch gegenüberstand (*Contra Iul.* 4.1 [676 B]): “(...) und er lässt sich kühn gegen seine eigenen Vorfahren aus. Denn die Reden der Dichter akzeptiert er nicht – ‘Mythenmacher’ nennt er sie” (während Julian sich, so Kyrill weiter, mit grösstem Stolz uneingeschränkt Platons Aussagen zu eigen mache). Richtig an dieser Aussage ist allerdings nur die zweite Hälfte: In der Tat schreibt Julian etwa auch der homerischen Erzählung der Aloaden, welche mit dem biblischen Turmbau verglichen wird, etwas ‘Mythenhaftes’ (*μυθῶδες*) zu.²⁷

23 = *OF* 588 I (= *OF* 306 I), 315 I, 312 I, 318 I und 322 I.

24 Cf. auch *OF* 36.

25 Vgl. im übrigen auch *OF* 613; Bernabé (1998: 36 f.). Keine Rolle spielt bei Julian das ebenfalls u. a. von Clemens überlieferte Detail, dass die Göttin Athene das Herz des Dionysos gerettet habe (*Prot.* 2.18.1 = *OF* 315 I; cf. *OF* 314–316, auch *OF* 327 II; Bernabé [1998: 34 ff.]).

26 Zumindest die Verbindung von Zeus mit seiner Mutter geht im übrigen bereits auf den Derveni-Papyrus zurück (col. XXII 12 f. und XXVI 9 ff.). Cf. ausser den genannten Stellen auch Tat. *Orat.* 8.6–8 = *OF* 89 III (Zeus zeugt mit Tochter ein Kind; der Nabel in Delphi ist Dionysos’ Grab); Orig. *Cels.* 1.17 (= *OF* 94). 25 und 4.48 (Verbindung des Zeus mit Tochter); Clem. Al. *Prot.* 2.15–16 = *OF* 589 I (Vergewaltigung von Mutter und Tochter; “stierförmiges Kind” aus zweiter Beziehung); Thdt. *Affect.* 3.97 (Verbindung mit Mutter und Tochter) usw.

27 Fr. 23.22 f. Masaracchia. Zur Rechtfertigung der biblischen Parallelerzählung versucht Kyrill auch die homerische Geschichte unter Rückgriff auf die rhetorische Figur der Hyperbel zu plausibilisieren (*Contra Iul.* 4.32 [712 A]).

Doch das braucht auf dem Hintergrund der oben angeführten positiven Äusserungen gerade über Orpheus' Mythen noch keine grundsätzliche Ablehnung zu bedeuten. Wie mit "mythenhaften" Erzählungen der weisen "Alten" umzugehen ist, lässt insbesondere eine Stelle aus der Rede auf die Göttermutter erkennen, wo Julian sich dagegen verwahrt, den – ebenfalls viel Anstössiges enthaltenden – Attismythos als historisches Geschehen zu betrachten: Vielmehr hätten die Alten, in ihrem gottgeleiteten Forschen die von ihnen entdeckten "Ursachen (αἰτίαι) der seienden Dinge (...) mit paradoxen Mythen verhüllt, damit durch das Paradox und die Absurdität ihr fiktiver Charakter (τὸ πλάσμα) erfasst werde und sie uns zur Suche der Wahrheit anspornten" (*In matr. deor.* 10.170a). Eine ähnliche 'Gebrauchsanweisung' gibt Julian in der Rede gegen Herakleios spezifisch für die "initiatorischen Mythen" des Orpheus, wobei wie in *Contra Galilaeos* fr. 4 der Ausdruck 'monströs' fällt: "Je paradoxer und monströser (τερατώδες) nämlich das Rätsel ist, desto mehr scheint es dafür Zeugnis abzulegen, nicht dem unmittelbar Gesagten Glauben zu schenken, sondern intensiv nach dem Verborgenen zu forschen und nicht eher davon abzulassen, als dass [sc. das Verborgene] unter der Führung der Götter sichtbar geworden ist und den Geist in uns 'einweiht' (τελέση), bzw. vielmehr: zur Vollendung führt (τελειώσει)" (*Her.* 12.217c–d).

Kurz, die Übereinstimmung von *Contra Galilaeos* fr. 4 mit der jüdisch-christlichen Kritik beschränkt sich auf die Textoberfläche und die Einsicht, dass es sich bei diesen Texten um 'mythische Erfindungen' handelt. Davon abgesehen hat Julian allerdings seinen 'Vorfahren' Orpheus und Homer – anders als dem Verfasser des Pentateuch – offenkundig zugestanden, sich der Mythen instrumentell zur geschützten Weitergabe philosophischen Wissens bedient zu haben.²⁸

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²⁸ Vgl. dazu auch Riedweg (2005: 373 f.).

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14. The Cosmic Egg (OF 64, 79, 114)¹

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Orphic and Vedic traditions show sometimes striking similarities,² the interpretation of which is not straightforward – it is still an open question whether they are due to parallel development or cultural contact through Iran and the Near Eastern cultures. Certainly, the degree of resemblance that we find in certain elements, such as the image of the soul as a chariot occurring in Plato (*Phdr.* 246a–247b) and the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (3.3–9) and other Indian texts³ or the journey to the Yonder World,⁴ is remarkable and calls for an explanation.

In this paper my focus will be on one specific aspect of the Orphic and Vedic cosmogonies: the golden embryo and the cosmic egg. Indeed, the idea that in the beginning there existed a cosmic egg out of which the present world would later originate is not exclusive to Greece and India, but it is shared by other peoples.⁵ However, it has been proposed that there is a connection between certain Orphic ideas on cosmogony and those found in India, Iran, and Egypt.⁶ It will thus be worthwhile to analyse the similarities and the differences between the Orphic and the Vedic tradition in this regard.

Before going into further details, it should be recalled that there is not just one Orphic cosmogony, but various versions, among which relevant differences can be found.⁷ Concerning the cosmic egg, this is not referred to in the Derveni Papyrus nor in the Eudemian cosmogony.⁸ However, the image very probably appeared in Orphic poems from an early date since the

1 I am very grateful to Julia Mendoza, Madayo Kahle, Ana Isabel Jiménez, Marco Antonio Santamaría, and Miguel Herrero for their comments and suggestions on drafts of this paper.

2 For a general overview on this matter see Luján (2008: 984–989) with further references.

3 Luján (2008: 998), Kahle (2010).

4 Mendoza (2008).

5 See, e.g., Valk (2000).

6 West (1971: 28–50; 1983: 101–111; 1994). See Bernabé's (2003: 92–97) remarks.

7 See Bernabé (2008a) with his references to previous literature on this matter.

8 Bernabé (2008a: 293–304).

egg is mentioned in Aristophanes' parody in *Birds* 693–702. The cosmic egg appears then in later Orphic cosmogonies, such as Hieronymus and Helanikus' and the one found in the *Rhapsodies*.

As for Vedic cosmogonies, their study is problematic, too. Various cosmogonic hymns are found in the 10th book of the *Rgveda* (*RV*) – a book which is the most recent addition to this *saṃhitā* –, but when we go into the details, it appears that there are different traditions and they all do not match.⁹ Further speculations about the origin of the universe are found in India in later times and, even if the *saṃhitās* continued to be revered as sacred texts, the old cosmogonies were reinterpreted to the light of the new religious ideas. It is thus important to pay attention to internal chronology both inside Orphic and Vedic traditions when making comparisons between them.

As already stated, the oldest mention of the cosmic egg in an Orphic context is found in Aristophanes (*Au.* 693–697).¹⁰

There was Chaos and Night and black Erebus first, and Tartarus' broadness,
but no earth was, nor air nor sky. Then in Erebus' limitless bosom
as her first brood the black-winged deity Night gave birth to a wind-egg,
from which as the turning seasons revolved grew Eros the lovely,
with gold-gleaming wings on his back, the image of wind-spin swiftness.

The exact extent to which Aristophanes is a reliable source for the study of the Orphic cosmogony has been much debated.¹¹ According to Bernabé (2008b: 1219), this passage should rather be considered a parody of a mixture of different cosmogonies: Hesiodic, Orphic and other. For our purpose here, the relevant information found in this text is that the cosmic egg was engendered by Erebus and Eros was born from it. This Eros is described as having a shining back due to its golden wings.

The sequence Erebus – Egg – Eros has a close parallel in *RV* 10.129.3a–4b:¹²

Darkness was concealed by darkness in the beginning,
All this (world) was an indistinguishable flood.
What was void shut by emptiness,
The One was born by the power of the heat (*tapas*).

9 For a general overview of the Vedic cosmogonies see Macdonell (1898: 11–15) and Oberlies (1998: 363–390) with the translations and interpretations mentioned in his footnote 125.

10 The translation has been taken from West (1983: 111). For an analysis of this cosmogony see Bernabé (1995). Anemoyannis-Sinanidis (1991) has analysed the symbolism of the egg in Orphic cosmogonies.

11 See Bernabé (2008b: 1219–1222).

12 Unless otherwise stated, the translations of all the passages of the Vedic texts that I provide in this paper are my own; they are based on the TITUS electronic editions available on-line (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexs.htm>).

Desire (*kāma*) developed further in the beginning,
Which was the first seed of conscience.

Here, the One is said to have been born from Darkness and then Desire came into being from the One. It is remarkable that the egg is described in Aristophanes' text as ὑπηνέμιον 'full of wind, empty' and the adjective *ābhu* 'empty, void' is employed in the Vedic text, too. However, there are also important differences. The Vedic hymn points to an aquatic context (*salila* 'flood, wave') and the One was not engendered only by Darkness, but there was an energy or heat (*tapas*) that unleashed the process. Finally, no reference is made to an embryo or egg, but to the One. Still, the comparison to other Vedic hymns might allow for the identification of this One with the cosmic embryo, given that it was the first element to come into being in the waters. This is explicitly defined as a golden embryo (*hiranyagarbha*) in another cosmogonic hymn of the RV. The most relevant information for our purposes is as follows (RV 10.121.1 and 7):¹³

The golden embryo developed in the beginning.
When born, he was the sole lord of what exists.
He fixed the earth and this sky.
Which god should we worship with the oblation?
[...]
When the lofty waters came setting
The universal embryo, engendering the Fire (*Agni*),
It developed as the gods' only breath.
Which god should we worship with the oblation?

In the final stanza of this hymn, the golden embryo is identified with Prajāpati, the 'Lord of Creatures', who in the later *saṃhitās* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* is usually conceived of as the chief of the gods and the father god who produced everything.¹⁴ He would be later identified even with Brahṃā as the god creator.¹⁵

A version of this same hymn, with noteworthy variants, is found also in the *Atharvaveda* (AV),¹⁶ the final stanza of which is as follows (AV 4.2.8):

The waters, generating offspring,
Set in motion an embryo in the beginning,
Whose membrane, once it was born, was of gold.
Which god should we worship with the oblation?

13 The embryo placed in the waters is also mentioned in RV 10.82.5–6.

14 Keith (1925: 207–209).

15 The inherent contradiction that the creator originated from the cosmic egg posed a problem for later thinkers. This was solved by assuming that Brahṃā, due to his desire of creation, produced even the original elements. This version of the myth is found, e.g., in the *Law Code of Manu* 1.1.5 ff. For the puranic appropriation of this myth see Biarreau (1981: 22–24).

16 Further versions of this hymn are found in other *saṃhitās* and later texts; see Whitney (1905: 145).

In the *Atharvaveda* the embryo is thus not static, but set in motion, in the same way as in the *Rhapsodies* (OF 117–120) the cosmic egg is described as moving quickly in circles.

Waters are absent in Aristophanes' parody, but, interestingly enough, they appear in one of the Orphic cosmogonies that mentions the cosmic egg, specifically in Hieronymus and Hellanicus' one.¹⁷ According to Damascius (OF 75), for Orphics water was the origin of everything. However, in this version of the Orphic cosmogony the egg did not originate directly from the waters, but the sequence was: Water – Time – Aether/Chaos/Erebos – Egg – Phanes.¹⁸ The cosmic egg was thus placed by Time in the waters after these had been separated into three spheres: Aether – Chaos – Erebus (OF 79). In the *Rhapsodies* Time engenders Aether and Abyss and then places the egg. The egg is described as 'shining like silver' and it moves quickly in circles and generates a hermaphrodite being (Phanes or Protogonos) that comes out of it breaking the shell from inside.

Bernabé (2008b: 1220) has pointed out that, in contrast to the Aristophanic version, where the verb *τίκτει* 'give birth to' is employed, in these versions we find the word *ἔτευξε* 'fashioned' (OF 114). This would involve that in the first version there was a "naturalistic" conception of the creation of the world, while in the latter the cosmogony would rather be conceived metaphorically as an act of "artificial" production.¹⁹

Time (*Χρόνος*), also referred to as Heracles, does not seem to be present in the oldest versions of the Orphic cosmogony,²⁰ but it plays an important role in Hieronymus and Hellanicus' theogony (and in the *Rhapsodies*),²¹ in which it was thought to have been born from Water and Earth and is described (OF 76) as a winged dragon with various heads (bull, lion, god). Unfortunately, we lack a description of Time in the extant fragments of the *Rhapsodies*.

Quite interestingly, there seems to be an evolution in India along the same lines, too: in the *RV* Time plays no cosmogonic role, but in the later *AV* Time (*Kāla*) is praised in two hymns (19.53 and 54) as the creator.²² The following stanzas (*AV* 19.53.5–6 and 10) are representative of this.

17 See Bernabé (2003: 87–106; 2008: 308–310).

18 Bernabé (2008a: 296, 308–310).

19 These different conceptions of the creation of the world can be distinguished in the Vedic cosmogonies, too, as Oberlies (1998: 371–383) has shown ("Technomorphe" vs. "Biomorphe Interpretationsmodelle" in his terminology).

20 Bernabé (2008a: 295–296).

21 Time already appeared in Pherecydes' cosmogony (West 1971: 28–36; Martínez Nieto 2000: 92–98) and this may have been the source for some of the Orphic cosmogonies.

22 West (1983: 103–104) had already pointed out this parallelism. In fact, he had argued that the Greek and Indian myths, together with similar accounts from other cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean area, derive from a common Near Eastern Source dating

Time engendered the sky there,
 Time also (engendered) this earth.
 In Time things past and future,
 Set in motion, take their place.

Time produced the existence,
 In Time the Sun heats.
 In Time all that exists,
 In Time the eye sees.

[...]

Time produced the creatures,
 Time (produced) Prajāpati in the beginning.
 The existing by himself (*svayambhū*), Kasyapa, from Time (was born),
 From Time the Heat (*tapas*) was born.

Phanes (or Protogonos), born from the egg, is described in Hieronymus and Hellanicus' theogony as a kind of monster. As with the mentioned descriptions of Time in the Orphic cosmogonies, this imagery seems to be an attempt to present them as a combination of the various beings that would later originate from them. Such descriptions recall a well-known Rigvedic hymn, the *Puruṣasūkta* (RV 10.90). The *puruṣa* 'man' is a cosmic giant that grows until he occupies the whole universe and has then to be sacrificed in order to produce the various elements that integrate the world. In the first stanza of the hymn he is described as follows:

The man (*puruṣa*) with a thousand heads,
 With a thousand eyes, a thousand feet,
 Covering the earth by every part,
 Exceeded it by ten fingers.

The idea that there is a being that expands until the limits of the universe appears in Hieronymus and Hellanicus' cosmogony, too. In that case, it is Ἀνάγκη that plays such a role while matching Time (OF 77).

The *puruṣa* is not explicitly linked to the golden embryo in the Vedic hymns, but, if an attempt is made to reconcile the various versions of the cosmogony found in the Vedic hymns, the *puruṣa* would be expected to emerge from the embryo.²³

In the Vedic hymns quoted so far, the word 'egg' does not appear. However, in the later commentaries, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the word *āṇḍa* 'egg' starts being used in descriptions of the origin of the universe. In the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (ŚB) 11.1.6.1–7 we thus find the following account:²⁴

to about the 6th century BC (West 1971: 28 ff.; 1994). Even if determining the absolute chronology of the Vedic texts is very problematic, the date proposed by West seems to be too late for the *Atharvaveda*. Further reflections on the figure of the "unaging Time" and its Near Eastern parallels can be found in López-Ruiz (2010: 158–170).

23 In later texts, this identification is rendered explicit. For instance, in ŚB 11.1.6 *puruṣa* is identified with Prajāpati.

24 Translation by Eggeling (1900: 12–13).

Verily, in the beginning this (universe) was water, nothing but a sea of water. The waters desired, 'How can we be reproduced?' They toiled and performed fervid devotions, when they were becoming heated, a golden egg was produced. The year, indeed, was not then in existence: this golden egg floated about for as long as the space of a year. In a year's time a man, this Prajāpati, was produced therefrom [...] He broke open the golden egg. There was then, indeed, no resting-place: only this golden egg, bearing him, floated about for as long as the space of a year. [...] Desirous of offspring, he went on singing praises and toiling. He laid the power of reproduction into his own self. By (the breath of) his mouth he created the gods [...].

Similarly, in the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* (*ChUp.*) 3.19.1–2:

In the beginning this (world) was non-being. Then it was being, then it sprang up, then an egg developed, then it lay for the duration of a year, then it broke. The two halves of the egg were silver and gold: the silver one, this was the earth; the golden one, the sky [...].

The idea is basically the same that we found in the Rigvedic hymns; however, the terminology has changed: 'egg' (*āṇḍa*) has been substituted for 'embryo' (*garbha*). This might be mere chance, but it is remarkable that this happens in the Indian texts closer in time to the Greek one (Aristophanes' *Birds*) in which the egg-cosmogony appears for the first time.²⁵ Furthermore, the description found in the *ChUp.* of how the two halves of the egg were used to create the earth and the sky correspond neatly to the account about Phanes in Hieronymus and Hellanicus' cosmogony (*OF* 82).

Summing up, interesting similarities are found when we analyse the motif of the cosmic egg in Orphic and Vedic cosmogonies. But, more importantly, there seems to be a convergence along time: in the older Rigvedic cosmogonies Time plays no role and we find references to an embryo (not to an egg). Later on, in the *Atharvaveda*, Time (*Kāla*) appears and, finally, in the *Brāhmaṇas* the egg is substituted for the embryo. The more recent Vedic versions of the cosmogony are thus more similar to some of the Orphic traditions (Hieronymus and Hellanicus and the *Rhapsodies*) than the older ones. This evolution suggests that such similarities are due to cultural contacts, probably through the intermediary of some of the peoples of the Near East.

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25 As we stated above, the absolute chronology of the Vedic texts is very problematic. The *ChUp.* seems to be pre-Buddhistic and is usually dated to the 7th–6th century BC (Olivelle 1998: 12) and the *ŚB* belongs to the same linguistic level and must be slightly older according to Witzel (1989: 126).

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15. OF 111: Χρόνος ἀγήραος

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La aparición en la doctrina órfica de especulaciones filosóficas descubre el carácter ecléctico de las teogonías, deudoras en buena medida de los primeros pensadores racionales.¹ Un ejemplo de ello lo constituye *Chronos* y su significado mítico-filosófico. *Chronos* se identifica con el orden temporal de los dioses y representa el concepto de una ley cósmica que se cumple por sí misma dentro de su propio devenir. Es a un tiempo divinidad mítica, descrita de forma suntuosa por los autores órficos mito-poéticos; y concepto filosófico abstracto, que abarca la evolución cíclica de los seres, su vida y su muerte.

El papel desempeñado por el tiempo en los inicios cosmogónicos muestra el incipiente carácter científico de la cosmología griega. En un estado primigenio, esto es, antes de la aparición del tiempo, habría existido indiferenciación, vacío ... y un mundo indiferenciado es atemporal.

En las cosmogonías griegas el tiempo aparece unido a los ciclos astrales, pues los griegos no logran abstraer una concepción de tiempo, sino que lo conciben como algo concreto unido a los condicionamientos adheridos a él. Onians² nos ofrece un claro ejemplo de ello al contraponer nuestro pensamiento moderno, en que ha prevalecido el concepto del tiempo como medio homogéneo análogo al espacio vacío, al pensamiento griego antiguo en que el tiempo no era homogéneo, tenía cualidad, se distinguía netamente del mundo de más acá del horizonte. Era todos los cambios del día, de la mañana a la noche; todos los cambios del año, desde el comienzo de la primavera, a través del verano y el otoño, hasta el invierno. Y el día y el año cambian en un orden inteligible, pero con incesante variación de detalles. Es decir, en el mundo griego el tiempo es inseparable de lo que ocurre en él. El día tiene una cualidad determinada y algo que dar, y el hombre sabio actúa en consecuencia para recibir lo mejor de él. Los diferentes días otorgan diferentes dones a diversos tipos de personas, animales o plantas.

1 En opinión de Zeller, en los poemas órficos, y ya en Hesíodo, se descubre que la especulación teológica había precedido a los primeros filósofos. Pero también cabe pensar que el desarrollo de la doctrina órfica y las corrientes físico-filosóficas fueron contemporáneas. Cf. Zeller – Mondolfo (1943: I, 235).

2 Onians (1988: 411–415)

El resultado bueno o malo de las actividades humanas es, por tanto, atribuido al día en que suceden. Hesíodo, por ejemplo, habla del tiempo como si estuviera vivo, como de un espíritu personal, un “daimon” que se rige por sus propias leyes:³

Estos son los días del providente Zeus: el primero, el cuarto y el séptimo son días sagrados, pues en él parió Leto a Apolo de áurea espada. El octavo y el noveno son días excelentes para dedicarse a ocupaciones humanas.

Y un poco más adelante:⁴

Al comenzar el mes, evita el día trece para iniciar la siembra, pero es el día para plantar. El sexto del medio es muy funesto para las plantas pero es bueno para engendrar hombres, y no es apropiado para una mujer para nacer ni para tomar parte en el matrimonio.

Cada día contiene un tiempo propicio para una determinada actividad o acontecimiento. El día es el tiempo-receptáculo dispuesto a ser llenado de acontecimientos, que son a su vez el tiempo que transcurre en días de siembra, días de cosecha, días apropiados para el nacimiento de los hombres justos, etc.

En Homero el tiempo que llena el ἡμαρ no es simplemente el día del mes, es algo no compartido con los demás. El ἡμαρ o día es un principio agente: se acerca a los héroes, se coloca junto a ellos o los lleva de un lugar a otro. El tiempo es el destino experimentado por el individuo y difiere entre las distintas personas, por muy cercanas que estén espacialmente. Por ejemplo, el tiempo del vencedor y el del vencido es distinto. Homero identifica el tiempo con el destino particular.

Los filósofos griegos también concebían el tiempo como algo enteramente concreto y palpable, que formaba parte de su cosmología. En efecto, aunque nosotros traducimos χρόνος por ‘tiempo’, no ha de extrañarnos que dos palabras que pertenecen a distintas lenguas y a distintas civilizaciones no coincidan exactamente.⁵ Dos citas de Platón nos ilustran al respecto:⁶

Al ordenar los cielos, el Creador hizo una imagen de la eternidad que mora en la unidad. Esta imagen es lo que llamamos tiempo, y no existían ni los días, ni las noches, ni los meses, ni los años antes del nacimiento del cielo, sino que fue al crearlos cuando logró que ellos llegaran al ser.

Y en la misma obra:⁷

Así, por la intención divina de crear el tiempo, a fin de que el tiempo pudiera comenzar, fueron creados el sol, la luna y las otras cinco estrellas llamadas errantes para señalar y medir el número del tiempo.

3 Hes. *Op.* 769–774.

4 Hes. *Op.* 780–784.

5 Guthrie (1984: I, 319–322)

6 Pl. *Ti.* 37d–e.

7 Pl. *Ti.* 38c.

Es decir, que el tiempo no existía antes de la creación del mundo, sino que comenzó a existir con éste. El tiempo podría entonces ser entendido como una especie de reloj, un criterio que mide el paso de los acontecimientos. Antes de que este reloj se pusiera en marcha no había tiempo porque no estaba siendo medido.⁸ Los griegos, en conclusión, no eran capaces de imaginar el tiempo sin el movimiento ordenado y repetido del sol, la luna y las estrellas. El tiempo, una vez puesto en marcha, es eje central de la cosmogonía, puesto que regula y engloba todos los acontecimientos que se suceden en el universo y el universo mismo.

Cuenta Plutarco⁹ acerca de Pitágoras que, preguntado el filósofo qué era *Chronos*, respondió que el alma del universo. Y también a Pitágoras se atribuye la frase: “El Tiempo es la esfera de lo circundante”,¹⁰ que, según Aristóteles,¹¹ alude al hecho de que, como en la esfera celeste, también en el tiempo está todo contenido. Y en la teogonía órfica el mundo procede de un inmenso huevo al que, en círculo perfecto, rodea una serpiente, quien lo engendró.¹² El nombre de la serpiente es Tiempo.

La descripción del Tiempo, como ser monstruoso y polimorfo, coincide con la apariencia y los atributos que posee Fanes en las *Rapsodias*. En ellas, el Tiempo aparece tras la Noche primordial, mientras en la teogonía de Jerónimo y Helanico y la versión órfica de Atenágoras, Tiempo aparece tras el agua primordial. De hecho la separación de este agua primordial parece producida por el acto cosmogónico que lleva a cabo el Tiempo.

Según la teogonía de Jerónimo y Helanico: “Del agua y la tierra nació una figura monstruosa con cabeza de toro y de león, y el rostro de un dios en medio. El nombre de esta figura era Tiempo y Heracles”. A pesar de ser anunciado como tercer principio, no parece que este ser monstruoso haya nacido de los dos principios anteriores, más bien es un principio que se genera en los otros dos, agua y tierra, que no forman una pareja, sino un medio que propicia su aparición.¹³

En cuanto a la descripción de Tiempo como una criatura poliforme, cabe plantearse el problema de si es una influencia oriental persa, por la semejanza del “Tiempo sin edad” de los órficos con la hipóstasis irania “Tiempo sin fin” sobre los griegos jonios del s. VI a. C., la que da lugar a esta imagen monstruosa del Tiempo; o si los propios griegos podían concebir de tal manera a sus dioses.¹⁴ Lo cierto es que en las teogonías órficas aparecen

8 Guthrie (1984: I, 268).

9 Plu. *Plat. Quaest.* 8, 4 (1007B).

10 Aëtius 1.21.1 (58 B 33 DK).

11 Arist. *Ph.* 223b.

12 Diels (1965, ¹1879: 589).

13 Rudhardt (1979, ¹1971: 15).

14 Los estudiosos discrepan entre sí defendiendo, por un lado, lazos entre el orfismo y la religión persa que explicarían una concepción de la vida mediante las mismas

dos representaciones del Tiempo: la que nos lo muestra como una criatura monstruosa, que puede venir de Oriente; y la que representa a Tiempo como un concepto abstracto,¹⁵ atribuyéndole epítetos como ‘grande’, ‘sin edad’, ‘que por el tiempo todo se cumple’; propia del pensamiento racional griego y que cabe, como afirma Guthrie,¹⁶ en una mentalidad más filosófica.

Si las teogonías órficas se escribieron en un clima de pensamiento, cuyo desarrollo no era ajeno a las corrientes filosóficas contemporáneas, sería absurdo imaginar que un pensador inmerso en la doctrina órfica desconociera los sistemas filosóficos de su época.

Kirk considera la teogonía de Jerónimo y Helánico, a partir de “su fantástica representación concreta de un Crono abstracto”, como una elaboración de las *Rapsodias*, cuya datación no podría ser anterior a la época helenística, argumentando que la aparición de esta figura monstruosa es un signo de refección tardía.¹⁷

Pero aún quedan otras cuestiones pendientes: ¿por qué el Tiempo es identificado con Heracles?, ¿por qué aparece en forma de serpiente? Si bien las respuestas están sembradas de tradiciones míticas, implicaciones literarias y motivos alegóricos en cuanto a su interpretación, intentaremos exponer el estado actual en que estas cuestiones se encuentran e invitamos a profundizar en su estudio partiendo de los paralelos con otras tradiciones míticas.

Respecto a la primera pregunta, Heracles es considerado como un dios solar, cuyo origen podría remontarse a mitologías orientales.¹⁸ Por su parte, *Chronos* nunca se ha identificado con el sol, que, a lo largo de un año, completa su curso a través de los signos del zodiaco. Parece que los estoicos, considerando como unidad de medida de tiempo, no sólo el recorrido de la luna y el sol, sino también el de otros planetas, elaboraron la doctrina del “Gran Año”,¹⁹ a cuyo fin, el universo era destruido por el fuego. West y Brisson²⁰ apuntan que los estoicos identificaban a Dios con la Naturaleza y el Destino. Este dios, puede ser llamado también, según ellos, Heracles, porque su fuerza es invencible y sagrada. Por su parte, el héroe Heracles, al final de sus trabajos, retorna asimismo al fuego primitivo, ya que sufre una *ekpýrosis* al ponerse la túnica que le entrega Deyanira.

expresiones; y por otro, que estos elementos orientales no pueden explicarse como préstamos, pues los más significativos eran ya conocidos por los filósofos presocráticos. Cf. Bernabé (1997).

15 Se puede considerar una representación *ex silentio*, que no contradice a la anterior.

16 Guthrie (1984: 92–93).

17 Kirk – Raven – Schofield (1987: 50).

18 Levy (1934: 44).

19 Una referencia a este “Gran Año” la encontramos en *OF* 189, en que ἐνιαυτός puede traducirse por “Año cumplido”, pensando en la culminación de ese ciclo anual, que acarrea el cumplimiento y fin de todo en él, para dar comienzo a un nuevo ciclo de formaciones y disoluciones del cosmos. Cf. Martínez (2000: 134–135).

20 West (1983: 88); Brisson (1990: 36.4, 2913).

Esta exégesis alegórica permite establecer una relación entre la destrucción del Universo por el fuego, el fin del “Gran Año” y el final de Heracles, tras cumplir sus trabajos. En tal contexto se comprendería que *Chronos* pueda ser llamado Heracles.²¹ Sin embargo, esta hipótesis presenta en primer lugar el problema de llegar a presuponer que las *Rapsodias* son estoicas; y en segundo lugar un problema que ya apuntábamos antes: Heracles quizá sea un héroe solar, pero hay que dejar claro que una cosa es el Sol y otra el Tiempo. Heracles se afirma como factor común entre ambos, una vez que el Sol y el Tiempo se relacionan por el hecho de que el primero sirve para medir el segundo. Así que no queda resuelto el por qué de este doble nombre para la serpiente.

En cuanto a la segunda cuestión, puede que la explicación de esta forma de serpiente para el Tiempo “desconocedor de la vejez” se halle en el viejo símbolo de la eternidad que conlleva el cambio de piel de la serpiente y la renovación de su juventud.²² Brisson²³ señala la posibilidad de que su forma serpentina y alada se deba a una conexión simultánea de este animal con el mundo subterráneo, como reptil, y con el mundo celeste, como ser que va por el cielo, lo cual expresaría una unión entre el mundo de arriba y el de abajo. Pero todas estas hipótesis no dejan de ser interpretaciones modernas de un mito, que no pueden ser confirmadas por las fuentes.

En conclusión, lo que sí podemos afirmar con cierta seguridad es que la figura de *Chronos* aparece asociada por una parte al cielo, como elemento vital del universo; y por otra a la tierra, como divinidad ctónica y símbolo de la vida terrestre en forma de serpiente.

En las *Rapsodias* lo primero que aparece es Tiempo “desconocedor de la vejez” (sin contar la Noche primordial, a la que se alude en otros fragmentos de las *Rapsodias*), igual que en la teogonía de Jerónimo. Tiempo aparece en ambos relatos, pero la diferencia entre ellos estriba en que las *Rapsodias* sustituyen “agua y fango”, que preceden a Crono en la teogonía de Jerónimo, por Noche. Tiempo, concebido en ambas teogonías como anterior a todos los demás principios, es, por supuesto, de carácter eterno y divino. El significado que posee Crono en las *Rapsodias* se halla explícitamente aclarado, de modo que no conviene confundir el sentido de Χρόνος y Κρόνος tan semejantes en su forma.²⁴ En la cosmogonía de Ferecides de Siro ya se advierte un juego etimológico – a cargo del autor – entre Χρόνος / Κρόνος para aclarar su conexión,²⁵ lo cual no significa, en opinión de Kirk,²⁶ que

21 Cf. Brisson (1990: 36.4, 2913–2914).

22 West (1983: 188): Χρόνος en forma de serpiente podría tener sus orígenes en la fantasía egipcia.

23 Brisson (1990: 36.4, 2914) trata de explicar el problema formulando junto a ésta otras hipótesis.

24 OF 109.

25 Cf. Martínez (2000: 107–110).

26 Kirk – Raven – Schofield (1987: 53–54).

Ferecides fuera órfico o que tomara sus ideas de fuentes órficas arcaicas, sino más bien lo contrario: los eclécticos órficos posteriores pudieron tomar a Ferecides como fuente, igual que hicieron con Hesíodo y otros escritos mitológicos antiguos. En cualquier caso, la asimilación de los dos nombres era un proceso inevitable.

La descripción de Tiempo como ser monstruoso, algo absolutamente novedoso por ser ajeno a la tradición griega antigua, la conocemos por la versión de Jerónimo y Helánico, pero la función de este ser primordial es mucho más refinada que la que puede inspirar una representación fantástica y suntuosa. Tiempo es el iniciador del proceso cosmogónico, y Cielo y Tierra constituyen las primeras dimensiones espaciales, puesto que se hallan asociados directamente al huevo cosmogónico que será generado por el Tiempo. Tras su ruptura, dicho huevo dejará de ser la forma única en que se hallan mezclados todos los elementos, para convertirse en Cielo y Tierra, y dar lugar a la generación de los elementos del mundo. En las *Rapsodias*, por lo tanto, Tiempo es mucho más que una figura monstruosa, es un concepto racional, que podríamos incluso definir como filosófico, sin el cual no sería posible imaginar un comienzo en la creación del mundo. El *status quaestionis* de esta figura cosmogónica, insistimos, debería ser objeto de un análisis más profundo y detallado, dado el gran interés que ha despertado en tan diferentes ámbitos de estudio.

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16. A Hangover of Cosmic Proportions: OF 222 and its Mythical Context

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According to the Neoplatonic writer Porphyry (OF 222), in Orpheus' cosmogony (literally, "in Orpheus") Zeus tricked his father Kronos "by intoxicating him with honey as if with wine" (μεθύει καὶ σκοτοῦται ὥς ὑπὸ οἴνου). This submerged the Titan into such a slumber that Zeus bound him easily and castrated him. Thus, in Orphic cosmology, Kronos is both the castrator of his father Ouranos and one castrated by his son Zeus (τέμνων τεμνόμενος, OF 225).¹ In this Orphic fragment two motifs converge, both of which are connected to broader mythological traditions attested outside the Greek world proper, showing once more the degree of fluidity with which mythical patterns circulated among eastern Mediterranean cultures. More specifically, in this brief essay, connections between the Anatolian, Greek, and North-West Semitic traditions will emerge, pointing at a thread of continuity that runs from the Bronze Age into the re-elaborations of old motifs in later times.

First of all, as we see in the Orphic fragment, the castration motif is reinvented to suit Orphic cosmologic ideas surrounding the figure of Zeus, specifically his role as (re)creator of the cosmos. The castration of the dominant god of the pantheon or 'king in Heaven' has its most ancient and famous parallels in the Hittite myth of Kumarbi (in turn of Hurrian origin), where Kumarbi castrates the Sky god Anu with his mouth,² and in Hesiod's *Theogony* in archaic times (roughly contemporary to Homer's poems). In our fragment, however, Zeus appears as the agent of the castration of his father Kronos, the previous king in Heaven, thereby reduplicating this drastic measure in the next generation of divine history. The castration motif appears in other Orphic cosmogonic texts besides the one here cited, most notably in the Derveni Papyrus, which alludes to it twice: first as an action of Kronos and second as one performed by Zeus, who is said to have swallowed the 'phallus of the sun,' if the reading is correct.³ This version,

1 OF 222 (Porph. *Antr.* 16 p. 58) and 225 in Bernabé (2004).

2 See translation and notes of Hittite myths in Hoffner (1998).

3 See Bernabé (1989) and (2002).

of course, brings the Greek elaboration even closer to the above-mentioned Hurro-Hittite myth, and in the Orphic context it reflects a cosmology in which Zeus' role as creator or re-creator of the cosmos is emphasized. The success of this castration by Zeus explains its appearance in magical texts,⁴ and might also be due to the fact that it provides a more memorable and unequivocal representation of Zeus' victory over his father. In the more 'diluted' and rationalized succession of gods in Hesiod's *Theogony* (71–73, 851), Kronos is simply banished and confined to Tartaros with the other Titans.

The second motif present in this fragment is less well known, but there are traces of its popularity in the eastern Mediterranean in early literary testimonies. It is the motif of the ancestral god who loses consciousness and thereby power by drinking an excess of wine or a substitute such as honey (since Greek gods do not drink or eat what humans do). In Greece this theme appears associated with Kronos in our *OF* 222, and in two other Orphic fragments, probably alluding to the same episode, in which the god is said to have fallen into a deep sleep after the banquet: "and there Kronos, after eating the deceiving banquet, lay down, snoring loudly" (*OF* 224); and, "he lay down, bending his thick neck to one side, and sleep, master of all, took hold of him" (*OF* 223).⁵

These Orphic fragments color the figure of Kronos in a way that make him similar to other ancestral divinities of the Levant, especially the North-West Semitic god Ilu (El), head of the Canaanite pantheon and best attested in the texts from Ugarit.⁶ Beside the fact that both deities share a similar position as fathers and predecessors of the Storm God (Zeus and Baal respectively), they are both portrayed in the two traditions as drunken gods at some point. In a mythological text from Ugarit (ca. 13th century BC), Ilu summons the other gods to a banquet in his palace, where he drinks so much wine that he loses control and needs to be carried away by two lesser divinities, after which two gods bring a potion to help him recover from his monumental hangover. Here are the most relevant lines:

Ilu settles into his bacchanal. / Ilu drinks wine until sated,
vintage till inebriated. / Ilu staggers to his house,
stumbles in to his court. / Thukamuna and Shunama carry him.
Habayu meets him, / he of the two horns and a tail.
He (Ilu) slips in his dung and urine, / Ilu collapses like one dead.
Ilu like those who descend to Earth.⁷

4 In *PGM* IV.3099–3100 and in a curse from Antioch (Hollmann 2003).

5 *OF* 224 and 223 respectively (transmitted by Porphyry and Clement of Alexandria respectively); cf. also Bernabé (2003: 156).

6 For a more ample comparative study of these gods, see López-Ruiz (2010: ch. 3).

7 *CAT* 1.114 (RS 24.258), recto: lines 15–22. Translation based on Lewis (1997a) with minor modifications.

After Ilu's collapse and encounter with the otherwise unknown creature Habayu (either physically or in a vision in his trance), the goddesses Athtartu (Astart) and Anat concoct a recipe that will restore Ilu from this alcohol-induced coma. Short of being a simple scene of banqueting, this tragicomic situation seems to represent a reversal of the order of things as the patriarch Ilu loses control of his body and suffers a near-death experience.⁸ The connections between alcohol and cosmic and power balance (divine or human) deserve the kind of attention we cannot give it in this essay. Suffice it to note that scenes of banqueting are privileged in Greek and Near Eastern stories of rivalry and succession between heroic kings and 'divine kings,' pointing both at the importance of banqueting and drinking as a social and religious institution in these cultures⁹ and at the dangerous and destabilizing effect of alcohol in precisely this context where power relations can be negotiated and contested. We see this motif in *OF* 225 as well as in the above-mentioned Hittite Kumarbi myth, where Kumarbi is explicitly said to be the cupbearer of Anu, whom he castrates and succeeds, as well as in other Greek, biblical, and Near Eastern texts.¹⁰ The Canaanite god Ilu thus represents the supreme ancestral god but one that is driven by the pleasures of life (occasionally in excess), as we can also see in the exaltation of his sexual prowess in Ugaritic literature.¹¹

Returning to Kronos, even though we have much less information about him in texts, we know about some festivals in his honor, the Kronia (connected with the Roman Saturnalia later on), attested especially in Athens and the Ionic coast of Asia Minor, where they went hand-in-hand with New Year celebrations. In these festivals the god was honored with abundant feasting, and the enactment of role-reversal was not unusual, with masters serving their slaves.¹² According to this information, Kronos was celebrated as a deity of renewal connected to the remote past and the possibility of a return to a primeval order, an escape from the 'here and now,' and a re-establishment of cosmic order after its reversal has been imagined and even enacted. When considered together, the portrayal of a defeated drunken Kronos in our Orphic fragment, the scene of the divine drunkenness of Ilu,

8 For signs of the reversal of order in this text, see Sumakai-Fink (2003).

9 On wine at Ugarit, see Zamora (2000). On the Semitic *marzeah* and similar Greek drinking associations, see studies by Carter (1997) and Miralles Maciá (2007).

10 Other examples are Odysseus' massacre of the suitors at the banquet (*Od.* 22.8–21) and Agamemnon's murder at a feast hosted by his wife and her lover (*Od.* 11.405–420). The drunkenness of Noah (*Gen.* 9.20) has been compared with the passage about Ilu. For the North-West Semitic context of this motif and its problematic biblical reception, see Zamora (2006). See broader treatment of the 'downfall at the banquet' motif in López-Ruiz (forthcoming) and references there.

11 For instance in *CAT* 1.23 (see Lewis 1997b).

12 See Versnel (1988: 135–144), Burkert (1985: 231–232) and (2003). Cf. Bremmer (2004: 43–44) and (2008: 26–27, 86–87).

and the connotations of the Kronia festival fit well together within a set of ideas about ancestral gods and the consequences of their yielding to drinking pleasures. This is only one of many aspects that show the intersection of Greek Kronos and the North-West Semitic god Ilu. More similarities can be detected thanks to other Orphic texts, where further cosmological and even philosophical reflections on the ancestral god Kronos come to light, making it clear that the harmony of the universe could depend on his state of mind. Thus, he is invoked with these words in the *Orphic Hymn to Kronos* (13.1–5):¹³

Everblooming one, father of the blessed gods and also of men,
 You of resourceful counsel, pure, great in strength, mighty Titan,
 You who consume everything and yourself make it grow again,
 You who hold your unbreakable chains over the infinite cosmos,
 Kronos, all-begetter of time, Kronos of resourceful thought.

This characterization has direct parallels in the Levantine tradition, where Ilu is also deemed a creator and atemporal god, receiving even similar titles ('benefactor,' 'creator of all creatures,' 'eternal king,' etc.).¹⁴ Curiously, both gods are also associated with time: Ilu is called 'father of years' and Kronos, called 'all-begetter of time' in the Hymn to Kronos cited here, is widely conflated with a Time (Chronos) deity in Orphic circles.¹⁵

To close the circle, Kronos appears as chained in magical texts, especially 'binding spells' (*defixiones*), following the logic that the god who was himself bound can also cause the accursed person to be bound.¹⁶ This image of a chained Kronos brings us back to our *OF* 222, where his son Zeus takes advantage of his drunkenness and then castrates him. Outside the Orphic and magical texts, the idea is indirectly echoed in Hesiod's *Theogony* 851, where the Titan is confined to the prison-like Tartaros and in *Iliad* 14.203 (cf. 8.13–14), where he is 'deposed' or 'imprisoned' (καθεῖσε) "in the depths that are under the earth and the sea." But classical authors such as Aeschylus and Plato broadcast this cosmologic idea more explicitly when they say that Zeus himself chained his father Kronos (αὐτὸς δ' ἔδησε πατέρα πρεσβύτερον Κρόνον),¹⁷ or mention the bindings of Kronos.¹⁸

In addition, ideas relating to the state of the ancestral god Kronos, whether he is bound or free, awake or asleep, and sober or not, recur in philosophical texts. Plato uses the figure of Kronos to evoke an era of happiness and perfect government,¹⁹ and along the same lines he writes about

13 See Morand (2001: 7).

14 See López-Ruiz (2010: 158–164).

15 On Kronos and Time, see López-Ruiz (2010: 151–170).

16 E.g., *PGM* IV. 3093–3095, 3099–3100 and 2325–2329 and Hollmann (2003).

17 *A. Eu.* 641.

18 *Pl. Cra.* 404a5.

19 *Pl. Plt.* 271d–272c, 269a ff, cf. *Lg.* 713b ff.

Kronos as the 'archon' of the world who is responsible for cosmic harmony: such harmony depends on two phases, one in which the god is involved in the government of the world affairs, and another in which he withdraws, bringing on an inevitable state of chaos.²⁰ The motif cannot be separated from more general concepts about power and leadership, for which we cite only the evocative words of Aischylos' opening in the *Seven against Thebes* (1–3): "it is the lot of him who guards the state affairs to say the appropriate things, guiding the helm of the city upon the stern, not resting his eyes in slumber." Plutarch also follows this cosmologic elaboration on the role of Kronos in his *De facie*, where he alludes to an oracle of Kronos that operates in dreams, and describes the god as a "transmitter of mantic knowledge essential for the government of the cosmos."²¹ The same idea emerges in the *Phoenician History* of Philon of Byblos (1st–2nd centuries AD), where Kronos is deliberately merged with the Canaanite god El, and where the god's vigilance or negligence of the world is represented in the description of Kronos' 'insignia,' in which the god is represented as ever-vigilant, with eyes that look in two directions, forwards and backwards, that is, to the future and past simultaneously (again, compare the association of Kronos with a Time deity): "Kronos saw even when he slept and slept while alert."²²

Despite the fact that he is a rather obscure god to us (due to the limited sources and the scarcity of his cult), Kronos seems to have occupied a special place in religious-mythological circles, and even in philosophical thought. As we have seen in this note, the drunkenness and slumber of the 'god of old' and his binding and castration by the younger Zeus ties into a complex fabric of motifs whose resonances can also be traced in other Mediterranean literatures. In this shared cosmogonic scheme, the universe and its equilibrium suffer directly the effects of divine negligence when a primordial god falls asleep or is overpowered by the effects of a hangover of cosmic proportions.

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- 20 Pl. *Plt.* 269a–270d, 273a, 273d. Cf. Pl. *Ti.* 22a; *Criti.* 109d, 111b, 112a; *Lg.* 677a, 702a. See discussion in Bos (1989: 104–105). For this motif in Pythagorean tradition, see Detienne (1962). The motif of a sleeping Kronos also appeared in a lost work by Aristotle. See Bos (1989).
 - 21 Cf. Plu. *Fac.* 942A. Cf. Bos (1989: 102) and references there. For the motif of dreams and awakening and their connection with knowledge, see Torallas Tovar's contribution in this volume.
 - 22 Eus. *PE* 10.36–37, see Herenn. Phil. fr. 2 in Kaldellis – López-Ruiz (2009: *BNJ* 790).

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17. Heraclitus Fragment B 52 DK (on OF 242)*

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αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων, πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιλῆϊ.

A (whole human) life-time is (nothing but) a child playing, playing checkers: the kingship belongs to a child.

Heraclitus' aphorism B 52 DK consists of only six words, not a single one more (plus two semi-words, a copular verb meaning 'is' and a definite article indicating 'the'). Of the six words, four are nouns, two participles; three of them signify or are derived from the word for 'child' or 'boy'; one begins with a vowel, four with the voiceless plosive consonant 'π' and one with the closely related voiced plosive 'β'; the diphthong 'αι' is repeated thrice in the first six syllables and then again later, the long vowels 'ω' and 'η' recur. In its choice and arrangement of words and sounds, its repetitions and variations, the sentence seems not only to be asserting a proposition about reality but also to be performing a kind of verbal game, moving around sounds and words, playfully and yet at the same time purposefully, like checkers on a board. But what is it asserting, and what is its game?

In ancient and in modern times, this celebrated aphorism has usually been interpreted as a statement about the order of the world: whatever the reader wishes to identify as the ruling principle that dominates our universe, be it time or god or the demiurge or whatever, Heraclitus would be saying that it does not administer matters rationally and methodically, following laws of necessity and logic, but instead does so playfully, as if it were all a game, by chance. So for example the author of the *Refutation of all Heresies*, who transmits the text and who explains it as follows: ὅτι δέ ἐστι παῖς τὸ πᾶν καὶ δι' αἰῶνος αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων οὕτως λέγει· αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων, πεττεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιλῆϊ ("The fact that the eternal king of the universe is entirely and eternally a child, he says in this way: 'A life-time is a child playing, playing checkers: the kingship belongs to a child.'" Hippol. *Haer.* 9.9.4). Einstein, famously, wrote about God, "I, at any rate, am convinced that He does not throw dice" (letter to Max Born, 4 December

* An earlier version of this article was published in a Polish translation by Krzysztof Rosinski in *Kronos* 2 (2008), 343–344.

1926); on this view of the aphorism in question, Heraclitus would be saying in it exactly the opposite.

As is well known, Aion (OF 242), the child playing (OF 306), and the kingship of a child (OF 299) are words and images that are attested in Orphic theogonic poetry, and according to many readers, Heraclitus would be using them in a similar cosmic sense. But Heraclitus' sentence is not in the first instance about its predicate, a child playing; it is about what it names as its subject in its first word, 'αἰών,' and it is about this subject that it is asserting something, namely that 'αἰών' is a child playing. So let us start out from the sentence's own starting-point. What does 'αἰών' mean? Originally, an 'αἰών' is the single concrete life-time of an individual human being: his or her life, inasmuch as it has an extended but limited duration in time from a specific beginning to a specific end (LSJ s. v. αἰών, I.1). This is the only meaning of the word in archaic Greek poetry and prose; it is the meaning the word is most likely to have had during the lifetime of Heraclitus himself. In later Greek it came to mean the lifetime of a whole group of people who lived about the same time, a 'generation' or an 'age' (LSJ s. v., I.2); and on that basis it could come to mean a large segment of historical time, a 'period' or an 'eon' (this is where the English word 'eon' comes from), or even, in Plato (*Ti.* 37d), 'eternity' (LSJ s. v., II.1, 2). This last is certainly the meaning of the word in a fragment of an Orphic theogonic poem cited by Proclus which correlates the familiar beauties of the spatial universe (probably the stars) created by god with the immensity of its temporal dimension: καὶ φύσεως κλυτὰ ἔργα μένει καὶ ἀπείριτος αἰών ("and the celebrated works of nature remain, and boundless eternity" OF 242).¹ Even later, the Jewish and Christian God, who exists eternally, that is, for an infinitely extended and unlimited duration in time without any beginning or end whatsoever, could be said to exist "for eons and eons"; and a divine power worshipped by various forms of pagan philosophy and Gnosticism popular during late Antiquity could be called 'Αἰών' because it existed from eternity.²

For many later readers, both Greeks and non-Greeks, the very word 'αἰών' has inevitably conveyed mystical, transcendental associations, all the more powerful the vaguer they were. But, given the constraints of early Greek linguistic usage, Heraclitus himself can only have meant to say something not about divinity or about universal principles but instead about the concrete life-time belonging to real, individual humans. That life-time, in the view of the Greeks (and not only in theirs), if it is complete, usually com-

1 Colli (1981: 418 *ad loc.*) correctly takes 'αἰών' in this Orphic fragment "in senso universale" but mistakenly notes a possible link with this Heraclitean aphorism; the word's meaning here is also correctly taken in "the Hellenistic sense of the temporal universe" by West (1983: 220, n. 139). See the apparatus of Bernabé *ad loc.*

2 See in general Degani (1961), which though dated, partial, and in need of revision and correction, still remains useful.

prises both childhood and adulthood: Homer's Hector angrily tells Ajax not to put him to the test as though he were a child, or a woman who knows nothing of the works of war, for he is well versed in the manly toils of battles and man-slayings (*Il.* 7.235–237); Solon divides a full human lifetime into a maximum of ten periods, each of seven years, assigning childhood to the first one (fr. 27 West). A complete life needs both childhood and adulthood.

But Heraclitus says instead that life-time is in fact identical to a child, nothing more. And what does a child do? According to Hesiod, the members of the silver race spent a hundred years playing foolishly at home at their mother's side, only to die violently as soon as they reached puberty (*Works and Days* 130–137). Heraclitus is, apparently, less severe. For him, children just play. The first participle Heraclitus uses, 'παίζων,' is derived from 'παίς,' the word for 'child,' and designates playing in general as the typical activity of children; then Heraclitus adds a second participle to specify more precisely just what kind of game it is that the child is playing: 'πεσσεύων.' Unfortunately, we are not as well informed about the games of many ancient Greek children as we are about the metaphysics of some ancient Greek adults.³ So it is not quite certain whether the game Heraclitus has in mind was one in which dice also played a certain role (perhaps like our backgammon) or one which involved only the movements of pieces (perhaps like our checkers) – *i. e.*, whether chance too was involved, or only skill.

The second alternative seems somewhat likelier, but certainty is impossible – and perhaps not even really necessary. For in any case, Heraclitus is saying that whatever it is that human beings are during the course of their whole life, they are really nothing more than children playing games:⁴ and even if they win the game and become king, they do so only as children, not as thinking, responsible adults. 'βασιληίη,' 'kingship' is the highest position of political success imaginable for the ancient Greeks – though what Heraclitus himself might have thought of such office is perhaps suggested by Diogenes Laertius' report (from Antisthenes) that he renounced the Ephesian βασιλεία in favor of his brother (9.6, cf. Strabo 14.3). Given the general prestige of real kingship, we would expect the term to be applied frequently as a metaphor for success, and indeed it is (*LSJ* s. v. βασιλεύς I.4, IV.2): of particular interest in the present connection are a passage in Plato's *Theaetetus* (146a) and a few other very late texts (Pollux 9.106; Sch. Pl. *Th.* 146a) which suggest that 'king' might also have been a technical term to

3 See Lamer (1927); Fittà (1997); Kurke (1999); Parlett (1999).

4 Actually, what Heraclitus says exactly is not that humans are only children during the whole period of their lifetime, but rather that the whole period of a human lifetime is identical with a child: he identifies the whole human lifetime not with childhood but with a child. This seems to involve a slight semantic slippage which will bother some readers more than others.

indicate the winner in some Greek games.⁵ So Heraclitus is not saying that humans never have success of any kind: he is saying that they might well do so sometimes or perhaps even often, but that even if they do, they do so only as children do, by at least partial reliance upon luck rather than solely by their own design.

We moderns like to think of children as being lovely promises, beings open to as yet undetermined horizons and therefore bearers of, for some at least, disconsolate nostalgia or utopian hopes; but the ancient Greeks tended to think of them, less nostalgically and sentimentally, as being nothing more than defective adults. In the Bacchic mysteries, Dionysus' infancy and his childish toys (*OF* 306, 588) were not viewed sentimentally as being cute or endearing, but instead they represented dangers that exposed him to terrible sufferings at the hands of the Titans; and the Bacchic initiate's claim that he is the *παῖς* of Earth and Heaven (*OF* 476.6–477.8) is not an appeal for sweet and affectionate tenderness but instead a partial excuse for culpable ignorance redeemed only by later illumination. Heraclitus is more severe than the Bacchic hierophants: for him, the ignorance of most men continues unabated, and Bacchic rites will do nothing to cure it. About a century after Heraclitus, Plato could claim that the Egyptian priests once told Solon that the Greeks were always children because they had no historical records and hence no cultural memory lasting for eons (*Ti.* 22b). Heraclitus is more radical than Plato: he addresses not only the Greeks but all human beings (on his view, Egyptians are no better off than Greeks), and he does not suppose that, to solve their problems, better archives are the answer.

What Heraclitus is saying in aphorism B 52 DK is in effect that anyone who does not study philosophy – he means, evidently, not so much philosophy in general, as rather his own philosophy, the doctrines propounded in his book – and who does not thereby learn what reality truly is will never become an adult but will remain nothing more than a child until the day he dies. Heraclitus repeatedly refers to children as the very image of the foolishness that besets unilluminated adults: ἀνὴρ νήπιος ἤκουσε πρὸς δαίμονος ὅκωσπερ παῖς πρὸς ἀνδρός (“A man is called puerile by a divinity, just like a child by a man” B 79 DK); Ἡράκλειτος παίδων ἄθύρματα νενόμικεν εἶναι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα δοξάσματα. (“Heraclitus thought that human opinions are children's toys” B 70 DK).⁶ Heraclitus is not writing for children: he is writing for adults who thought they were adults before they read him but now,

5 Kurke (1999: 257, n. 28) suggests that in the game of *pestoi* ‘king’ denoted one of the pieces; this is not quite impossible but seems less plausible (Heraclitus refers not to ‘king’ but to ‘kingship’).

6 And yet it is reported that, however little Heraclitus thought of children's games, he thought even less of the adult politics of his fellow Ephesians: D. L. 2.3 (Heraclit. A 1 DK).

reading him, discover that hitherto they have only been children and are still only children.

Unlike us, no adult ancient Greek would have wanted ever to be a child. To learn from Heraclitus that they are only children is, for Heraclitus' readers, the first step on the road to their becoming true adults. If they can take that step, they may come eventually to understand how this philosophical aphorism too is, and is not, a game.

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18. Titans in Disguise: the Chalk in Myth and Ritual (*OF* 308)

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1. Introduction: the texts in *OF* 308

In *OF* 308, among the texts classified as *vestigia*, Alberto Bernabé has collected two passages: five verses from the version of Dionysus' murder by Titans in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (I) and some lines from the definition given by the lexicographer Harpocration to the term ἀπομάττων in Demosthenes, connected in their turn with one of the tricks used by the Titans to get close to the god (II). Both texts are part of the fragmented narration that constitutes the foundational myth of Orphism:

Dionysus' succession to the throne, the Titans' distraction, killing, and dismembering of the young god, their subsequent eating of his flesh, and the wrath of Zeus, who fulminates the Titans upon discovering their deeds. This series of mythic events, exclusive of Orphic theogonies, explains and justifies the presence of human beings in the world, as well as the fate of the souls in the hereafter. I shall dwell on the reception of the myth of Dionysus' dismemberment on the part of Nonnus of Panopolis, but mostly on the most important common features between *OF* 308 I and the text of Harpocration: the reference to the chalk or plaster used by the Titans. Besides, I will also pay special attention to the possible ritual meaning of such deed.

2. Dionysus' death in Nonnus' version

The full version of the myth of the dismemberment transmitted by Nonnus appears scattered in several parts of the *Dionysiaca*. The poet shows his knowledge of equally diverse traditions and has specific interests in each scene.

However, the core of the story, the dismemberment of the young Dionysus and the banquet of the Titans, is told in the sixth book. Although there are more references to the Orphic myth in many other parts of the poem, the sixth book aims to capture the whole story, from its origins to the ter-

rible outcome. In fact, the story begins at the end of the fifth book, which, as a long *excursus* in the main story line, lets Persephone into stage, as well as the events related to her rape by Zeus and Dionysus' birth, in a detailed outline of mythical causes and consequences.

The nucleus of the story consists of fifty lines: since its beginning in 6.155 to 6.205, with the allusion to the fate of the body of Dionysus, whom the Titans cut into pieces with an 'infernal knife'. From 6.206 to the end of the book, Nonnus' tells Zeus' discovery of the crime and his anger against the Titans. But Zeus' lightning causes harm only to Earth, the Titans' mother, and not to the Titans themselves, unlike the narrative in most Orphic sources.¹ Perhaps the most remarkable innovation in Nonnus' narration is the universal flood that destroys the world to give birth to a new one: the one that must be governed by the second Dionysus, the son of Semele, savior and benefactor of men.

If we accept the fact that, despite their multiplicity of stories and styles, the clear theme of the *Dionysiaca* is Dionysus' mythical biography, the Titanic myth involves a certain disruption of the lineal order of the events. But that disruption, if we may consider it so, is fully justified by the poet's allusion to Zeus' yearning for his dead son, as a reason to give birth a new god in Semele. This is a step backwards in the plot, a regression in mythical time, which leads to Persephone, whose first appearance in the poem must be considered as the beginning of Nonnus' allusions to Orphic myth.

Between 5.563 and 5.580, the poet had anticipated the myth of the dismemberment by summarizing it in a text full of typically Nonnian innovations. We can distinguish two parts in the passage, depending on the presence or absence of parallels with Orphic sources. Thus, is quite innovative, in 5.571–580, the description of the main Olympic gods' presence and confrontation for Persephone's love. The passage above, in contrast, emphasized other elements, genuinely Orphic: Persephone's link with Dionysus conceived in her by Zeus metamorphosed into a snake, a Dionysus called Zagreus by our poet, who follows, thus, a group of isolated testimonies.² As for the terrible death of Dionysus, is only subtly referred in this "advanced summary" of the fifth book, by the adjective αἰβομόρον, "the unfortunate", applied to the young god in 5.565 and linked to Zeus' yearning for his death son, as I said above.

Paradoxically, Zagreus' myth, anticipated several times along numerous cross-references, takes little more than fifty verses in the sixth book.

1 The poet seems to mix this way of punishing the Titans with the punishment received when they try to seize the Olympus, in the *Titanomachia*.

2 Nonnus is imitating an expression from Callimachus, the first author to explicitly associate the name with the dismembered infant god of the Orphism. Previously, the name Ζαγρεύς appears in the *Alcmeonid*, with Earth personified (fr. 3 Bernabé PEG, p. 33), and in Euripides' *Cretans*: Bernabé (2004).

His birth and early manifestations of power as the new king of heaven reach 6.168, *i. e.* they take only twelve lines.³ The following four verses, that is, the text collected in *OF* 308 I, represent an abrupt transition between the reference to Dionysus' reign and a series of metamorphoses with which the divine child tries to defend himself against his assailants.⁴ I will now focus on the elements shared by Harpocraton and Nonnus' texts: the references to chalk, the justification for its presence here and its relation to Orphic rituals.

3. Chalk in myth and ritual

As Dionysus in other sources, Nonnus' Zagreus has barely time to practice his universal reign. Thus is said in 6.169–173:

Οὐδὲ Διὸς θρόνον εἶχεν ἐπὶ χρόνον· ἀλλὰ ἐ γύψῳ
κερδαλέῃ χρισθέντες ἐπὶ κλοπα κύκλα προσώπου
δαίμονος ἀστόργοιο χόλῳ βαρυμήνιος Ἥρης
Ταρταρίῃ Τιτῆνες ἐδηλήσαντο μαχαίρῃ
ἀντιτύπῳ νόθον εἶδος ὀπιπεύοντα κατόπτρῳ

But he did not hold the throne of Zeus for long. By the fierce resentment of implacable Hera, the Titans cunningly smeared their round faces with disguising chalk, and while he contemplated his changeling countenance reflected in a mirror they destroyed him with an infernal knife.

The abrupt first half of 6.169 reflects the brevity of Dionysus' reign and the strong opposition marked by the adversative particle ἀλλὰ in the second half of the verse, reinforces the idea that the crime of the Titans takes place in a hurried and unexpected way.⁵ In order to deceive the god, before approaching him, the Titans smear their faces with chalk. And so, after having whitened their faces, they are going to burst in on Dionysus, who is distracted while looking his own reflection in a mirror provided by his deceitful murderers. One of the most interesting precedents of the white grime in the Titans' face can be found in the Hellenistic poet Euphorion. Despite its being an isolated verse, it can be identified as belonging to one of the versions of the Orphic myth, because it seems to refer clearly to the moment in which the Titans smear themselves with chalk: πάντα δὲ οἱ νεκυηδὸν ἐλευκαίνοντο πρόσωπα, "they whitened themselves their entire faces, as if they were corpses".⁶ Collected in *OF* 35, this reference corresponds to the information provided by other sources, like the text of Harpocraton that

3 Due to the way in which verses 162–165 have come to us, it is necessary to offer the order in which Chuvín disposes them (1992: 52).

4 Studied in detail in García-Gasco (2007).

5 Cf. Herrero de Jáuregui (2006: 394–395).

6 Fr. 29 de Cuenca = 92 van Groningen (*OF* 35). Cf. Henrichs (1972: 154, n. 45). Cf. West (1983: 154–155); Vian (1990: 305).

I will comment, and a quote from Tzetzes,⁷ who literally quotes another fragmentary verse, also from Euphorion: “they put the divine Bacchus into a cauldron, in the fire”,⁸ referred to the cooking of the victim’s flesh before being devoured by his murderers. It is very interesting to combine the beginning of the two lines from Euphorion with *OF* 308 II, Harpocration’s explanation for the word ἀπομάττων, appearing in a speech of Demosthenes, in connection with the Orphic myth of the Titans:⁹ ἐκμιμούμενοι τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ’ ἐνίοις, ὡς ἄρα οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὸν Διόνυσον ἐλυμήναντο γύψῳ καταπλασάμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ γνώριμοι γενέσθαι (“...imitating some stories, according to which the Titans had harmed Dionysus, having smeared themselves with chalk, not no be recognized”).

The passage of Demosthenes glossed by the lexicographer is an insulting account of Aeschines’ activities in the nocturnal rituals in which he used to take part with his mother, a priestess in orgiastic celebrations.¹⁰ According to Demosthenes, Aeschines, among other functions, had the participants in the rituals to wear the *nebris*, serve them wine and smear them with clay and bran.¹¹

According to Harpocration, the use of clay and bran in Dionysiac rituals replaces the original use of chalk by initiates, in imitation of the action of the Titans according to certain mythical accounts (ἐκμιμούμενοι τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ’ ἐνίοις). The chalk, if used even before, seems to have been already and actually replaced in the lexicographer’s time by clay and bran, whose meaning is linked to physical cleaning and then to ritual purity. Clay and bran are used, on one hand, to clean and purify in a twofold sense, and are related, on the other hand, to the custom, already forgotten in Harpocration’s time, of symbolically smearing oneself with chalk.

The lexicographer’s text explicitly supports the relationship of myth and ritual and specifies the purpose of the Titans in the myth, when covering their faces with gypsum: to hide their own identity and prevent their recognition. Dionysus’ murderers prepare the crime with total premeditation and awareness. The plaster mask turns into a useful disguise to go unnoticed against a possible punishment which will come from Zeus’ lightning, but also because the disguise is indispensable to distract the divine child, since it is strongly linked to the idea of playing.

7 Tz. *ad Lyc.* 208 (98, 6 Scheer) (*OF* 36), Call. fr. 643 Pf. (*incertae sedis*), Euphor. fr. 13 de Cuenca = 14 van Groningen.

8 Ἐν πυρὶ Βάκχον διὸν ὑπὲρ φιάλης ἐβάλλοντο.

9 Harp. *s. v.* ἀπομάττων, 36 Keaney = *OF* 308 II. See the entire passage in *OF* 577 VII.

10 Aeschines’ mother came from a family of diviners, according to *SEG* 16: 193. Cf. Burkert (1997: 18).

11 D. 18.259.

The Titans deceive the young god with several toys, mentioned by other sources.¹² The passage in *Dionysiaca* retains only the allusion to the mirror. Nonnus, however, insists in the idea of deception and duplicity, when he strongly emphasizes falsity and cunning, in its most negative sense, in the narration of the advancement of the Titans: a single line, 6.170, accommodates two adjectives with a very similar meaning, κερδαλέηι and ἐπίκλοπα, applied respectively to γύψωι, the chalk, and to κύκλα προσώπου, the faces of the murderers, referred to by a sonorous periphrasis, leading with this epithet to a repetition of velar and liquid consonants.

The poet is prodigal with literary figures such as alliterations or enallages: κερδαλέος, syntactically linked to the chalk, means ‘cunning’, which can only allude to the Titans, the only personal entities in that sentence. After all, literary figures are merely instruments designed to give prominence to the essential idea: a terrible, blameworthy event, is about to take place. A mythical event which, as Harpocratio’s text makes clear, leaves a fundamental mark in ritual: “They used to smear the initiates with clay and bran... imitating some stories, according to which the Titans had harmed Dionysus, having smeared themselves with chalk ...”. The commenter provides a clear testimony of the importance of written texts in Orphic celebrations. Harpocratio’s text seems to point to a rite in which the suffering and death of the young Dionysus were represented and played, as a dramatized part of the ritual, and it seems probable that the participants in the celebration, or at least some of them, perhaps in order to emulate the Titans, smeared themselves with clay, replacing the chalk of the myth.

The closeness and similarity between the ritual and the primary crime is strengthened by a series of testimonies about bloody sacrifices and carnivorous banquets, a symbol of what an initiate, born to a new kind of existence, would have to avoid during the rest of his or her life. With the initial ingestion of meat, the *mystai* would be commemorating the Titans’ feast, from which they should have to be purified henceforth, until they got ritual purity (ἀγνεία).¹³

12 Unlike the list provided by the *Gurōb Papyrus* (OF 306) and the one quoted by Clement of Alexandria, among others: Clem. Al. *Prot.* 2.18.1: ἀστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μήλα, ρόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πόκος, “knucklebones, ball, top, apples, spinning-top, mirror, flake”. Some texts include the fennel, νάρθηξ: cf. OF 307. Cf. Levaniouk (2007).

13 About ritual purity in Orphism, cf. Jiménez San Cristóbal (2009).

4. Conclusion

It seems clear, therefore, that chalk played a considerable role in Orphic initiations. Perhaps Dionysus' murderers used it because whitening one's face had been since very ancient times a common war resource. Euphorion's testimony quoted above and collected by Bernabé in *OF* 35 (πάντα δέ οἱ νεκυηδὸν ἐλευκαίνοντο πρόσωπα: "they whitened themselves their entire faces, as if they were corpses"), is useful to explain a series of testimonies referred to the warrior custom of whitening oneself in order to appear as ghosts and frighten the enemy. Even more important, the artificial whitening of the Titans corresponds to a kind of ancestral spirits whose function in primitive initiatory rituals consisted of taking away the initiate and symbolically killing him.¹⁴ However, the purpose of the chalk with which the Titans smear themselves in Nonnus' passage seems clear, at least for the poet: it is a disguise, a mischievous ruse, as it is stressed by words implying falsehood and misleading (κερδαλέος and ἐπίκλοπος in 6.170). In many other passages in the *Dionysiaca* the chalk appears, in warlike contexts, but curiously enough, the poet then calls it 'mystic',¹⁵ as if it was a common ornamentation on devotees' face.

The comparison between Nonnus' and Harpocration's texts, set apart at least by two centuries, allows us to confirm the relative antiquity of a range of elements which were extremely meaningful in the Orphic anthropogonic myth. These elements are included by Nonnus in the *Dionysiaca* and, probably supported by textual accounts of the myth, must have been also present in Orphic ritual.

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14 West (1983: 154). Some examples of the warlike use of chalk in Hdt. 8.27.3–4, Paus. 10.1.11; Polyae. 6.18.1 (639 F, Jacoby). And a commentary of the passage from Herodotus, with allusion to the Titans' chalk, in Ellinger (1993).

15 Nonn. *D.* 27.204, 228; 29.274; 30.122; 34.144 and 47.733.

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19. The Role of Gypsum in Orphism (OF 308)

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OF 308 consists of several verses from Nonnus of Panopolis' *Dionysiaca*: 6.169–173. These verses are an important chapter in the myth of Orphic Dionysus: the Titans, encouraged by the goddess Hera, paint their faces with gypsum and offer a mirror to Dionysus, so that he can see his own image. In this brief contribution I will deal with an element of the text – gypsum – and I will try to explain its role in Orphism.

Gypsum is a well-known material in the Greek and Roman world. Blumner¹ summarizes its uses. Firstly, gypsum is used, like nowadays, to whiten roofs and cornices of buildings. The use of gypsum in art is related to this first use. Some reliefs and statuettes – called *kórai* by Greeks and *sigilla* by Romans – are made of gypsum. Moreover, Herodotus (3.24) reports that Ethiopians embalmed their corpses, like the Egyptians, or painted their mummies with gypsum. Finally, gypsum was used to preserve grapes or apples.

There are other uses of gypsum omitted by Blumner that must be mentioned here. Ellinger² brings up a story referred by Herodotus (7.28), Plutarch (*Mul. Virt.* 244 B–E) and Pausanias (10.1.3–11). The Phocidians, when their land had been invaded by Thessalians in the sixth century BC, retreated to the mount Parnassus. Tellias, a seer from Elis, planned the following stratagem: he ordered to paint with gypsum six hundred men from Phocidian army and their weapons, and sent them to fight against the Thessalians. The latter, frightened by this astonishing vision, ran away. That is how the Thessalian army was beaten by the Phocidians.

I will now explain the use of gypsum in Greek religion, in order to finally describe its function in Orphism.³ In his speech entitled *On the crown*, Demosthenes criticised his enemy Aeschines and his mother because they took part in obscure mysteries. There is a famous text (*D.* 18.259) in which these rites are described:

1 Blumner (1912: 2092–2100).

2 Ellinger (1978: 7–18).

3 About the role of gypsum in Orphic rituals, see Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 748 and 753–754).

τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον

You pass all night wearing deerskins, offering libations, and purifying the initiates. You cover them with mud and bran, make them stand up from the purification place, and order them to say: 'I have escaped from evil, I have found something better'.

This passage is important for our point, since when the Byzantine grammarian Harpocration (*s. v.* ἀπομάττων) comments it, he states that the initiates were covered with mud in order to imitate the Titans, who painted themselves with gypsum, because they did not want to be recognised by the child Dionysus.⁴ We can compare this stratagem with the Phocidians' plan against the Thessalians.

In Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* there is another passage (27.204–205) which speaks about the gypsum used by the bacchants:

σπεύσατέ μοι καὶ κύκλα μελαρρίνοιο προσώπου
Ἰνδῶν ληιδίων λευκαίνετε μύστιδι γύψῳ

Hurry up and whiten the black-skinned rounded
faces of Indian people with mystic gypsum.

This text considers gypsum as a prerequisite for people who want to go through initiation in the Dionysiac mysteries. There are other texts in the same work that mention a similar use of gypsum: *D.* 30.122–123 and *D.* 47.733.⁵

Finally, there is a text several centuries earlier than Nonnus that deserves to be commented in the last place because of its inherent difficulties. It is a fragment of the Hellenistic poet Euphorion (fr. 29 De Cuenca = 92 Van Groningen = *OF* 35) that says:

Πάντα δέ οἱ νεκυηδὼν ἐλευκαίνοντο πρόσωπα.

They whitened all their faces mortally.

De Cuenca⁶ translates: "In front of him, all their faces went mortally pale". Nevertheless, De Cuenca, following a proposal of García Gual, also suggests the same translation as mine. De Cuenca thinks that the form ἐλευκαίνοντο is passive (and, of course, intransitive), but nothing in the text prevent us from interpreting this verb in middle voice and πάντα πρόσωπα as the direct object, not the subject. According to this interpretation Euphorion's verse can be considered a testimony of the myth of Dionysus and the Titans.⁷ It is another example of the use of gypsum in Orphism.

4 García-Gasco (2007: 234) thinks that in Harpocration's times gypsum had been replaced with mud, but the function is the same: the mask made by gypsum or mud is used in order not to be recognised.

5 They are cited by Vian (1990, 304–305) in his commentary.

6 De Cuenca (1976: 86).

7 Santamaría Álvarez (2008a: 1357–1359) also believes that the verse alludes to this Orphic myth. See Santamaría Álvarez (2008b: 1435) about a passage of Lucian (*Sat.* 2) that possibly reflects the use of gypsum in Orphic rites.

After this commentary of the relevant parallels, I will try now to explain the meaning of gypsum in *OF* 308. Naturally, ancient and modern scholars have found different and original answers to this problem. West⁸ repeated Harpocraton's interpretation: according to this, the Titans used gypsum in order to not be recognised by Dionysus. Because of this use, the Titans correspond to the ancient terrible spirits who take the initiate and kill him during the primitive rituals. West mentions a text of Origen (*Cels.* 4.10), in which the Christian author tells that the initiates in the Bacchic mysteries witnessed terrible visions.

Also Eustathius (*ad Il.* 2.735, 332.23–28) talks about our matter. The Homeric commentator states that gypsum (τίτανος) is also known as ἄσβεστος (literally 'that cannot be extinguished') and that the name of Titans comes from τίτανος. That is how it can be explained that the Titans are called 'sons of the Earth', because they come from a material so abundant in the Earth as gypsum. Starting from Eustathius' interpretation, modern scholars have moved forward.

Bettini⁹ takes into account the aforementioned use of gypsum to preserve fruits and refers to the version of the Orphic myth exposed by Firmicus Maternus (*Err. prof. rel.* 6.1–5 = *OF* 325). According to this version, Zeus, after Dionysus' death, ordered to make a statue with gypsum and put Dionysus' heart inside it. In fact, Bettini repeats Eustathius' interpretation; according to this, the ashes causing the birth of mankind were called thereafter 'gypsum'.¹⁰ In fact, Bettini thinks that men were not born from the ashes but from a substance - a kind of smoke- originated from gypsum.

The same year, Ellinger¹¹ contradicts Bettini's theory. Firstly, Ellinger states that Eustathius does not explain τίτανος coming from the Titans' name, but the other way round. And secondly, Ellinger thinks that the story of men coming from Titan's ashes is an invention of modern scholars.¹² Space limits do not allow me to discuss Ellinger's controversial statement. If we reflect on Eustathius' interpretation of the Titans' name coming from τίτανος, we have to recognise its originality.¹³ However it seems excessive, as

8 West (1983: 155).

9 Bettini (1993: 103–108).

10 Detienne (1977: 185–186) suggests, starting from this text of Eustathius, that the Titans are intermediate beings between gods and men. They are similar to gods because they preceded the human race; but they are also alike to men, because the Titans come from gypsum, a material of the Earth. This fact turns them into relatives of men, a race deep-rooted in the Earth.

11 Ellinger (1993: 147–183).

12 Ellinger follows a traditional sceptic line about this Orphic myth which has some followers still in our days. I believe Bernabé is right in his refutation (see Bernabé 2008, with bibliography).

13 Hesiod (*Th.* 207) gives a curious etymology of the Titans's name. He relates it with the verb τίταίνωμαι (to hold out), because the Titans held out their hands and committed a terrible act. As a result of it, they were punished.

Bettini thinks, to deduce that men were born from the smoke coming from gypsum, because the word used by Olympiodorus – the author who tells the myth of men's birth from Titans' ashes – is αἰθάλη, that must be properly translated as 'soot'.

It is now the moment to explain my own theory. The Titans, when they paint themselves with gypsum, pursue two aims: the first one is not to be recognised by Dionysus and the second one is to frighten him. As regards the first point, I think that the Titans try to appear not as themselves, but as spectres or walking dead. It is convenient to mention, as I did at the beginning of my contribution, that some people, like the Egyptians or the Ethiopians, covered the corpses with gypsum. This fact links gypsum with life after death. With respect to the second point, – that the Titans pretended to frighten Dionysus – the story told by Herodotus, Plutarch and Pausanias is very illustrative: the Thessalian soldiers painted their faces with gypsum before their struggle with the Phocidians. When the Phocidians saw their strange aspect, fled immediately.

The initiates, when they painted themselves with gypsum, were imitating the Titans. The imitation of the Titans is not unjustified, but it has a clear aim: the initiates, as they take part in the mysteries, intend to subdue their Titanic part and get free of the fault that all men have inherited from the Titans when they cut Dionysus into pieces and devoured him.

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20. Hecate, Leto's Daughter, in *OF* 317

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ἡ δ' ἄρα δι' Ἑκάτη παιδὸς μέλη' αὖθι λιπούσα
Λητοῦς εὐπλόκαμοιο κόρη προσεβήσατ' Ὀλυμπον¹

Straightaway divine Hecate, the daughter of lovely-haired Leto, approached Olympus, leaving behind the limbs of the child.

Alberto Bernabé places this fragment within the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, as do Otto Kern and Martin West² – and more particularly, Bernabé explicitly makes it part of the story of Dionysus' birth, his murder at the hands of the Titans, and the ramifications of these events within the divine and mortal worlds. Neither Bernabé nor any other scholar explains why they place the fragment where they do, but the key would seem to be the phrase 'παιδὸς μέλη', which brings to mind the most famous dismembered child of all, Dionysus. Proclus, from whom we derive the fragment, makes no mention of its context within Orpheus' larger poem, and focuses his attention, rather, on the question of why 'Leto's daughter', who is usually called 'Artemis', is here called 'Hecate'.³

I will leave aside Proclus' question (the tangle of ancient identifications amongst Hecate, Artemis, Selene and Persephone deserves a longer treatment than present context allows) and turn instead to the question of why

1 Procl. *in Cra.* 106.25 Pasquali.

2 Kern *ad loc.*; West (1983: 267).

3 This is a topic that Proclus takes up in several places, as Bernabé and Kern note in their commentaries. Relevant, too, is *OF* 400 (= 41 K. and cf. 42 K.), where Hecate is said to be the daughter of Deo, a tradition reflected in other ancient sources, as cited by Bernabé and Kern. On the strength of *OF* 400, West (1983: 267) attractively suggested emending Λητοῦς in *OF* 317 to Δηοῦς – which could be supported further by the facts that Demeter is called εὐπλόκαμος at *Od.* 5.125; that Cornutus transmitted εὐπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ instead of εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ for Hes. *Op.* 300 (*ND* 56.5); and that Demeter is called καλλιπλόκαμος at *Il.* 14.326. (Bernabé cites Leto being called εὐπλόκαμος at *Orph. ad Mus.* 19 and καλλιπλόκαμος at *h.Ap.* 101 and I find no other uses of these adjectives for Leto myself.) The arguments against West's emendation are that Proclus, at least, had a manuscript reading Λητοῦς in front of him, and that ancient authors were familiar with the idea that Hecate and Artemis were to be identified (that is, there is no compelling reason to emend the reading). For my purposes here, either reading will work.

the poet brought Artemis/Hecate into the story at all. There are two possible answers, which I will sketch below, but both depend upon a principle that I have discussed elsewhere.⁴ Namely: new myths establish credibility and authority by evoking older, well-established mythic traditions, even as the new myths seek to innovate upon those traditions. Thus, for example, the poet(s) who created the 'Orphic' story of Dionysus (to say nothing of the anthropogony that went hand-in-hand with this divine tale) validated the new tale and the cult with which it was associated by evoking the divine succession myth and the myth of the Titans' enmity towards Zeus, both of which were familiar from Hesiod. Even more importantly for the establishment of the new cult with which the story of Dionysus was associated, the new myth centred on a mother's loss of her child (Persephone and Dionysus), and the ramifications of that mother's anger in both the divine and the human worlds. This story inevitably would have brought to mind another story about a mother's loss of a child (Demeter and Persephone) and the mother's subsequent anger. The story of Demeter underpinned the Eleusinian mystery cult, which was already thriving at the time that the new myth of Dionysus emerged; the similarity between the two myths implicitly aligned the newer mystery cult with the older one.

How might the actions of Hecate/Artemis in *OF* 317 have lent authority and credibility to the new myth of Dionysus? Before we answer that, we need to understand what the goddess was doing there. Assuming that Bernabé is correct that the fragment belongs to the part of the story that narrated the Titans' murder and consumption of Dionysus, why was Hecate/Artemis present at the cannibalistic feast and why did she leave it 'straightaway'? Logic suggests that if the goddess fled to Olympus, then her role in the story was a positive one. That is, like Athena,⁵ she arrived late on the scene and was a witness to the crime rather than one of its perpetrators. She left immediately for Olympus in order to inform Zeus of what had happened, which set in motion the rest of the story, including Zeus' resurrection of Dionysus, which in turn underpinned the Dionysiac mysteries.

Hecate and Artemis each played analogous roles in some versions of the story of Demeter and Persephone. Artemis (like Athena) was one of the girls with whom Persephone was picking flowers when Hades leapt forth from the earth to kidnap her.⁶ In other words, Artemis was a witness to the

4 Graf – Johnston (2007: 66–93).

5 Athena is specifically credited with arriving in time to save Dionysus' heart before the Titans eat it: *OF* 314 with Bernabé's commentary; cf. Graf – Johnston (2007: 78–79).

6 *h.Cer.* 424, *E. Hel.* 1314 ff., *D.S.* 5.3.4., *Val. Flac.* 5.343 ff., Claudian, *RP* 2.204 ff. One of the Orphic versions also places Athena and Artemis at the scene of the abduction: *OF* 389. Further at Richardson (1974: 80 and 290–291) and in Bernabé's commentary to *OF* 389.

violent event that set in motion the rest of the story.⁷ Hecate, although never said to have been present at the abduction itself, was an auditory witness of Persephone's *kathodos* in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, and helped Demeter learn what had happened,⁸ which led to Demeter's wanderings amongst mortals and thence to the establishment of her mysteries.⁹ By placing Hecate/Artemis at the scene of the Titans' feast, then, and making her the one who reported the crime to Zeus, the poet(s) evoked the goddesses' small but important roles in stories connected with the rape of Persephone and Demeter's response to it.

The two episodes that I adduce here – Artemis' presence at Persephone's abduction and Hecate's knowledge of Persephone's *kathodos* – need not be mutually exclusive answers to the question I posed above; it is quite possible that the poet of our fragment had both episodes in mind. (In fact, the phrase 'had in mind' may distort the process of myth-making that I am trying to portray, which often, I suspect, operated at a subtler level than that of conscious evocation).

Finally, although I resolved not to enter into the debate concerning the relationship between Hecate and Artemis in this fragment or other ancient sources, I will nonetheless make a conjecture as to why the name of one is used rather than the name of the other. Hecate is called a messenger in at least two other early literary sources, one of which is the passage in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* that I mentioned above; it is likely that she had cultic associations with the role as well. As far as I know, Artemis is called a messenger only once, in a context where she is probably associated with Hecate.¹⁰ Either goddess' name would have evoked her role as a witness at the rape of Persephone, but 'Hecate' was a more appropriate name for one who would travel to the home of the gods and inform them of the Titans' crime.

7 In one version, Artemis even tries to fend off Hades with her arrows, but is thwarted by Zeus: Claudian. *RP* 2.204ff. and *OF* 389.

8 *h.Cer.* 24–28 and 52–59 with Richardson (1974: *ad loc.*).

9 In some versions, Hecate was also present at Persephone's *anodos* – indeed, she sometimes was credited with leading Persephone up from the Underworld. That is, Hecate helped to bring the cosmos into the new order according to which Persephone would spend part of her time above earth and part of it below, a state of affairs central to the Eleusinian mysteries. *h.Cer.* 438–440, Call. fr. 466 Pf., *ARV*² 1012.1, and more at Richardson (1974: *ad loc.*).

10 Hecate as messenger: *h.Cer.* 53, Pi. *Pae.* 2.49, and probably also in a story credited to Sophron by the scholiast to Theocritus 2.12, whereby a woman named Angelos, having been purified of childbirth pollution by the Cabiri, becomes an Underworld deity (Hecate, like the Cabiri, was important in the Samothracian mysteries). Hecate's role as a messenger is implied by her duties as a goddess who, like Hermes, protects people at liminal places and during passages: Johnston (1990: 21–48). Artemis as a messenger: Hsch. s. v. ἄγγελος.

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21. Dionysus' Definitive Rebirth (OF 328 I)

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It is a frequent fact that those who are familiar with Greek myths no longer consider their logic and their rationale and stop wondering about the reasons for the actions attributed to one or another character. However, to properly understand a myth, it is necessary to take into account the nature and functions of the gods or heroes involved in it. Each of the gods and heroes of Greek mythology has a more or less constant and well defined identity that opposes one another and that reveals itself in myths in which they participate. Admittedly, we move into the field of fantasy, in which almost anything is possible and the mythical characters are able to perform incredible feats that would be unthinkable for a mere mortal, but their actions must be in agreement with their character. In these pages, I will focus on a well-known mythical episode: the myth of Dionysus' birth from the thigh of Zeus, with the aim to explain the importance of this detail.

Among the many myths that can be told about each god, the stories about the birth and the childhood usually stand out. None of the Olympics was born and raised like another. The way to start their life affects their personality and, by extension, their subsequent actions. Thus, if we consider the origin of the immortals, we can better understand the meaning of some of their myths, thanks to the coherence I referred to above. However, the situation becomes much more complicated in the case of a god who was born more than once. This is the case of Dionysus, who was born at least twice.¹

According to the Orphic myth of Dionysus and the Titans, the god was born for the first time from the incestuous union of Zeus and his daughter Persephone, who had also been born from a previous incest between the god of thunder and his mother Rhea.² The Titans, instigated by Hera, killed and devoured the little god. Zeus recovered Dionysus' heart, the only part that the Titans had not eaten when he surprised them committing the crime, and used it to bring his son back to life. According to Hyginus' version, that seems to go back to the Orphic *Rhapsodies*, Zeus prepares a potion trough

1 Cf. Bernabé (1998: 29–39).

2 Bernabé (2003: 48 and 182) points out a possible explanation for the double incest: Zeus wants that the child belongs to his same generation and range.

which Semele becomes pregnant.³ At this point of the story, the Orphic myth links with the traditional version, in which Semele was struck dead by Zeus' lightning, so the god took out the child she carried in her womb and inserted it in his own thigh.⁴

Semele's death is usually explained as an unfortunate accident, due to the cruel deception of Hera. Zeus' jealous wife, after taking on the appearance of Semele's nurse, had approached and convinced her to force the god of thunderbolt to show her all his majesty, as he did with his wife Hera. However, the testimony of Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 41.2 Keil = *OF* 328 I), who declares himself initiated, points at another direction:⁵

(I) Let us leave to Orpheus, and to Musaeus, and to the ancient lawgivers the complete hymns and speeches about Dionysus. But let us address the god with a suitable address as if to prove that we are not of the uninitiated. [...] Zeus had intercourse with Semele. And when Semele conceived, Zeus, in the wish to be both Dionysus' father and mother, brought Semele on a conveyance of fire from earth to Olympus, and himself took up his offspring, sewed him in his thigh and carried him for ten months, living from the start in Nysa to the south of Ethiopia.

According to this text, Semele's death was not triggered by the intervention of the jealous Hera nor was accidental, as in the traditional version. Quite the opposite, it was due to Zeus' will, who wished to be father and mother of the child and to achieve it he sewed the foetus in his thigh.

In all versions, Dionysus' gestation is completed in Zeus' thigh. This detail has not been given the attention it deserves in my opinion. We can notice its importance if we compare the Dionysus' birth with Asclepius'. According to the most common version, the god of medicine, sometimes considered as a hero, just like Dionysus, was also rescued by his father Apollo from the womb of his mother Coronis, when she was consumed by the flames.⁶ But contrary to what happens with Dionysus, Asclepius was born at that moment: it is considered that the nymph Coronis gave birth to him and Apollo did not have to complete his gestation; in fact, he did not even took charge of his education, since it was left in the care of the centaur Chiron, who turned Asclepius into an excellent doctor.

3 This is narrated in Hyg. *Fab.* 167 (*OF* 327). According to another version preserved by Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 6.4, Zeus placed the heart in a plaster statue similar to the figure of Dionysus, which comes to life (*OF* 325). See Bernabé (1998) and (2008b) with bibliography.

4 We can mention these references to the birth of Dionysus from Zeus' thigh: *h.Hom.* 1.7, Hdt. 2.146, E. *Ba.* 94–104, 242–245, 286–293 and 520–529, Apollod. 3.4.2–3, and Ou. *Met.* 3.256–315. On the presence of Semele (who was struck dead by lightning) in Orphic poetry, see Bernabé (1998: 34–36).

5 Translated by Behr (1981: 244).

6 This version in Pi. *P.* 3.1–58 and Sch. v. 14 (scholium that quotes the text of *h.Hom.* 16.1–3). Also in Paus. 2.26.7 and Apollod. 3.10.3, but without certainty whether his mother was Arsinoe or Coronis.

As shown by comparison with Asclepius' birth, it is not really necessary for Zeus to rescue his unborn offspring from the womb and continue his gestation in his thigh. Why had he to do that? For what purpose? The fact that all versions agree on this point indicates that it cannot be trivial; this is the proof of the divinity of Dionysus, a character whose status is confusing at some occasions.⁷ With his action, Zeus dispels any doubt: Dionysus is his son, and he is doubly, because he acts as father and mother. Zeus has fathered him, but he has also carried him sewn inside his body for ten lunar months and has given birth to him in great pains. Dionysus, in this unusual birth, is presented as a full god, which would be questionable if Semele had given birth to him.

Another detail seems to strengthen Dionysus' divine quality: the part of his body in which Zeus chooses to insert the foetus. The thigh is indeed the perfect place to make the paternity of Zeus indisputable, because it is on their knees where parents sit the newborns to legitimize them and to give them a name. It is true that, as rituals were private, we have no certain information, but literary references suggest it as well.⁸

Moreover, Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 41.2 Keil = *OF* 328 I) says that Zeus turns Semele into a goddess as a compensation for her untimely death. It is important to recall that in the non-Orphic version of the myth, considered the traditional version, Semele also achieved a place among the immortals and changed her name into Thyone.⁹ The deification of Dionysus' mother seems to pursue the same aim as his gestation in Zeus' thigh: to vindicate the divinity of her son. In fact, a woman destined to become a goddess has carried him in her womb, and her mortal quality when she collaborated on Dionysos' rebirth and conceived him is unimportant.

Several epithets and nicknames of Dionysus refer to his unusual birth.¹⁰ Prominent among them is Εἰραφιότης (*Ερραφεώτας* in lesbian), which has

7 In fr. 871 *PMG* the women from Elis call Dionysus 'hero'.

8 Bernabé (2008a: 239) compares Greek references to this act of legitimization (*Od.* 19.399–404; *Il.* 9.453–457; *Hes. Th.* 459–460) with the Hittite texts *Song of Ullikummi* and the *Appu Story*.

9 References to Semele's apotheosis in *Hes. Th.* 940–941; *Pi. O.* 2.25–27; *Apollod.* 3.5.3; *Paus.* 2.37.5. Cf. Casadio (1991).

10 Regarding this point we can mention a parallel: Pindar uses the word λυθίραμμος (*Pi. Dith.* fr. 85 Maehler), probably with the purpose of giving an etymological explanation to the term διθύραμμος. It is Herodianus (2.375.12 Lentz = *Et. M.* 274.44) who gives the interpretation that the term λυθίραμμος refers to Zeus' cries giving birth to Dionysus: "untie the seam, untie the seam" (λύθι ράμμα, λύθι ράμμα). Moreover, several epithets point out his double birth, and some indicate that he has two mothers. This is rooted in the Orphic myth according to which Dionysus is first Persephone's son and later Semele's, although they appear in sources external to Orphism. Some examples given by Bernabé (2003: 198–199, especially n. 213) are δίγονος, δισσοτόκος, διμήτωρ, διμήτριος and lat. *bimatrem*. Beside these, other epithets indicate the importance of fire in his birth.

received differing interpretations.¹¹ Some ancient testimonies, collected in the *OF* 328, relate this epithet to his birth from Zeus' thigh:¹²

(VII) *Eiraphiotes*: ... because he was sewn, *erraphiotas* arose, and *eiraphiotas* after the addition of 'i' and the loss of 'r'. *Eiraphiotes* is said of Dionysus because he was sewn (ἐρράφθαι) inside Zeus' thigh. Or *Erapihotas* came from a kid (ἐριφος) and, with the amplification of an 'i', *Eiraphiotes*. In fact, Dionysus was raised with the appearance of a kid. And he is called *Eriphios* ('kid') among Spartans.

(VIII) *Eiraphiotes* ... because his father sewed him up (ἐρράψατο) into his thigh that happily gives birth.

(IX) Dionysus, because he was sewn (ἐρράφθαι) into Zeus' thigh and *Eriphios* among Spartans.

(X) From where they also call Dionysus *Eiraphiotes*, because he was crowned with ivy or because he was having sewn (ἐρράφθαι) into Zeus' thigh; or because he was raised as a kid (ἐρίφωι); or because he wove wool for himself (ἐρίωι).

This epithet is often used in texts that seem to emphasize Dionysus' divinity. Its two oldest testimonies, in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* and in an Alcaeus' fragment, are remarkable.¹³ We cannot determine the relationship between these two texts, as the bad state of conservation of the Alcaic poem makes the comparison difficult. Both narrate the episode in which Dionysus is the only god capable to carry Hephaestus back to Olympus so that he releases his mother Hera from the trap that he had laid for her: a throne with invisible chains that bound the goddess. As a reward, the goddess granted Dionysus a place among the Olympics, a privilege deserved by birth, as the epithet *Eiraphiotes* highlights. We do not know whether in this context the epithet may be related to the month name Εἰραφίων in Amorgos, which could point to a possible cultural value.¹⁴ This title of Dionysus later became very widespread in the literature of Hellenistic and Imperial times.¹⁵

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- 11 Several modern authors relate this epithet with the bull: see *DGE* s. v.; Càssola (1975: 463–464); Bernabé (1998: 40) and Rodríguez Somolinos (1998: 52–53). On his relationship with the goat and Ἐρίφιος, cf. Otto (1997 [21948]: 124) and Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 82). Bechtel (1963: I, 128) mentions that the term may derive from εἶπος, 'wool', which Chantraine considers unlikely. Cf. Kerényi (1998 [1976]: 192).
 - 12 *OF* 328 VII: Hdn. Περὶ ὀφθ. 502.6 Lentz; VIII: Nonn. *D.* 9.23–24; IX: Hsch. s. v. *Eiraphiotes*; X. Sch. *Il.* A 39b (I 21 Erbse). The explanations provided by other lexicographers are very similar (e.g. Choerob. *de orthographia*, s. v., *Et. Gud.*, s. v., *EM*, s. v.) and *Suida* s. v. All these testimonies are studied in Bernabé (forthcoming).
 - 13 *h.Hom.* 1.2, 17, 20; Alc. fr. 349 (a), a text Voigt considered part of a hymn to Dionysus, while according to Page (1955: 258–261) it is a hymn to Hephaestus. Campbell edited it as Alc. fr. 381, separate from other fragments of the hymn (Alc. fr. 349). Both texts are studied in detail in Herrero (forthcoming) and Porres (forthcoming).
 - 14 Εἰραφίων in *IG* XII, 7, 62 (Amorgos).
 - 15 Fr. 1045.2 *PMG*; *AP* 9.524.1; Corn. *ND* 62.2; Arr. *Bith.* 42.5; Orph. *H.* 48.2; Porph. *Abst.* 3.17; Nonn. *D.* 9.23, 14.118, 14.229, 21.81, 42.35.

As this analysis of *OF* 328 shows, Zeus carried out several actions to turn Dionysus into a god. While the former, with his atypical actions, tries to make utterly clear Dionysus' filiation and divinity, he has to defend himself many times from those who question his divinity.¹⁶ On the other hand, in an Orphic context the circumstances surrounding his birth acquire a different meaning: Zeus' aim is that this is Dionysus' last rebirth and that nothing can thwart his plans. According to some Orphic fragments, Zeus had decided to transfer the supreme authority to his son Dionysus.¹⁷ A child Dionysus, turned into a king, is murdered, dismembered, cooked and devoured by the Titans. Zeus could not allow that something similar happens again, therefore he resorted to different proceedings: a) Dionysus' reconstitution in Semele's womb, whom, according to *OF* 328, Zeus intentionally kills to become the only progenitor of the child; b) the deification of the Theban princess, and, above all, c) the gestation of the foetus in his thigh; since Zeus is the most powerful of the gods, in this way legitimizes his son's birth. *OF* 328 suggests that Semele not only was present in Orphic literature, as A. Bernabé established,¹⁸ but that she had certain importance, for she appears as an instrument through which Zeus managed that this rebirth of Dionysus is the last. He, like the initiates who worship him, has lived and died, but is now reborn to enjoy an eternal life and to regain sovereignty, of which nothing and nobody could deprive him.¹⁹

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- 16 Different characters stand out for their rejection of dionysiac cult and for the consequent punishment they receive from Dionysus: Lycurgus, Pentheus, Mynias' daughters and Proetus' daughters. References to these myths in archaic sources are studied in Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal – Santamaría (eds.) (forthcoming).
 - 17 According to *Orphic Rhapsodies: OF* 299–300.
 - 18 Bernabé (1998, 2003, 2004–2007, 2008b).
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22. From the Heart and with a Serpent: on *OF* 329

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“I am the Heart; and the Snake is entwined
About the invisible core of the mind”

Liber cordis cincti serpente vel LXV

Aleister Crowley

1. *OF* 329 (Procl. in *Ti.* I 407.22 Diehl)

καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν Πλάτων οὕτως, ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς) τρόπον ἕτερον· ... ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἴπτα τοῦ παντός οὔσα ψυχὴ καὶ οὕτω κεκλημένη παρὰ τῷ θεολόγῳ τάχα μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἀκμαιοτάταις κινήσεσιν αἱ νοήσεις αὐτῆς οὐσίωνται, ... λίκνον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς θεμένη καὶ δράκοντι αὐτὸ περιστέψασα τὸν κραδιαῖον ὑποδέχεται Διόνυσον· ... ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μηροῦ τοῦ Διὸς πρόεισιν εἰς αὐτήν (ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖ συνηνωμένος)

Nor is it the case that Plato says this and Orpheus something different (...) For Hipta, who is the soul of the world, and who is so named in the Theologian perhaps because her intellections are expressed in the most vigorous movements, (...) having placed a winnowing basket on her head and wound it round with a snake, takes into care Dionysus, he of the heart; (...) And [Dionysus] proceeds towards her out of the thigh of Zeus – he was united with [Zeus] at that point.

In spite of the heterodoxy of the preceding quotation, this paper aims to elucidate a set of thoughts, which at this point¹ are more than mere “Orphic intuitions” originating in the fragment *OF* 329. There, the evocative narrative of the end of Dionysus’ eventful birth, interpreted through Proclus’ Neoplatonic vision, brings together the presence of two suggestive Dionysiac elements: the heart and the serpent. The reptile appears entwined around the basket wherein the new-born is hidden, and the heart is hidden in the adjective *κραδιαῖος*. Together with the figure of Hipta and the god himself, both play a specific role in the cosmological vision evoked by the quotation from the *Rhapsodies*.² However, it is clear that they reveal the

1 If all has gone according to plan, by the time this appears in print, the article on Dionysus’ heart will have been completed; a collaborative work by the author of this paper and the person in whose honour this volume has been compiled. So this humble effort is dedicated to Alberto, who well knows how much of it is his due.

2 Proclus’ interpretation fits in with the commentary on the Platonic planetary system as set forth in the *Timaean*: Hipta, the woman who looks after the god fol-

Orphic past which lent them meaning, given that both the heart and the serpent play an essential role in the original context of the Orphic Dionysiac myth.

The reference to the former is a clear and direct reminder of the antecedents to the final and definitive birth of the god, which left their mark in Dionysus' condition, given that the god in his final form passed through a phase in which he was pure heart. At this point, the relevance of this organ becomes evident as depositary of the life-force of the god and the quintessence of his identity. During that period it contained the totality of Dionysus' being. One could argue that the god, in the process of regeneration, reveals himself to be a "heart-being", springing from the heart and all it contains.³ On the one hand, the serpent's presence may call to mind the initial conception of the god in Persephone's womb, impregnated by Zeus in the form of a serpent,⁴ which undoubtedly lends the reptile a clear role in Orphism.⁵ Nonetheless, this role seems to have been displaced, while retaining its meaning as a guardian of the god, it also affirms through the use of the verb περιστέφω,⁶ both the plastic value of the animal's long and versatile form which enables it to enclose, like a belt or bow, and the symbolism of the crown surrounding the small world of the new-born god like a sacred mark of identity.⁷

lowing his third birth symbolises "the soul of the earth" while Dionysus himself is assimilated to the sun in its central position by means of καρδιαῖος, which Proclus adjudicates to the sun itself in the hymn he dedicates to it (1.6). It is for this reason that the adjective has been interpreted in accordance with this system and the translation proposed was "heart of the world": Bernabé (2003: 198). In the translation we propose, this is substituted by "he of the heart" in keeping with Alberto Bernabé's suggestion. On Dionysus' assimilation with the sun: Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 191).

- 3 On the role of the heart in the Orphic-Dionysiac myth and in Orphism: Jiménez San Cristóbal (2005: 107, n. 350 with bibliography).
- 4 On the testimonies of the conception of Dionysus by Zeus in the form of a snake: Bernabé (2003: 177) and Jiménez San Cristóbal (2005: 416, n. 1427, with bibliography).
- 5 On the role of the serpent in Orphism: Jiménez San Cristóbal (forthcoming).
- 6 The verb is used in the sense of enclosing (*Od.* 5.303), crowning (*OF* 268) or entwining (*Plu. Arist.* 9), and Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Delos* (93) uses it in fact to show how another serpent, Python, encircles the mount Parnassus with its rings.
- 7 The association of Dionysus and the crowns reinforces the idea transmitted by the verb. Interestingly, we observe how the serpent serves as closure and crown as mentioned in the previous note in relation to the meaning of the περιστέφω. It is also worth drawing attention to the cosmic significance in Proclus' passage of the serpent as enclosing the world, as an image of Ocean, the water current which flows back into itself and surrounds the earth. On the analogous presence of Ocean in the *Rhapsodies*, cf. *OF* 287; Bernabé (2003: 179).

2. Images of hearts and serpents: projections of Dionysiac identity

In the imaginary world generated by Dionysiac myth and ritual, the images painted on Greek vases play a crucial role in testifying to the materialization of the intangible realities in the narrative. In the set of images we call Dionysiac we note the recurrence of figurative elements that correspond to mythic and ritual realities, albeit as seemingly specific versions reserved exclusively for the symposium.⁸ There, few of the Dionysiac myths make an appearance, and although we barely have a representation of Dionysus' birth, the profound realities of the god's generation and death are not present. Although the figurative elements transmit images containing – in distilled form – Dionysus' identity, their message is dispersed.

The serpent makes a notable appearance in the images on the vases, not encircling baskets but around the waist, arms and heads of the Nymphs, who dance with the Satyrs, as in the famous Lydos' krater⁹ (fig. 1), and of the Maenads deriving from the Nymphs, possessed by the god and his identity to the extent that they become female versions of Dionysus.¹⁰



Fig. 1: Detail of Lydos' krater. New York, Metropolitan Museum

The well-known – and practically only – Maenad on the famous Brygos Painter's cup (fig. 2), has a serpent wrapped around her head, as we imagine the serpent entwined around the basket that carried the god. The plastic significance

8 On the archaic iconography of Dionysus: Díez Platas (forthcoming). On the images of the banquet: Lissarrague (1987).

9 *LIMC* III, 471, 563.

10 Díez Platas (forthcoming: §3.3.2).



Fig. 2: Tondo of Brygos-Painter's cup. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen

of the animal is evident in its ability to enclose and encircle while its metaphoric significance is blurred. Only in the scenes of the Gigantomachy does the reptile appear to be a metamorphosis of Dionysus, an *alter ego*, revealing the "liquid" facet of the god and the uncontrolled power of the aquatic element. In the remaining representations, however, the serpent is removed from the figure of Dionysus, associated rather with the women around him.¹¹ The water association reminds us, as in other images, of the nature of the Nymphs and their role as counterpoint to the wine-god at the banquet.¹²

On the other hand, Dionysus' heart is not visible, nor would it be seemly, *stricto sensu*, to represent the heart as a living entity detached from the body thereby reducing the god to an unrecognisable reality. Yet the representative power of the divine heart remains uncontested if we consider the possibility that he impregnated in this form important objects from the

11 On Dionysus and the serpents: Díez Platas (2010b).

12 On the Nymphs as water and Dionysus as wine, evoking the mix at the banquet: Díez Platas (2001: 300 ff.), and Díez Platas (2010a: 326).

perspective of the Orphic rites with their intrinsic life and death symbolism, as in the golden Orphic tablets which have indeed been largely interpreted as ivy leaves.¹³ This latter interpretation is not unjustified, given the extensive documentation of both textual sources and imagery, to the extent that the association of this plant with Dionysus has been fully established in the imagery of the forms of the god, literally invading the pottery as a constant decorative motif. Ivy surrounds the vases in real form at the banquet and in virtual form in the representation of the banquet. However, its presence is not limited to a decorative function. Neither is it restricted to the crown that the god always wears, indeed is it often to be found amongst his followers and, almost without exception, amongst the symposiasts represented on vases.¹⁴ The ivy is in the hands of the god and those of his companions as a significant attribute which complements the meaning of the divine figure, to the extent that it is deconstructed to reveal the contemporary heart-shaped form of its leaves, as shown clearly in an extensive series of vases (fig. 3).¹⁵



Fig. 3: Janiform black-figured kantharos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen

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- 13 On the Orphic tablets and other ritual objects in the form of ivy leaf or hearts: Martín Hernández (2010: 212–217).
 - 14 The trajectory of Dionysus' association with ivy can be traced from the Homeric hymns to tragedy, including lyric poetry, and this relation is reinforced in the epithets related to the ivy that classify the god. On Dionysus and ivy in text and image: Díez Platas (forthcoming: §3.1.5).
 - 15 On the specific value of ivy in Dionysiac representations: Díez Platas (2010a: 323 ff.).

It is, thus, this intrinsic association of ivy with Dionysus which becomes evident in the images, leading us to view the ivy as a representation of a heart, or perhaps to view the heart as an actual ivy leaf and to concur that the possibility of identification, and consequently of substitution, lies in their similarity. This ivy/heart or *hedera pro cordi* acquires then a fundamental significance as a token of remembrance of the miraculous salvation of Dionysus when he was reduced to a heart. Furthermore, if we take it to be the divine heart – in its vicarious thousand-fold recurrence – this allows for a certain “possession” of the god in his more reduced and essential form, opening up a privileged path towards Dionysus for each and every one of his followers in a simultaneous and identical manner. The ivy leaf is thus transformed into a *souvenir* of the god in his better version, almost aniconic but anthropomorphic by metonymy, lightweight, portable, and even “edible” as was his own heart.¹⁶

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16 To close the circle, on this idea cf. note 1.

23. Presence in Stoicism of an Orphic Doctrine on the Soul quoted by Aristotle (*De Anima* 410b 27 = *OF* 421)*

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In his treatise *On the soul* 1.5, Aristotle criticises the theories that state that the soul is formed from the elements. He considers such a conception not to be applicable to all the kinds of existent souls. In this context, the Stagirite quotes, as an example of this conception, an Orphic doctrine characterised as follows (*de An.* 410b 27–11a 2):

τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθε καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς καλουμένοις ἔπεσι λόγος· φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων, φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, οὐχ οἷόν τε δὲ τοῖς φυτοῖς τοῦτο συμβαίνειν οὐδὲ τῶν ζώων ἐνίοις, εἴπερ μὴ πάντα ἀναπνέουσιν· τοῦτο δὲ λέληθε τοὺς οὕτως ὑπειληφότες.

The doctrine contained within the poems called “Orphic” suffers from this very thing, for it says that the soul comes in from the universe when breathing takes place, borne in upon the winds. However, it is not possible for this to happen to plants, nor to certain animals, for not all of them breathe. But those who hold this view overlooked this fact.

In short, for Aristotle the notion of soul as an entity borne in upon the winds, which living beings acquire through breathing, is too restricted because it does not include the soul proper to animate beings that do not breathe, such as plants and certain animals (*e. g.* the fish).¹

However, I am not interested as much in Aristotle’s interpretation as in the notion of soul contained in the quoted Orphic texts.² These texts seem

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- 1 Plants and animals share, according to Aristotle, a certain kind of soul (*de An.* 411b 27 and *Phlp. in. de An.* 201.33–202.7 Hayd.), whose function is to maintain the basic vital operations: nutrition, growth and reproduction (*An.* 413a ff.).
- 2 It has not been possible to identify accurately which texts these were, the assignment of which to Orpheus the Stagirite himself doubted (see *Arist. fr.* 7 Rose³ = 26 Gigon). For a compendium of the different proposals of identification see Megino (2008: 1296, n. 67). On the notions about the soul in Orphism see Molina (2008: 609–621).

to describe a kind of soul that is “breathable”. Considering the context of the quote, we can think that the soul is composed of an element, the air,³ which introduces itself from the exterior into the body of the animals in the form of inhaled breath, bestowing in this manner life upon them. It is most likely that the soul conceived in such a way was imagined as the first breath that the living being takes in from the exterior when is born,⁴ and then continues exerting its vital effect by means of breath throughout the individual’s life, ending at his death.⁵ This is preferable to think that what the Orphic verses meant is that the soul comes into the individual every time it takes in air,⁶ for that would mean that, either one would have as many souls as inhalations, or just one soul that comes in and out every time we inhale or exhale, both consequences being absurd and not attested to in the Orphic literature.

The idea of the soul as vital breath is very old. It already appears in Homer,⁷ and other authors adopted it later on. The most conspicuous representative of these in the philosophical arena will be Anaximenes, who not only does identify the soul with the air, makes of this origin the substratum and cause of all that is real,⁸ and Diogenes of Apollonia, who also conceives the soul as made up of air and binds it, like the already mentioned Orphic doctrine, to respiration.⁹ It also seems that the Pythagoreans held a similar theory, as can be inferred from information of Aristotle himself, who attributes to them the idea that the soul is made up of particles suspended in the air and that any soul can come into any body.¹⁰ It is also possible

3 Joannes Stobaeus 1.49.32.98 also believed this, as he refers to those who think that the soul consists either of something hot or of something cold: “In both cases, they consider soul the air we breathe, just as Aristotle says that in the Orphic poems is stated that the soul comes in from the universe when breathing takes place, borne in upon the winds”.

4 So did already interpreted Themistius, *in de An.* 35.17 Heinze. Cf. Lobeck (1829: 758).

5 Aristotle says in *de An.* 404a 10: “Respiration (ἀναπνοή) marks the limit of life”.

6 This is what Hicks (1907: 296), among others, believes.

7 Cf. *e.g.* *Il.* 5.696, 16.453 or 22.467. The relation of the soul (ψυχή) with the vital breath goes back to the etymology of the term itself, for ψυχή comes from ψύχω ‘to blow, to breathe’, from a possible *ψύω. It has nothing to do, however, with ψύχω ‘to refresh’, despite of Plato’s, Aristotle’s or the Stoics’ belief in that sense, see *infra* n. 30: cf. Chantraine (1980: 1295–1296).

8 Cf. *e.g.*, on the aerial character of the soul, 13 A 23 and B 2 DK.

9 Cf. 64 B 4 and B 5 DK.

10 Cf. Arist. *de An.* 404a 16 ff., 407b 21 ff.; see Sfameni (1984: 144, n. 104) and Bernabé (2002: 235). Cicero, on his part, attributes to Pythagoras the idea that the human spirit (*animus*) comes from the spirit that stretches throughout nature (*ND* 1.11.27, cf. *Cato* 78). It has also been mentioned as a precedent of the doctrine quoted by Aristotle, a testimony that attributes to Heraclitus the idea that when man inhales the divine *logos* with the respiration he becomes intelligent, suggesting a relation of physical affinity between the *logos* and human intelligence, a relation which is preserved in the respiration (Heraclit. 22 A 16 DK = S. E. *M.* 7.129); cf. Casadio (1991: 126, n. 14). Nevertheless, the parallelism should be considered with caution, for in

that the idea of the soul as a vital principle, borne in upon the winds and inhaled at birth, reflects an old belief according to which the vital breath is borne in upon the winds, as it can be deduced from the use of the epithet ὑπηνέμιον – lit. ‘borne in upon the winds’ –, applied to what is brought to life without male fertilisation.¹¹

As it regards Orphism, Aristotle’s reference is the oldest we possess on such a belief on the soul, which is also preserved at least in two literal passages of Orphic poems passed on by late sources. The first fragment, from the so-called *Orphic Rhapsodies*, is quoted by Proclus¹² in a context wherein, with regard to the different fortune of souls after death, it is said that the soul of plants and animals wanders on in the air, ‘blended with the wisps of the wind’ (μίγδην ἀνέμοιοι πνοῇσιν), until another body receives it, whilst the soul of men descends to Hades led by Hermes.

The image of the soul blending with the wisps of the wind reminds one very much of the Aristotelian φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, although Proclus’ quote presupposes the theory of the transmigration of the souls, and it only links to the external air the soul of animals and plants, all of which is not reflected in Aristotle’s information.¹³ However, this passage does underlie the same idea of the soul as an aerial entity, autonomous and pre-existing the body, that, subject to the battering of the winds when it is separated from the latter, enters the body to bestow life upon it or, which is the same, to make it breathe.

such testimony a clear Stoic influence can be detected, which raises doubts on what Heraclitus exactly said; see Kirk – Raven – Schofield (1983²: 206–207).

- 11 Nilsson (1935: 213) and Guthrie (²1952: 94), *e.g.*, believe this. They are based, *e.g.*, on *Ar. Au.* 695, wherein ὑπηνέμιον is applied to the cosmic Egg that Night lays by herself, without anyone fertilising her, in the parody of an Orphic theogony; *Arist. HA* 559b 24, who tells of the “vacuous” egg and, later on, of some vacuous eggs called “of the west wind”, because the birds who lay them receive such winds in their womb; and *Luc. Sacr.* 6, wherein is attributed to Hephaestus, born of Hera without Zeus intervention. Also Aristotle (*HA* 572a 14) mentions the belief according to which the mares may be impregnated by the wind.
- 12 Procl. *in R.* I 339.17 Kroll (*OF* 339).
- 13 At least explicitly, although, as Nilsson (1935: 213) points out, the metempsychosis doctrine concurs well with the idea that the soul, borne in upon the winds, enters the body. Casadio (1991: 126) and Bernabé (1998: 69) express themselves in the same line. However, it is also significant, on the other hand, that Aristotle reproached the Orphics for having too restrictive a notion of the soul, but did not object to the transmigration belief, when he does so against the Pythagoreans (see *de An.* 407b 22–27). The absence of such criticism concerning the Orphics prevents us from being categorical with respect to the fact that the Orphic verses Aristotle consulted actually contained such doctrine, for had that been the case it is surprising that Aristotle did not mention it to criticise it: cf. Alderink (1981: 57–58), Brisson (2000: 252).

Closer even to Aristotle's information is the second Orphic fragment about the soul, transmitted by a later author, Vettius Valens (2nd century AD), who says:¹⁴

ἀέρα δ' ἔλκοντες ψυχὴν θεῖαν δρεπόμεσθα

When we draw in the air, we harvest the divine soul.

The expression 'draw in the air' itself is equivalent to the verb Aristotle uses to indicate the coming in of the soul through respiration, ἀναπνέω, which means precisely 'to inhale', 'to draw in the air', especially in the contexts of the recovery of the vital functions. We see as well the reproduction of the same fundamental idea that Aristotle reflects: the relation soul-air, combined with the conception of its entering the body through respiration.

It seems clear that we may consider these two passages¹⁵ as the genuine expression of an Orphic conception of the soul preceding Aristotle's time, which is directly connected to pre-Socratic speculation, as Anaximenes, Diogenes of Apollonia and the Pythagoreans attest.

In addition, it is also my aim to point out briefly here how that Orphic conception of the soul is also reflected in Stoicism.

The first parallelism we encounter is with the Stoic consideration of the soul as a pneuma, that is, as an inner breath by means of which the living being moves and breathes.¹⁶ There is also the correlative idea that the departure of the soul means death,¹⁷ for it entails the cease of respiration. The soul, then, would have a corporeal nature, both in the version of Orphism that Aristotle quoted, and in Stoicism, in which considering the soul as a body is a school dogma.¹⁸

Secondly, there could be another parallelism in the idea that the individual souls that animate men would be of the same nature as the pneuma that animates the world. From this perspective, the souls are nothing but particular portions of the world absorbed through the inhalations of respiration. Iamblichus seems to interpret in that sense the passage Aristotle quotes¹⁹ when he says (*de An. ap. Stob.* 1.49.32 [I 366, 17 Wachsm.]):

At least it seems that Orpheus himself also supposes that the soul is unique, from which there are many divisions, and that numerous and immediate inhalations (ἐπιπνοίαις) come over the individual souls from the universal soul.

14 Vett. Val. 317.19 Pingree (*OF* 422).

15 To which it might be necessary to add the allusion to the winds as soul feeders in Orph. *H.* 38.22.

16 *SVF* I 135–136, II 784.

17 *SVF* I 137–138, II 790–791.

18 Cf. e.g. *SVF* I 137, 142, 518, II 773, 790–800.

19 Also Jaeger (1947: 217, n. 21).

That is, the individual souls are the result of the division of the universal soul through inhalations of the latter.²⁰ That the Orphic literature contained the notion of a universal pneuma, giver of life, which was identified with Zeus, beginning, middle and end of all things, seems to emerge from an expression of an Orphic *Hymn to Zeus* that says: “Zeus, breath of all things” (Ζεὺς πνοῇ πάντων),²¹ especially if we take into account that Zeus is, amongst many other things, the vital principle that in the shape of air is present in all living beings. It also seems possible to presuppose this conception in Vet-tius Valens’ verse quoted above, for it might be thought that, when inhaling, what everyone does is to personalise the divine soul encircling us, making it his own.

Well, in Stoicism we encounter several examples of a similar relation between the soul of the universe and the souls of men. Thus, for example, Cleanthes says that “the soul diffuses throughout the cosmos, and we are animate beings for having a part of it”.²² According to Diogenes Laërtius, for the Stoics “the soul of the universe is incorruptible, of which the souls contained in the living beings are part”.²³ And even clearer:²⁴

They (sc. the Stoics) declare that there is one soul in the universe – which they called ‘ether’ and ‘air’ –, that encircles the earth and the sea, and that is exhaled from them.

The other souls are born from it, the ones within the living beings, as well as the ones in the atmosphere – for there is where the souls of the departed dwell –.

That is, as in the Orphic verses Aristotle quotes, the individual soul has its origin in the universe, which is also an animate aerial being, similar to the Zeus-pneuma in the previous Orphic hymn.

Besides, not only is the external pneuma conceived in Stoicism as the origin of the soul,²⁵ but also as that which keeps the living alive by pro-

20 Cf. Iamb. *de An. ap. Stob.* 1.49.38.2–10 (I 376, 2 Wachsm.). Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm.* 7.22–25 (34 Moerschlini) quotes the same idea of a common soul, divisible amongst the individuals, that is inhaled and exhaled. His source may have been an Orphic poem.

21 Ps.-Arist. *Mu.* 7.401a 25 (OF 31). That very conception of Zeus is very likely to have appeared in the *Hymn to Zeus* commented in the Derveni Papyrus, cols. XVII, XVIII and XIX. The concordance of that conception with the content of the Orphic passage Aristotle quoted was already mentioned by Boyancé (1974: 100). Cf. also Alderink (1981: 58). West (1983: 218 f.), for his part, given the similarities of the content of this and other verses of this *Hymn to Zeus* with Stoic conceptions, suggests that the Stoics could have included or re-written these verses themselves.

22 SVF I 495: τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δι’ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου διήκειν, ἥς μέρος μετέχοντας ἡμᾶς ἐμψυχοῦσθαι.

23 D.L. 7.156 = SVF II 774: τὴν (sc. ψυχὴν) δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἀφθαρτον, ἥς μέρη εἶναι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις.

24 Ar. Did. fr. 39 (*Dox. Gr.* p. 471, 11 Diels) = SVF II 821.

25 That pneuma is not its only origin, for it was also maintained within the school that the soul is the product of the exhalation (ἀναθυμίασις) from the humours of the body and, more specifically, the blood. See SVF I 140, 519, 521, II 778.

viding, together with blood, the sustenance necessary for the soul-pneuma when inhaled,²⁶ an idea that, if not explicit in Aristotle's passage, can be deduced from the connection of the soul with respiration and vital signs, on the one hand; and with the exterior universe as the origin of it insofar as it is principle and guarantor of life, on the other.

But maybe the most interesting contribution of Stoicism to our comprehension of the Orphic notion of the soul that Aristotle mentions is that it provides a physical explanation of how the soul generates from the surrounding air. This explanation seems to be justified by the interpretation that the Stoics themselves make of the etymology of the term ψυχή, following a method very much characteristic of them, *e.g.* when they interpreted in their own way the works of the ancient poets, such as Orpheus', with the purpose of presenting them (*sc.* the ancient poets) as precursors of their own thought (*sc.* the Stoics') and benefit from their prestige.²⁷

Indeed, for the Stoics the soul is, as we have said, pneuma. However, that pneuma is not soul while the foetus is inside the mother's womb, but it becomes soul through a cooling and tempering process, just like a red-hot iron is tempered when submerged in cold water.²⁸ That cooling process is caused by the surrounding air, probably when the child inhales it at the time of birth.²⁹ That is why that cooled pneuma is called ψυχή, since it is the product of 'cooling' (ψύξις ο περίψυξις).³⁰

26 Gal. *in Hp. epid.* 6 ed. Bas. V 509 K. XVII B 246 = SVF II 782, Gal. *de usu resp.* 5 (K. Vol. IV p. 502) = SVF II 783.

27 Cf. *e.g.* Cic. *ND* 1.41, Phld. *Piet.* (*PHerc.* 1428 VI 16 p. 80 Gomperz) = SVF I 539 and II 1078. On that see, *e.g.* Casadesús (2008: 1307–1308).

28 Plot. 4.7.8³ = SVF II 804: "They say (*sc.* the Stoics) that the same pneuma is, first, nature, but it becomes soul when it is exposed to the cold and tempered (ἐν δὲ ψυχρῷ γενομένην καὶ στομωθεῖσαν), becoming more subtle in the cold". The verb στομώω connotes the idea of hardening by means of the cold, and it is used when applied to iron (see. *e.g.* Ph. *Bel.* 102.20, Plu. *Fac. lun.* 943E, *Epigr. Gr.* 790.5). Cf. note 29.

29 Tert. *An.* 25 = SVF II 805: "The semen trapped in the female genitals after copulation, and revitalised by a natural movement, develops to form an only flesh substance. Once this comes out from the uterine oven giving out vapour and freed from heat, like the red-hot iron suddenly submerged in cold water, that way, struck by the cold in the air, it takes on the nature of the soul and emits the sound of the voice". We find a similar doctrine in Philolaus (44 A 27 DK), who speaks of the need of the just-born to inhale the external air to cool down his body, which is hotter.

30 Plu. *Stoic. rep.* 1052F = SVF II 806A: "He (*sc.* Chrysippus) believes that the foetus feeds naturally in the womb, like a plant. When it is born, the pneuma, cooled and tempered by the air (ψυχόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ στομούμενον), transforms and becomes a living being. Hence not without reason the soul (ψυχή) takes its name from the cooling process (ψύξιν)"; Hippol. *Haer.* 1.21.3 = SVF II 807: "They (*sc.* Chrysippus and Zeno) say that the soul is immortal, that it is a body and it originates from the cooling of the surrounding air (γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς περιψύξεως τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ περιέχοντος), and because of this it is also called soul (ψυχή)". Cf. also, SVF II 808 and Casadesús (2008: 1324f.). Plato (*Cra.* 399e) did already relate ψυχή

This explanation concurs clearly with the notion of the soul that Aristotle describes. However, with this I do not intend to say that the Orphics known by the Stagirite imagined the origin of the soul like that, nor that the Stoics necessarily had to bear in mind their doctrine in their explanation of that origin. In any way, a manifest concordance between the conception of the soul of the former and of the latter does exist, of which the current Stoic explanation of the birth of the soul might be a reflection.

In short, the Orphic notion of the soul that Aristotle mentions coincides with the Stoic doctrine in several aspects, for example, in the consideration of the soul as a corporeal entity, in its connection with respiration and vital signs (the vital breath), and in the identification of its nature with the nature of the universal pneuma, that animates all things, and from which it comes. Besides, the Stoic explanation of the origin of the soul accords with Aristotle's description. All that supports and confirms the inclusion of the Stoics amongst the heirs of a conception on the soul of which the Orphics were outstanding representatives.

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etymologically with ἀναπνεῖν 'to breathe' and with ἀναψυχεῖν 'to cool', and Aristotle (*de An.* 405b 28) refers to those who state that ψυχή is what is cold (ψυχρόν) due to respiration (ἀναπνοή) and the resulting cooling (κατάψυξις).

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24. Non-musical Notes on the Orphic *Lyra* (OF 417)

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The aim of these notes is to make a contribution to the assessment of the evidence for a poem ascribed to Orpheus under the title *Lyra*. This poem seems to have dealt with the invocation of souls, and stated the necessity of the lyre in that connection. Besides, it is usually admitted that the Orphic poem *Lyra* mentioned the affinity between the seven strings of the lyre and the seven spheres corresponding to the Sun, the Moon, and the five planets that can be seen without a telescope.¹ If so, the ascension of the souls alluded to by our source about that Orphic poem might have taken place through those seven spheres.² But such an idea seems very strange in the Orphic realm, where the abode of the souls of the deceased was held to be underground.³ We think it is worthwhile to discuss this issue: did the Orphic poem itself deal with the cosmic lyre and the heavenly ascension of the souls?

First of all, let us present our piece of evidence for the Orphic *Lyra*. As it is well known, it is a *scholion* to Vergil, *Aeneis* 6.119 (*si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus*); this *scholion* has been preserved only in an eleventh century codex named *Parisinus Latinus* 7930, but the *scholion* itself may go back to the ninth century.⁴ The *scholion* reads:

*Si potuit manes: orpheus secundum fabulas descendit ad inferos ad revocandam animam coniugis. re autem vera quibusdam carminibus voluit revocare animam coniugis sive, quod quia implere non potuit, fingitur a poetis receptam perdidisse dura lege plutonis: quod iste ostendit cum dicit arcessere, id est evocare. dicunt tamen quidam liram orphei cum VII cordis fuisse, et celum habet VII zonas, unde teologia assignatur. varro autem dicit librum orfei de vocanda anima liram nominari, et negantur animae sine cithara posse ascendere.*⁵

1 Bernabé (2008: 399).

2 Vid., e.g., Nock (1927: 169); Cumont (1942: 499, *addendum* to p. 18, n. 4, and to p. 262), and Ferrero (1955: 302 of the 2008 edition). Burkert (1972: 357) and West (1983: 29–33) implicitly agree with the same view.

3 OF 474 and 475. Nock (1927: 170) already pointed out the difficulty of admitting that the source about the Orphic *Lyra* could allude to the ascension of the souls through heavenly spheres; cf. also Lambardi (1986: 152–155).

4 Savage (1925: 229).

5 We quote the whole text of the *scholion*, as it is printed in Savage (1925: 235–236); cf. also, although these cannot be considered editions as such, Nock (1927: 169);

If (*sc.* Orpheus) could (*sc.* summon her wife's) spirit: According to the myth, Orpheus descended to the Lower World in order to call back her wife's soul. Actually he tried to call her wife's soul back by means of certain incantations, or (since he could not fulfil such a wish) he is said by poets to have lost her after having got her back, due to Pluton's stern law, which he (that is, Vergil) conveys when he says 'summon', that is, 'call out'. However, some people say that Orpheus' lyre had seven strings, and heaven has seven spheres, whence a religious meaning is attributed (*sc.* to the lyre). On the other hand, Varro says that 'Lyre' was the title of a book by Orpheus on summoning souls. And souls are said not to be able to ascend without a lyre.⁶

As we can see, the sentence about the seven strings of the lyre and their correspondence with the celestial spheres falls outside the mention of Varro and the Orphic poem allegedly quoted by the illustrious Roman scholar;⁷ moreover, the correspondence between strings and spheres is not relevant as far as the Vergilian verse is concerned. It would seem as if we owe the mention of that correspondence just to a cumulative method of the scholiast,⁸ who would have gathered a mass of heterogeneous pieces of information, more or less related to the text he was discussing: for example, Servius, in his commentary upon *Aeneis* 6.645, also alluded to the correspondence between strings and spheres, without this being relevant to the understanding of a passage where Orpheus is making music in the underground kingdom of Hades. And if that is the case in our *scholion*, the verb *ascendere*, would mean the ascension from the Underworld to the earthly world of the living people. Might this be the reason why Orpheus is handing his lyre over to a young man, at the entrance to the realm of Hades, on an Apulian red-figured calyx krater?⁹ It does not seem the most likely hypothesis: although Nock said that *ascendere* may refer to the ascension from the Underworld up to earth,¹⁰ he did not present any piece of evidence for that meaning, and

Ferrero (1955: 302 of the 2008 edition); Deschamps (1979: 18, n. 53); West (1983: 29); Lambardi (1986: 152); Paterlini (1992: 78, n. 3 to p. 77). I think it is necessary to do so for a better understanding of the evidence about the Orphic *Lyra*, and for a more detailed statement of what I propose in these pages.

6 Due to their relevance for our discussion, the conjunctions *tamen* and *autem* have been emphasized by means of bold types in our translation.

7 Both Varro Reatinus and Varro of Atax (who mentioned it in his fr. 14 Morel) could have been familiar with the correspondence between strings and spheres. Concerning Varro of Atax, fr. 14 Morel, cf. Lambardi (1986); as for Varro Reatinus as a Pythagorean, cf. Ferrero (1955: 291–304 of the 2008 edition) and Deschamps (1979). Bernabé (2008: 399) assumes that the scholiast referred to Varro of Atax, although it is usually admitted that the Varro alluded to by the scholiast was Varro Reatinus; cf. Ferrero (1955: 302 of the 2008 edition), Deschamps (1979: 18), etc.

8 Nock (1927: 169).

9 Now in the British Museum, F 270, *ca.* 330 BC; cf. Schmidt (1978: 121 and pl. 14), and Garezou (1994: 89, nr. 81).

10 Nock (1927: 170).

we have been able to find just one text where such meaning can be attested, but where the subject is not the soul of a deceased person, but Ulysses alive.¹¹

Now we could ask why the scholiast alluded to the correspondence between strings and spheres. We believe that it was not an arbitrary juxtaposition. What leads us to think that there is a relationship between the Vergilian verse and the strings-spheres correspondence is the conjunction *tamen*, which cannot be understood if we do not take into consideration the preceding sentences of the *scholion*. The text means that, although Orpheus could not take Eurydice back, there are some people, however, according to whom the lyre of Orpheus had seven strings, and, since the heaven encompasses seven spheres, the music of Orpheus' lyre could have been expected to have made Eurydice come back to this world.

We should notice that the interest in the heavenly ascension of the soul is not typically Orphic. Such a remark could raise the objection that the *scholion* does not deal with a passage about Orphic beliefs, but about the myth of Orpheus, or, more specifically, to the myth of Orpheus' music. We think that the myth of Orpheus conveys a belief in the power of music akin to those expressed by the Pythagorean-Platonic tradition in the field of philosophy.¹² The interest in the heavenly ascension of souls, as expressed in the *scholion*, would make sense within the Pythagorean-Platonic tradition, since this tradition shared the belief in the heavenly or astral destiny of the souls of the blest.¹³ But Orpheus' goal, according to the sources of myth, was to take back Eurydice to earthly life, not to make her ascend through heavenly spheres. In other words, the correspondence between strings and spheres is related neither to Orphism nor to the myth of Orpheus.

Actually, the correspondence between strings and spheres belongs to a different circle of beliefs; therefore it is introduced by the conjunction *tamen*. Within eschatological beliefs, according to which the abode of the blest is to be found in heaven, the musical instrument that could lead the souls to their destiny should be the lyre, given the correspondence between the number of strings of the standard lyre and that of the cosmic spheres: this might be the religious meaning that, according to the *scholion*, was attributed to the lyre, and that we find attested, besides our *scholion*, in Cicero's sublime *Somnium Scipionis*.¹⁴ However, there is no clear evidence outside the Pythagorean milieu for the lyre being employed in order to communicate with the souls of the dead, neither (even less) to make them come back to this world;¹⁵ the

11 Apul. *Soc.* 24.19–21.

12 Molina Moreno (2008: 37–58).

13 Cf. Varro, *Rer. div. rel.* 1, p. 154 Agahd; Alexander Polyhistor, quoted by D. L. 8.31–32; Iambl. *VP* 18.82; Procl. *in R.* II 119 and 129–130 Kroll.

14 Cf. Cic. *Resp.* 6.18–19.

15 We know several pieces of evidence for the use of songs in the invocation of souls (A. *Pers.* 619–632), as well as for the use of bronze instruments (Sch. *Theoc.* 2.36; cf. *Il.*

failure of Orpheus is a conspicuous mythical example of the lyre's inadequacy for such a goal. If Orpheus did not get Eurydice back, this was so because the lyre was not appropriate for dealing with the chthonic deities. A lyre could have made Eurydice ascend through the celestial spheres, but this was not what Orpheus tried to do, and therefore he failed. That is the reason why the scholiast opposes through the conjunction *tamen* the failure of Orpheus and the beliefs allegedly attested in the poem *Lyra* (we can see that the structure of the *scholion* is not as unsystematic as it seems at a first glance). And, since the poem *Lyra* would belong to a Pythagorean milieu (as we can see from the allusion to the celestial ascension of the soul), it is likely that it also mentioned the correspondence between strings and spheres (a correspondence the discovery of which was later attributed to Orpheus by Ps.-Lucian and Servius; cf. *OF* 417 II and 418). But all that was "Orphic" for no other reason that it was attributed to Orpheus. The *Lyra* was, therefore, as M. L. West put it, a pseudo-Pythagorean Orphic poem.

These speculations about the affinity between lyre and celestial spheres are absent from our first sources about the myth of Orpheus. Perhaps there never was a version in which Orpheus succeeded,¹⁶ but, if such version had ever been proposed, it would have made no sense to people who admitted the affinity between lyre and celestial spheres, and believed that lyres guided souls to heaven. Perhaps it was not just by chance if not too much time after Varro and Cicero (who provide us with evidence for the beliefs about lyre and celestial immortality), Vergil and Ovid established the "failure version" of the myth of Orpheus. But despite his failure in the realm of myth, Orpheus was perceived as the most prestigious lyre player of the ancient world, and therefore a poem with such content as the *Lyra* was attributed to him.

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8.13–15, and Porph. *Phil.* p. 141 Wolff, vv. 1–2); it was even said that the gods of the dead should be addressed silently (Sch. S. *OT* 489), and some passages by Euripides suggest that funeral songs were sung without lyre (E. *Alc.* 179–90; *IT* 143–147). On the other hand, lyres are sculpted on ancient sarcophagi, and they have been found among some sets of grave goods (cf. Delatte: 1913). Such finds can suggest that souls were believed to spend their time making music in the abode of the blest (the same belief about music as a part of a paradisaical Other World is attested for the first time by Pindar, fr. 129. 6–7 Maehler). It is likely that, when Orpheus hands his lyre over to a young man at the entrance of Hades' kingdom, as it is depicted on an Apulian calyx krater mentioned above (cf. our note 9), it was not for the lyre to be a guide for the young man, but for the young man to participate in the otherworldly feast.

16 Cf. Bernabé (2008: 21–24).

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25. OF 437 and the Transformation of the Soul¹

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OF 437 (*ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 6.2.17.1) has been considered to be among Orphic fragments, since Clement of Alexandria himself put its words in Orpheus' mouth. Immediately afterwards, Clement quotes a few words that he attributes to Heraclitus (fr. 36 DK) and presents them almost as a plagiarism of the words of the mythic poet.² However, as suggested by Bernabé, everything points out to it being a late passage, presenting Stoic features, and to it being inspired by Heraclitus and not the other way round.³ Despite its similarity to Heraclitus' text, there are some differences we will presently focus on that could lead us to consider the possibility of a theory of transmigration of souls being reflected in this fragment.

The three verses constituting OF 437 describe a succession of transformations, starting with the soul and ending up with integration in universal ether:

ἔστιν ὕδωρ ψυχῇ θάνατος, χυδάτεσσι δὲ γαῖα·
ἐκ δ' ὕδατος «πέλε» γαῖα, τὸ δ' ἐκ γαίας πάλιν ὕδωρ,
ἐκ τοῦ δὴ ψυχὴ ὅλον αἰθέρα ἀλλάσσουσα.

Water is death for the soul; for the waters, earth.

From water the earth is born and from earth, in turn, water,

And from the latter, the soul, that becomes universal ether.⁴

The first verse presents a chain of deaths: the soul dies when it is transformed into water. The earth, in turn, represents death for the waters. In the second verse, however, it is not that clear whether transfer of water into earth is conceived exclusively as death, because immediately afterwards it is stated that earth is born or emerges from water. In any case, we could observe that, from the most solid element, the process is reversed. The fact that

1 The author would like to thank the suggestions and commentaries made by E. Luján and M. A. Santamaría.

2 Clement of Alexandria (2nd-3rd centuries AD) quotes both fragments in his work *Stromata* or *Miscellanies*, in which he describes a path towards knowledge, inspired by Greek philosophy but inserted within Christian faith.

3 Bernabé (2004: 61–62).

4 Translations of both fragments are inspired by Bernabé (2004: 61).

it concludes with integration into universal ether could lead us to think that the latter represents as well the starting point of all these transformations, this is, that the original soul has emerged from ether. Nevertheless, what is described herein, rather than a cycle, presents a sort of open parabolic curve; the cycle is not explicitly closed.

Death and mutual emergence of earth from water and of water from earth, and, above all, the fact that the soul becomes water and then emerges again from it, is not in full agreement with the Orphic doctrine of the body as burial of the soul.⁵ Furthermore, the fragment does not mention a continuing element, a principle that would only adopt the characteristics of different elements, that would be mantled with them; it neither describes a spiritual force that would take one or more bodies or covers and eventually get rid of them, nor a cause or a strength that would give impulse to such process. We should therefore dismiss in principle the possibility of considering this passage as a reference to the doctrine of transmigration of the soul.

The fragment by Heraclitus, for its part, is even more concise than the Orphic fragment:⁶

ψυχῆισιν θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι,
ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχή.

For the souls death is becoming water; for the water death is becoming earth,
From earth, however, water is born; and from water, soul.⁷

Firstly, and before proceeding to a more metaphysical interpretation of this fragment, it should be underlined that both passages apparently describe a natural process, a cycle of material transformations, in which the soul is involved as substance, as a physical element.⁸ Nevertheless, this natural cycle is combined with the image of vital alternation between birth and death.⁹

5 A study of successive interpretations or reinterpretations of the image σῶμα–σῆμα can be found in Bernabé (1995); on the similarity of conceptions about it in Orphic and Heraclitus' circles, see Casadesús (2008a: 1080–1084).

6 For these reasons and for others, many authors argue for Heraclitus' fragment being previous and for it serving as model for *OF* 437; see Bernabé (2004: 62, n. 97).

7 Heraclit. fr. 36 DK (= fr. 66 Marc.).

8 Approaches are divided between those authors who consider that for Heraclitus the soul is fire (Guthrie 1962: 407 f.; Marcovich 1967: 360–361; Nussbaum 1972: 155 and Schofield 1991: 20 and 29), and those who argue it is air; Kahn (1979: 239–240); Robinson (1987: 105); Betegh (2007: 14 and 17). Finally Betegh (2007: 21–22) summarizes that the 'soul' (ψυχή), in a physical sense, would have been for Heraclitus the third type of matter that would mantle all states of matter susceptible of being exhaled, from atmospheric air to the most elevated sphere of celestial fire. On the relation between air and breathing to the soul in some Orphic sources, particularly in *OF* 436, and on its possible influence on Aristotle and Stoic thinking, see, respectively, Megino (2008: 1293–1296) and Casadesús (2008b: 1324 f.). A summary of the question is to be found in Santamaría Álvarez (forthcoming, §4).

9 Kahn (1979: 238); cf. Betegh (2007: 8–10 and 27).

Souls, as starting element, die when they turn into water and the latter when it turns into earth; from the earthly element onwards, however, reference is made solely to emergence, or birth of an element from the former, until the soul returns to the starting point. This fragment is apparently related to the one reading: “the path upwards and the path downwards are one and the same”,¹⁰ despite it being under opposing signs and ether not being mentioned as origin.

A question we could certainly pose is which would have Heraclitus considered to be the subject of this cycle and what was he trying to explain with it. The logical answer would be that he referred to the formation of humans or any other being and that material transformation was not complete, since a live being is composed not only of earth. The fragment, moreover, begins with the word ‘souls’ in plural, which, contrary to the case of ‘water’ and ‘earth’, advises us against considering them as mass terms.¹¹ We could infer that successive deaths could only be partial or apparent: humans would potentially preserve the characteristics of both soul and water. It has also been proposed that maybe certain quality would accompany this series of material transformations, that an immortal strength would survive this series of deaths;¹² however, defining this immortal aspect upon the base of Heraclitus preserved testimonies would be a difficult task.

Independently of Heraclitus’ cosmological vision, there is a possibility of interpreting the terms ‘die’ and ‘be born’ in the following manner: if an element loses the capacity for freely developing its inherent faculties, it could be somehow considered to be dead. And, conversely: if an element is born from another one, it is necessary that the former element contained, at least potentially, whatever will be born from it. This would mean that souls, instead of being transformed merely into water, would in fact undergo a series of integrations that, to a certain extent, would be undone again. If, moreover, the successive elements in which souls are integrated are conceived as a hinder for their freely unfolding, as a series of deaths taking place as they become integrated into more solid elements and, to the contrary, if the soul, as it gets further removed from earthly elements, becomes closer to the state that is characteristic of it, we will be before an imagery extremely close to the conception of the body as a burial for the soul.

Relating both fragments to the doctrine of the transmigration of the souls is rather more complicated. If dissolution of individuality is assumed in psychic matters and, in the case of *OF 437*, further on in ether, it is dif-

10 Fr. 60 DK.

11 Some scholars have found worth of attention the fact that the fragment would start with ‘souls’, in plural, and would conclude with ‘soul’, in singular. A summary of the question can be found in Betegh (2007).

12 Seaford (1986: 16) has commented on this passage: “mortality is a transformation undergone by the immortal”.

ficult to close the circle. Heraclitus stems from a plurality of souls, which implies a process of former individualization, a segmentation of the psychic matter. In order to link the end to the beginning, it would be necessary that the souls, despite being integrated into the element characteristic of them, would preserve a certain degree of independence. At any rate, Heraclitus describes a cycle that moves in the border between a cycle of transformations and a cycle of transmigration of the soul.¹³

The first Pre-Socratic philosopher from whom sufficient amount of fragments and testimonies have been preserved that would allow us to reconstruct a more elaborated theory about transmigration is Empedocles.¹⁴ It is also noteworthy that one of the key passages, fr. 115.47–58 DK, is based upon an image particularly similar to the one in both texts under study. The major difference is that it mentions a continuing element that passes through different spheres and is successively rejected by different elements: the δαίμων.¹⁵ This concept of a spirit that passes from element to element without changing in essence is what allows us to openly refer to a transmigration cycle.

Returning, however, to the passage object of the present paper, we would like to provide a new reading. The first part of the verse is decisive for the whole fragment: the soul, when integrated in water, suffers a kind of death, since it loses its capacity for moving freely in its natural environment. The second part of the verse can be interpreted as a mere general consideration:

13 On this particular issue, see Santamaría Álvarez (forthcoming, §4), who proposes, additionally, the possibility of Heraclitus having found inspiration in the idea of the transmigration of the souls when he proposed this cycle of material transformations. Historical data allow us to assume that Heraclitus would have become acquainted with the theory of the transmigration of the souls from certain circles such as the Pythagoreans, since he was younger than Pythagoras. Even so, he does not expressively imply it, but he rather bases his theory upon a cycle of transformations. There are interesting similarities in Vedic literature, where we can attest a cycle of transformations evolving into a cycle of transmigrations: the cycle of the soul is based upon a ritual cycle, known as the “Doctrine of the Five Fires” (cf. Mendoza forthcoming: §6), which, in turn, is based upon a cosmic cycle of waters (cf. Kahle 2010 and Kahle forthcoming), and which would ultimately conform the theoretical framework for the presentation of the doctrine of the transmigration of the souls (*Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* 6.2.9–14 and *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* 5.4–9).

14 On the theory of transmigration in Empedocles, see Megino (forthcoming).

15 It is also new in Empedocles that “mientras para todos sus antecesores estos contrarios eran resultado de la evolución de un solo elemento originario, para él los cuatro, aire, tierra, agua y fuego, son igualmente originarios, ingénitos e imprecaderos, es decir, con las propiedades del ser parmenídeo, excluida la unidad” (“while for all his predecessors these opposites were the result of the evolution of a single original element, for him the four elements, air, earth, water and fire, were equally original, unborn and ever-lasting, this is, with all the properties of the Parmenides’ being with the exception of unity”) Bernabé (1988: 185).

the same happens to waters when they integrate into earth. At the beginning of the second verse, the cycle of the soul, which has died after being integrated into a different element, is retaken; but the point of view is reversed, since the following steps are described as births.

At the moment the soul emerges again from water, the cycle could have been closed; the fragment, however, continues describing how the soul, at the end, is merged into universal ether. The last step, which is beyond the alternation between birth and death, admits the possibility of relating it to a theory of salvation, a central concept in Orphic eschatology. So we might conclude that *OF 437*, independently of its authorship, would only reflect Orphic beliefs if this cycle was considered to be a series of integrations that are eventually undone and not essentially, as Heraclitus possibly understood it, a cycle of transformations. In any case, it seems hardly likely that Heraclitus or the author of the versified variant attributed to Orpheus have aimed at describing or implying the theory of the transmigration of the souls.

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26. OF 443.2: ἐνάτῳ ἔτει. The Delphic Key

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The following study is motivated by the analysis made by Alberto Bernabé of Pindar's fragment 133 (OF 443.2),¹ which I consider to be flawless.

The explanation of ἐνάτῳ ἔτει has sometimes led to unjustified parallels. There is no need to invoke purification periods of millennia and to compare ἔτος with a "Great Year".² Rose,³ somewhat more prudent, recalls the expiations of Heracles, Cadmus and of Apollo himself in eight years.⁴ We must add to these accounts those which refer to the same period, not only as expiation (or, at least, not solely expiation), but as a periodic ritual or tradition. This is the case with the meeting of Minos and Zeus every eight years, which is echoed by Homer⁵ and evoked by Plato in the homonymous dialogue.⁶

However, I consider the most important parallel to be found in Delphi. Some sources indicate that the Pythian Games are most likely to have taken place every eight years, before regulation in the sixth century.⁷ Plutarch in-

1 Bernabé (1999). Alberto Bernabé made it clear that Pindar's use of Orphic ideas is sifted through the poet's own religious beliefs, and the adaptation demands of the client and his aristocratic social surroundings. Bernabé concluded that Plato's quote was justified, as it allowed the Athenian to turn to Orphism through the aristocratic and ennobling veneer of the Pindaric version.

2 Summaries in Cannata Fera (1990: 227) and Bernabé (1999: 250). For divergences between periods of eight or nine years and the explanations provided, see Cannata Fera (1990: 227).

3 Rose (1936: 90).

4 The death of his children first of all (Apollod. 2.4.12 and 2.10; Sch. *Il.* 8.368; Serv. *Aen.* 7.761), followed by the death of the Dragon of Ares, then that of the Cyclopes. A somewhat different case, though not completely unrelated, is that of the local tradition of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia, concerning the period of time along which anyone who ate human flesh was transformed into a wolf: Paus. 8.2; Plin. *HN* 8.81; Aug. *Ciu.* 18.17.

5 *Od.* 19.179: Ulysses evokes this myth in his discourse as a false Cretan tale before Penelope. Auffahrt (1991: 414) alludes to this reference within the framework of his analysis of the parallels of the "king's renewal", of Oriental origin.

6 *Min.* 319a-e.

7 *Gem. Elem. Astr.* 8.25; *Cens. De die nat.* 18.

forms us about another three rituals of an enaeteric nature, in the form of a complementary series, known as *Septerion* (or *Stepterion*), *Herois* and *Charilla*.⁸ While the first is exclusively Apollonian, the other two show links to Dionysus. The *Septerion* or *Stepterion*, although it ended up being related to the use of laurel by the victors, contains elements which could be initiatory.⁹ Moreover, these elements link the sanctuary with a region of Thessaly which is no less Apollonian (and, in some aspects, eschatological) than the Valley of Tempe, where the young Delphians travelled to, led by a παῖς ἀμφιθαλής, to later return with the laurel. The local *aition* sees here the memory of the journey made by Apollo to make amends for the death of the serpent, or “she-dragon”, the primitive occupant of the site. In the case of the *Herois* (Gk. ἡρώϊς), Plutarch tells us of a ritual of a mysterious nature, in which the *Thyades*, female servers of the god, play an important role.¹⁰ As is typical of these rituals, it consists of *legomena* (a μυστικός λόγος known only by them) and *dromena*, which Plutarch speculates is the *mimesis* of the rescue or *anagoge* of Semele from the underworld: ἐκ δὲ τῶν δρωμένων φανερώς Σεμέλης ἄν τις ἀναγωγῆς εἰκάσειε. An imitative element is also found in *Charilla*, in this case through the violent actions of a local king towards a young girl. The girl, humiliated by him, resorted to hanging herself, which provoked an epidemic that only ended with the ritual of Charilla¹¹ (in which the *Thyades* tie a rope around the neck of a doll and then proceed to bury it).

The Delphic key shows links both with the role that the religious projection of this sanctuary has for the poet, and with the special relation which Dionysism and Orphism maintained with Delphi,¹² during certain periods at least.

(a) Delphi is the place which historically registers the earliest adoption of the period of enaeteric calculation.¹³ This sanctuary gives the most his-

8 Plu. *Aet. Gr. Rom.* 293B–F. Analysis of the series in Suárez (1998b).

9 However the periodicity excludes a strictly initiatory nature, since it would not affect all of the young people every year.

10 The name is equivalent to Maenad. At a later date, it would become a priest college. Detailed study of the Delphic rituals with involvement of these groups in Villanueva-Puig (1986).

11 Larsson (1995: 134) considers this account, among others, as the feminine parallel of the male ‘avenging-heroes’.

12 See Suárez (forthcoming).

13 ‘Oktaeteris’, *PW* XVII, 2, 2387–2392. Detailed analysis of the proposal can be seen in Nilsson (1911, 1918, 1920). With regards to *Septerion*, although descriptions of the ritual, in later sources, mention the adoption of self-innovations to increase its sensationalism, its age cannot be disputed. This is due especially to its periodicity, to the fact that it is based on a fundamental myth of the sanctuary and, above all, to its more than probable prior mention in a Pindaric fragment (cf. *infra*). See the reasonable defence by Schreiber (1879: 95–101), who did not know the Pindaric fragment.

torically important testimonies of this reckoning, based on the coincidence of the cycles of the sun and the moon.¹⁴

(b) This periodicity affects the two fundamental gods of the territory, Apollo and Dionysus, and it is precisely these two who are linked to Orphism (albeit on a rather different level), through the figure of its mythical prophet, Orpheus.

(c) The ritual of the Ἡρωΐς, as I have said, evokes the *anagoge* of Semele from the realm of Persephone, accompanied by her son.¹⁵ The fact that Delphi hosts a festival related to the *rescue* of Dionysus' mother¹⁶ from Hades is, for me, not without significance to the case at hand. The *herois*, Semele, is not exactly an object of an *apotheosis*; she rather gives the impression of having a privileged status, which justifies the use of the term. Ἡρωΐς is, indeed, the word used by Pindar,¹⁷ for the first time in Greek texts,¹⁸ to describe feminine figures of the myth: Semele herself, Ino, Alcmene and Melia.

(d) Lastly, the purification evoked by the *Septerion* is localised in the Thessalian territory of the Valley of *Tempe*.¹⁹ Water from the Peneus and Titaresius Rivers flows through the region. The former has its source in the Pindus mountain range, while the latter, which crosses Perrebia, has its origin partially in the western slope of the Olympus. Two observations should be made in this respect:

(1) Homer (*Il.* 2.750–755) mentions the confluence of the Titaresius and the Peneus, but points out that their waters do not mix. Instead, the water of the Titaresius flows on top “like oil”, given that this river is merely an emanation (ἀπορρώξ) of the waters of the Styx river.

(2) Pindar provides the following noteworthy fragment related to both this description of the river, undoubtedly of Homeric influence,²⁰ and to the ritual in question. In *Paean* 10 (a), described by Rutherford as an ‘enigma’,²¹

14 The insertion of *embolimaioi* months in the third, sixth and eighth year of the cycle was specifically to adjust both cycles.

15 The proposal of Fontenrose (1959: 377) to identify (by a highly debatable process of analysis) the *herois* as Delphyne, the ‘fostermother’ of Python, hypothesis followed by O’Brien (1993: 104–105), does not seem reasonable to me. See the arguments against in Larson (1995: 187–188, n. 106) (for the Delphic *herois*, the worship of Semele, and other cases of *anodoi*, see *ibidem*, p. 95).

16 Naturally, the local mythology and tradition which Pindar follows do not take in the Orphic myth of the maternity of Dionysus (Persephone).

17 *Pi. P.* 11.7.

18 See the observations made by Barrigón (2000). For the passage quoted, see (2000: 13).

19 Neutral plural: τὰ Τέμπε. For this reason, it would be better transcribed as *The Tempes*, in plural form.

20 Cf. Pelliccia (1990), particularly note 12 for the Pindaric fragment.

21 Rutherford (2001: 200–205). This is the fragment classified by the author as A2.

the first conserved lines and the commentary of the annotation can be read, albeit with difficulty:

ἐνάτᾱ[εἰς ποταμόν τινα,
Στυγί σύνδετον,

Snell²² made the credible suggestion of the relation to the *Septerion* festival (as opposed to the alternative of the Theban Daphnephoria,²³ which had been suggested by Grenfell and Hunt),²⁴ details of which we will not go into here. The *scholia ad locum* make clear the Homeric descent of the description²⁵ and the relation with purification periods.²⁶ In such a way, Pindar confirms the local relevance of the fundamental myth, and that of the relation between the purification and enaeteric period.²⁷

I will close with a note on *Meno*. The dialogue begins with a reference made by Socrates to the Thessalians. In the past, he says, they were thought highly of (εὐδόκιμοι) for raising horses and for their riches (ἐφ' ἵππικῇ τε καὶ πλούτῳ), while at that time, they were celebrated for their *wisdom* (ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ).²⁸

22 Snell (1938). See Rutherford's sound commentary (2001: 200–205) in this same sense.

23 Procl. *Chrestom.* 72 (*apud* Phot. *Bibl.* 321 a 33 ff. Bekker).

24 Grenfell – Hunt (1908).

25 Σ^{ε2} [“σύνδετ[ο]ς” λέγεται]ι [ᾧ]τι ἔσχε συνάφειαν τῷ Τιταρησίῳ, [ὅς ἀ]πόρροϊαν ἀπὸ Στυγὸς ἔχει, ὡς κ[α]ὶ Ὁμηρος λέγει.

26 Σ^{δ1} [λλ ἐνναετ[ηρις]...[.] τ() Ἀρι[(στόνικος?)] ὡς διὰ ἑ ἐτῶν ἀπομερισθησομένων τ. [κ]αὶ ἀγνισθησο[μέ]νων.

27 This *Paeon* is a further example of the importance of the prophetic element in Pindaric poetry, not only for its tendency to rework the local Apollonian mythology, but above all for the prophetic genealogies of Delphic or Theban territories. On the other hand, the Thessalian territory in which this mythical action and its ritual takes place remained in perennial form, characterised by its nature as a blessed, prodigious place, and with features of *locus amoenus*. The description which best clarifies all of these aspects is undoubtedly that of Aelian (*VH* 3.1), who mentions nothing at all about Titaesius and, incidentally, compares the route followed by participants in the ritual with that of the Hyperboreans. Equally interesting is the way in which Plutarch treats this question in his dialogue *De defectu oraculorum*, another fundamental source of the ritual. The author puts one particular line of argument into the mouth of the spartan Cleombrotus, who attempts to deny the gods of the prominence of widespread beliefs and rituals which, according to him, would be typical of secondary demons. In order to do this, he discusses the account of the Delphic Theologians, among which that of Apollonian purification is found. As such, according to him, it is ridiculous to blame these adventures on Apollo (*Def.* 418A–C), least of all the ones involving Dionysus. On the contrary, they must be assigned to demons. In the specific case of the purification in Tempos, it declares categorically that this (demon) that killed Python did not flee from the Thessalian valley, but, thrown out of there, it “arrived in another world” (εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον). Afterwards, purified in nine periods of great years (ἐνιαυτῶν μεγάλων ἐννέα περιόδοις ἀγνὸν [!] γενόμενον) and converted into truly Luminous (Φοῖβον), it returned to look after the oracle which, until then, had been guarded by Themis, *Ibid.* 421B–D.

28 *Men.* 70b. However, see the sarcasm of Socrates: this wisdom has been demonstrated on coming into contact with Gorgias, who had adopted the Alevadai family

Hypothesis

The Delphic context, with an Orphic mark, contributes to the fact that Pindar portrays this original panorama of the Beyond. His addressee could be a Thessalian, from a connoisseur family of the traditions which united Delphi and the Vale of Peneus.²⁹ If the ensemble of the Pindaric poem contributed to it being chosen by Plato in the dialogue between Socrates and a Thessalian, it is even more hypothetical, but cannot be excluded.

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as his teaching circle, in which the sophist has found a dialectically perfect complement. He volunteered to ask questions to whoever was prepared to answer, while they did not hesitate to respond to what he asked them (as “those with knowledge” typically do). For an evaluation of the Pindaric fragment, together with the Platonian passages with Orphic references, see Casadesús (2008: 1243–1244).

- 29 A parallel (although implicit) of Thessaly with the mythical territory of the Hyperboreans, is noted in *Pythian* 10, the oldest Pindaric Ode, for Hippocleas of Thessaly. Rose (1936: 93–94) suggested the possibility that this threnody was addressed to a Thessalian. As pointed out in Cannatà Fera (1990: 220, n. 3), the Orphic lamellae of Thessalian origin would support this setting. For the Orphic classification of the fragment in which the commented expression is inserted, I refer to Santamaría Álvarez (2008).

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27. Do not Drink the Water of Forgetfulness (OF 474–477)*

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In Greek mystery cults we find the widespread idea that the water or the plain of Lethe are an obligatory stage for the deceased, so that he can forget his previous experiences and enter into Hades.¹ However, this belief is transformed in the Orphic imagery. In the gold tablets of Hipponion, Entella, Petelia and Pharsalus two fountains are mentioned,² one of which is unnamed and it must be avoided by the dead and another one, called “the fountain of Mnemosyne” (that is, of Memory), whose water must be drunk by the initiated. It has generally been interpreted that the unnamed fountain is the fountain of Lethe, that is, of Forgetfulness.³ The tablets indicate

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1 In the classical period there are no mentions of the fountain, but of the plain or field of Lethe, cf. Pl. R. 621a–b, Ar. *Ra.* 186; see also D. H. 8.52.4. According to Wagenvoort (1971: 130–131), τὸ Λήθης πεδῖον cannot be anything other than a plain traversed by the river Lethe. The water of Forgetfulness appears in later literary documents (Luc. *Luct.* 5, Paus. 9.39.7, Sch. *Od.* 11.51) and also in several funerary epigrams dated between the 3rd century BC and the 6th century AD. Normally, it is said to drink ὕδωρ Λήθης, πῶμα Λήθης, ποτὸν Λήθης, cf. Rohde (1925: I, 316, n. 2); Nilsson (1961: 226–227); Sacco (1978: 41–42).

2 OF 474–477. In the tablets, the Greek terms κρήνη ‘fountain’ and λίμνη ‘lake’ are used indifferently. The idea of a fountain, κρήνη, of Forgetfulness it is only mentioned by Orphic testimonies, cf. Sacco (1978: 44). The opposition of the waters of Oblivion and Memory reappears in the *manteion* of Trophonius cited by Pausanias (9.39.1–9.40.2). The visitor of the oracle, which was located in an underground place, must drink first from the water called Oblivion, in order to forget what he had previously known. Then he must drink from the water of Memory, by which he remembers what he saw when he went down. Bonnechere (2003) defends that the oracle was conceived since Classical times very much like a mystery cult and suggests some possible connection with Orphic or Dionysiac Mysteries.

3 Cf. Nilsson (1943: 1–7; 1961: 238 ff.); Wagenwoort (1971: 130–134); Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 30); see also Sacco (1978: 41 and n. 5).

that the soul which drinks this water forgets what it has learned in the initiation and other earlier experiences, so it can come back to the earth for a new incarnation.⁴ Hence, for the Orphics, the water of Forgetfulness symbolizes the return to the earthly life, the real exile of the soul. This idea is also reflected in several funerary monuments, not related to Orphism but documenting, however, a function for the water of Forgetfulness, which is closer to the Orphic beliefs than to the traditional one. With this brief note, I would like to pay tribute to my master, Alberto Bernabé, from whose wisdom I have drunk and thanks to whose advices I have managed to avoid so many times the wrong fountain.

In an epigram from Cnidos, dating from the 1st century BC, a deceased spouse consoles her widower, who is devastated by the loss:⁵

οὐκ ἔπιον Λήθης Αἰδωνίδος ἔσχατον ὕδωρ,
ὥς σε παρηγορίην κὰν φθιμένοισιν ἔχω,
Θεῖε, πλέον δύστηνε, γάμων ὅτι τῶν ἀμιάντων
νοσφισθεὶς κλαίεις χηροσύνην θαλάμῳ

I did not drink the last water of the forgetfulness of Hades
so, even among the dead, I have you as comfort,
Theios, more devastated than me, because, dispossessed of an undefiled marriage,
you cry the loss of your chamber.

The text belongs to a group of four epigrams, with identical speakers and addressees, where we cannot appreciate any other Orphic characteristic. This situation leads us to believe that the Orphic conception of the water of Forgetfulness has started to go beyond the bounds of the mystery circles.

In two imperial inscriptions coming from Miletus, not drinking the water from Lethe is an indispensable prerequisite to obtain a happy destiny in the passage to Hades. The first one is dated to the 1st century AD:⁶

οὐ Λήθης, Ἑρμαίε, ποτὸν πίεις, οὐδέ σ' ἔκρυπτε
[Τάρταρα καὶ] στυγνῆς δώματ[α Περσεφόν]ης,
ἀλλὰ σ' ἔχων ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἀν[ήγαγεν] εὖσφυρος Ἑρμῆς,
ἐκ χαλεπ[οῦ] μερόπων ῥυσάμενος βίотου·
αἰθέρα δ' ὀκταέτης κατιδὼν ἄστροις ἅμα λάμπεις
πὰρ κέρας Ὠλενίης Αἰγὸς ἀνερχόμενος
παισὶ τε νῦν ἐπαρωγὸς ἐνὶ σθεναραῖσι παλαιστραῖς
φαίνῃ, σοὶ μακάρων τοῦτο χαριζομένων.

You have not drunk the water from Lethe, Hermaios,
and neither the Tartarus nor the abode of the hateful Persephone is hidden to you.
But Hermes, of the beautiful ankles, led you up to the Olympus and he saved you
from the painful life of the human beings.

4 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 29–35).

5 Merkelbach – Stauber (1998: nr. 01/01/07), *IKnidos* 303. See also Peek (1955: nr. 1874); Del Barrio (1992: nr. 375); Le Bris (2001: 71).

6 Merkelbach – Stauber (1998: nr. 01/20/29), *IMilet.* 755 Herrmann. See also Peek (1955: nr. 1829; 1971: 218); Del Barrio (1992: nr. 447).

At the age of eight, you have seen the ether and now you sparkle among the stars,
beside the horn, in the constellation of the Goat, and next to the elbow of the
[Charioteer.

You shine now to protect the strong boys in the wrestling school
and thus the blessed show you their favour.

The second one is dated to the 2nd century AD:⁷

βλέ[πε]ις δὲ Ὀλύμπου τὰς ἀ[δαι]δάλτους πύλας
ὁμέ[στ]ιον θεοῖσιν εἰληχῶς [γ]έρας·
αὐτὴ σε γὰρ Τρεῖ[τ]ωνίς εἰς θεηδόχους
[ἦν]ενκεν αὐλὰς ἀφθίτοις [τε] ὁμέστιον
τειμὴν [λέ]λονχες μὴ πίων Λήθης ὕδωρ.

You look the unadorned doors of the Olympus,
while you receive the honor shared with the gods.
Because Tritonis herself drove you to the abodes
that welcome the divinities and you were designated to dwell
together with the immortals since you did not drink the water from Lethe.

Both texts echo the vocabulary of the tablets that, as well as the water of Forgetfulness, mention the infernal palace,⁸ the happiness of having overcome the mortal life and the joy of living among the blessed.⁹ However, unlike the Orphic eschatology, the two Milesian epigrams do not locate the promised beatitude beneath the earth¹⁰ but on the Olympus, probably because they are influenced by Pythagorean doctrines or just because there is a widespread confusion of comparing the Olympus to the Heaven.¹¹

We find a very similar conception of the water of Forgetfulness in a monument coming from Abydos and dated to the 2nd century AD:¹²

7 Merkelbach – Stauber (1998: nr. 01/20/27), *IMilet*. 754 Herrmann.

8 The tablets of Hipponion (*OF* 472.1), Petelia (*OF* 476.1) and Pharsalus (*OF* 477.1) mention the mansion of Hades: Ἀΐδαο δόμων.

9 The initiate of a tablet from Thurii (*OF* 488.5) declares: κύκλο(ν) δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο, "I flew forth from the painful cycle of deep sorrow", probably referring to the cycle of mortal reincarnations, cf. Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 117–121). The tablet from Petelia (*OF* 476.11) assures to the initiate that he will reign with the other heroes: καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι μεθ' ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς], while there are two other tablets from Thurii (*OF* 489–490.6–7) where the initiate himself begs Persephone to send him to the dwelling of the limpid ones: νῦν δ' ἰκέτι(ς) ἤκω πα(ρ)ὰ ἰαγνή(ν) Φε(ρ)σεφόνε(ι)αν / ὥς με{ι} πρόφ(ρ)ω(ν) πέμψη(ι) ἔδρας ἐς εὐαγέ(ι)ων.

10 However, in the tablets (*OF* 474.4 and probably 475.6), the souls 'go down', κατερχόμεναι, to the abode of Persephone, who is the 'subterranean queen', ὑποχθονίος βασιλεία (*OF* 474.13, maybe 475.16).

11 Cumont (1942: 283) relates the first epigram to the Pythagorean doctrine, according to which every soul becomes a star after it leaves the earthly world. On the identification between Olympus and Heaven, cf. Le Bris (2001: 115); Schironi (2001).

12 Bernand (1969: 294–303, nr. 73; 1992: 144–145, nr. 93). See also Peek (1955: nr. 1090; 1971: 219–220); Sacco (1978: 52); Del Barrio (1992: nr. 451).

Πατρίς μὲν μοί ἐστι Λύκων πόλις· εἰμὶ δ' Ἀπολλ[ώης?],
 ἐν Φαρίῃ γαίῃ θυμὸν ἀποφθίμενος
 νήπιος ἡρπάσθην δ' ἑκκαίδεκάτου ἑνιαυτοῦ,
 ἕκτον ἄωροσύνης μῆνα παρερχόμενος.
 νῦν δ' Ἀβυδηναίου τὸν Ὀσείδος ἀμφιπολεύω
 θῶκον καὶ φθιμένων οὐκ ἐπάτησα δόμους.
 ἀθανάτων καὶ τέκνα μεμορμένον οἶτον ἐπέσ[πεν],
 ἀλλ' οἰκεῖ μακάρων Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον·
 ἐνθ' ἅμα παισὶ θεῶν με φ[έρ]ων Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς
 ἴδρυσσε καὶ Λήθης οὐκ ἔπιον λιβάδα.

My homeland is Lycopolis. I am Apollo
 and I have lost my live in the land of Pharos.
 I was still a child, when I was kidnapped at the age of sixteen and a half,
 after having reached the sixth month of my premature fate.
 Now I serve the throne of Osiris from Abydos
 and I have not set foot inside the mansion of the dead.
 The sons of the immortals face a predestined death, as well,
 but they dwell in the Elysian plain of the Blessed.
 Hermes Cyllenius took me there, among the sons of the gods,
 he put me up and I did not drink from the stream of Lethe.¹³

The deceased, dead in Alexandria, was buried in Abydos around the temple and the tomb of Osiris, on the assumption that the deity would ensure the eternal life of his worshipers and would protect them from the damages suffered by the other souls in the infernal abode.¹⁴ The epigram reflects traditional Greek beliefs, such as the happy destiny achieved by those who live among the sons of the gods in the Elysian plain, reserved for the blessed, but it also shares with the tablets the important notion of not drinking from the stream of Forgetfulness as a *conditio sine qua non* for the conservation of conscience and personal identity after the physical death.¹⁵ The expression Ἀβυδηναίου τὸν Ὀσείδος ἀμφιπολεύω θῶκον (“I serve the throne of Osiris from Abydos”, v. 5) suggests that the deceased has become a servant or a member of the entourage of Osiris, just like the initiates in the tablets, who join the *thiasoi* of Dionysus in the Netherworld.¹⁶ The scene decorating

13 This is the only example where we find the expression Λήθης λιβάς, “stream of Lethe”. It is more frequent to find ὕδωρ, πῶμα, ποτόν or the term κρήνη from the tablets, cf. Sacco (1978: 41–42).

14 Plu. *Is. et. Os.* 359A–B. On the origin of the deceased and his burial location, cf. the detailed commentary of Bernand (1969: 296–300).

15 Rohde (1925: II, 391–392, n. 1) had already noticed the coincidence of meaning between the water that must be avoided by the deceased in the tablets and the stream of Lethe in this monument. Cf. Sacco (1978: 52), who postulates that λιβάς could have the same meaning of κρήνη.

16 See the tablets from Thurii (*OF* 487.2 δεξιὸν ἐς θῖασ(ο)ν δεῖσ[σ]αι, πεφυλαγμένον εὖ μάλα πάντα, “you must go to the thiasos on the right, keeping everything very well” according to Santamaría’s new reading) and Pherai (*OF* 493a.1 πέμπε με πρὸς μυστῶν θιάσους· ἔχω ὄργια [Βάκχου, “send me to the thiasoi of the initiates; I have

the stone represents Anubis, assimilated to Hermes in the text, leading a young deceased. The boy carries a roll in his hand, which probably contains a funerary ritual text.¹⁷ This picture is similar to an Apulian amphora in which Orpheus is presented as a *mystagogos* and *psychopompos*. Orpheus has just delivered a *uolumen* to a deceased seating inside a white temple, that is the symbol of the tomb.¹⁸ It is obviously hard to postulate a relation between the text of the tablets and the monument, but it is clear that some of the original Orphic beliefs could have reached the Hellenized Egypt.¹⁹

In short, unlike the traditional conception according to which oblivion is a logic condition for the deceased who forgets his earthly pains and worries, the tablets and the other epigrams that have been analyzed show that the one who drinks the water from Lethe loses consciousness of his personal identity and goes to live among the common souls without the privilege of the initiates. The four epigraphs are dated between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD and they come from very different places, such as Cnidos, Miletus and Alexandria. Therefore, the time and space covered here is wide enough to consider that these are not isolated examples. Their testimony documents that some original ideas and images from the Orphic circles spread widely and crossed the limits of mystery cults.

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the sacred symbola of [Bacchus]”), cf. Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 96, 158–159).

- 17 Cf. Bernand (1969: 294, 301–302; 1992: 144–145).
- 18 Basel amphora, nr. inv. 540, cf. Olmos (2008: 166–167). The own tablets are good examples to confirm the importance that the Orphics ascribe to the written text, which is a kind of passport that the initiate uses in the transit to the Netherworld, cf. Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 230).
- 19 The first example of this situation would be the papyrus of Ptolemy Philopator (BGU VI 1211; OF 44, with bibliography). It shows the diffusion of Dionysiac cult in Alexandria around 210 BC.

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28. *Adnotatiunculae in lamellam Hipponensem* (OF 474)

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Hace 18 años, cuando preparaba una conferencia sobre la Sacra Vía de Roma, Alberto Bernabé puso a mi disposición, con la generosidad que le caracteriza, el material que había recogido en relación con la laminilla de Hiponio (OF 474 de su edición), donde, como es sabido, se hace mención de otro ‘camino sagrado’. Es de justicia, pues, que ahora que sus amigos y discípulos se disponen a tributar este merecido homenaje a su magisterio, aproveche la ocasión para intentar devolver aquel favor con estas sucintas anotaciones a dicha laminilla.

No se espere un debate erudito en las páginas que siguen. Esa discusión se puede encontrar, perfectamente ordenada y expuesta, en el comentario a las laminillas órficas de Bernabé y Ana Isabel Jiménez de 2001 (al que hay que sumar, últimamente, la obra de Graf y Johnston 2007).¹ Trataré tan sólo de abordar la cuestión desde una perspectiva distinta de la empleada en los trabajos citados: si en éstos cada laminilla se interpreta como parte de un todo y por ello encuentra sentido en su confrontación con las restantes, así como con su marco literario y cultural, aquí se ha optado por cerrar el foco para atender únicamente a la lógica interna de una sola laminilla, en la idea de que ésta contaba con elementos de significado y una coherencia básica suficientes para hacerla inteligible tanto para los vivos que la depositaban sobre el cuerpo del difunto, como para el alma de éste.

La indicación inicial, Μναμοσύνας τόδε ἔργον, “esto es la obra de Mnemósine” en la traducción de Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (que es la que seguiré para éste y otros fragmentos), ha sido explicada por los autores en el sentido de que cuanto se dice en la laminilla es ‘competencia’ de Mnemósine, esto es, que las instrucciones que contiene y cuanto sucederá al alma del iniciado si las cumple “es posible merced a las capacidades de Mnemósine” (BJ: 30), y ello porque se trata de algo que aquél debe recordar (BJ: 30–31 y

1 Citaré estas dos obras con las abreviaturas BJ y GJ respectivamente. Cf. BJ, especialmente pp. 25–86 sobre la laminilla de Hiponio (OF 474) y otras del mismo tenor (OF 475, 476, 477, 478–480 y 484).

GJ: 134, 155). Ahora bien, la explicación de esta declaración, que también aparece en una laminilla de Petelia y, plausiblemente, en el comienzo de la de Entella (BJ: 26–27), debería tener en cuenta el tipo de indicaciones que se dan en la laminilla y el curso de acontecimientos previsto en la misma. Desde esta otra perspectiva, la “obra de Mnemósine” vendría a ser una denominación general de lo que hay en la laminilla: la pura acción de recordar. Tal es, al fin y al cabo, la finalidad para la que fue creada.

Conviene, a este efecto, tener presentes algunos elementos de interés. Así, en primer lugar, el texto que se ofrece en la laminilla presupone que el alma realiza su camino por el Hades en solitario:² ningún dios la acompaña, prestándole ayuda o guía; ella es única y directa responsable de sus actos y decisiones. En contra de esta idea se podría argumentar la presencia de un conductor del alma: la voz que habla en el texto, generalmente atribuido a Orfeo (BJ: 23–24 y GJ: 139). La cuestión, en tal caso, radica en determinar la *ratio operandi* de la laminilla.

Un segundo elemento a tomar en consideración es la parquedad de las informaciones que proporciona la laminilla. Llama la atención, por ejemplo, que no se mencione el bienaventurado destino final del alma que logra dar los pasos correctos en el Hades (a pesar de que no hay cosa que más interese a aquélla). La impresión que se desprende de esta constatación es la de que el alma, en realidad, no precisa de un mapa detallado para este viaje, sino únicamente de algunas anotaciones que, a modo de señales, sirvan para poner ante ella un recorrido que ya conoce. La laminilla, por tanto, está destinada a un *connaissanceur*, es decir, a un iniciado. Y si éste conoce lo que ha de encontrar en su viaje infernal es porque ha sido previamente informado de ello, más aún, porque ya ha realizado ritualmente ese pasaje en el curso de la iniciación, cuyo objetivo último es asegurar una existencia feliz tras la muerte (Pl. *Phd.* 108a),³ una revelación que produce en el iniciado una alegría que prefigura el júbilo de las almas que avanzan, gloriosas, por la vía que les lleva al lugar de la bienaventuranza (GJ: 162–163). En consecuencia, del alma del difunto se espera que dé los pasos correctos, conforme se le mostraron en vida, y a tal fin se le provee de un instrumento a modo de *aide-mémoire* que con sólo las imprescindibles indicaciones ha de servir para que alcance su destino.⁴

En tercer lugar conviene fijar la atención en la función inmediata, práctica, de la laminilla. Como es sabido, en las laminillas hay una notable variedad en cuanto a su ubicación y disposición respecto al cuerpo del difunto (GJ: 161–162). Pero todas se encuentran sobre él, pues lo que cuenta, a la

2 Feyerabend (1984: 2).

3 Feyerabend (1984: 4–5, 8, 14); Graf – Johnston (2007: 158, 164).

4 Feyerabend (1984: 5); Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 248); Graf – Johnston (2007: 94–95; 155–156).

postre, es que tenga ese texto consigo en el momento de su deposición en la sepultura. Ahora bien, la laminilla no puede acompañar al alma en su viaje por el Hades: queda vinculada para siempre al cuerpo sobre el que fue colocada (una interpretación muy distinta en GJ: 161). Por otro lado, el material con el que ha sido fabricada garantiza su supervivencia más allá de la muerte, lo que es lógico si, como se ha dicho anteriormente, está destinada a ser leída por el alma del difunto. Estas consideraciones llevan a pensar que la laminilla es leída por el alma mientras todavía se encuentra en la sepultura, en el momento en que, separada del cuerpo, se apresta a encaminarse hacia el Hades. Esto explica lo esquemático de las indicaciones que recibe – apenas unas cuantas señales que deben ser suficientes para que recuerde y tenga presente lo que ha de hacer y decir a fin de alcanzar su destino prometido, conforme a las enseñanzas aprendidas durante su iniciación *inter vivos* – y el aviso inicial acerca de la “obra de Mnemósine” (GJ: 155–156).

De hecho, lo que más importa son no tanto las instrucciones cuanto el soporte ideológico que las fundamenta, esto es, la conciencia que tiene el alma de su verdadero origen y condición, pues sólo ese conocimiento garantiza que aquélla pueda leer y entender lo que hay en la laminilla, y que pueda dar, en consecuencia, los pasos adecuados en su recorrido infernal. Este planteamiento es coherente con el de S. I. Johnston sobre el ideario que comparten las diferentes laminillas, a saber, que hay un lugar especial en el Más Allá reservado a las almas de los iniciados y que para alcanzarlo se requiere demostrar que se conoce lo aprendido en la iniciación (GJ: 131, 140).

En último término, este enfoque exige cambiar ligeramente la percepción de cuanto ocurre al alma del iniciado en su viaje infernal. En efecto, es recurrente en la documentación disponible la idea de que la iniciación garantizaba *per se* el acceso a la beatitud *post mortem*, esto es, a una existencia liberada del yugo de la reencarnación, propia de dioses y héroes (GJ: 101, 105, 114, 127, 135, 157). Las mismas laminillas lo confirman al declarar, recurriendo al imaginario mítico hesiódico, que sus poseedores no forman parte de la raza de los hombres, sino de la de los dioses (GJ: 129). Ahora bien, esa nueva condición se da por conseguida en esta vida, luego de superado el ritual de iniciación (GJ: 108). En consecuencia, el alma que se presenta en el Hades pertenece a un individuo que, mientras estaba vivo, era sabedor de su origen y naturaleza divina: en el tránsito que ahora ha de afrontar, se espera que sea capaz de recordar lo que verdaderamente es. La función de la laminilla es, por tanto, proveerle de algunas referencias puntuales que sirvan para despertar o refrescar su memoria, en la idea de que sólo el que sabe lo que es puede dar los pasos adecuados y superar las dificultades que se le presenten.

El camino que tiene ante sí el alma del iniciado en el momento en que llega al Hades ha suscitado alguna que otra duda: no está claro si, como parece sugerir la laminilla de Hiponio (y, con ella, también las de Entella y

Farsalo), aquélla se encuentra dos fuentes, a cierta distancia una de otra en un camino único que discurre a la derecha de la mansión de Hades, o bien ha de elegir entre ese camino (siempre provisto de dos fuentes) y otro inno-
minado que discurre hacia la izquierda o, en fin, ha de optar entre dos que conducen a fuentes distintas, que es lo que se podría derivar del texto que se lee en la laminilla de Petelia.⁵ Ahora bien, si en esta laminilla la referencia a la primera fuente es: Εὐρήσ{σ}εις δ' Αἶδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήνην, “hallarás a la izquierda de la mansión de Hades una fuente” (v. 1), la que se lee tres líneas después acerca de la siguiente fuente presenta problemas de interpretación en la lectura propuesta por West y aceptada por Bernabé (BJ: 263), εὐρήσεις δ' ἑτέροι, τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης / ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πορεύον, “pero hallarás al otro lado, de la laguna de Mnemósine, agua que fluye fresca” (vv. 4–5, siempre según la versión de los autores), problemas que son menores si se acepta la lectura ἑτέραν en lugar de ἑτέροι pues con este cambio y su correspondiente interpretación, “encontrarás la otra [fuen-
te], agua que fluye fresca desde la laguna de Mnemósine”, no hay necesidad de pensar en una bifurcación, sino precisamente en lo mismo que tenemos en la otras laminillas, a saber, un único camino que discurre bordeando la mansión de Hades – por el lado izquierdo en ésta y en una de Retimno, por el derecho en la mayoría (GJ: 99) –, en el que aquélla es la primera fuente que encuentra el alma del difunto, seguida de otra ubicada algo más adelante.

De ser correcta esta interpretación, el alma tendría ante sí un solo trayecto al llegar al Hades, sin encrucijadas que le obliguen a seguir cursos alternativos. No quiere ello decir que tales bifurcaciones no existan: simplemente, los redactores de las laminillas no las mencionan. Ahora bien, si no lo hacen en un repertorio de indicaciones básicas para iniciados como éste cabe pensar que ello se debe bien a que no son importantes, bien a que no existen. En cualquier caso, es forzoso reconocer que la opción de la bifurcación de caminos no se puede descartar. Antes bien, resulta muy sugerente, dado que existe una bien fundada tradición literaria de dobles caminos infernales – de los cuales el más conocido es, quizá, el virgiliano (*Aen.* 6.540–543) –, la imagen del alma que sigue el camino de la derecha, el de la salvación (una preferencia típica de los pitagóricos, según Arist. fr. 200 Rose). No es de extrañar, por tanto, que entre los estudiosos prevalezca esta tesis de los dos caminos, que incluso ha dado pie para suponer un doble proceso de selección: la bifurcación serviría para separar las almas de los buenos de las de los malos y las dos fuentes para discriminar entre las almas de los buenos iniciados y las de los buenos no iniciados (BJ: 223; GJ: 102–104, 107–108).

Sea como fuere, lo único relevante es lo que se espera del alma: que recuerde que ha de pasar de largo por la primera fuente y llegar hasta la

5 Feyerabend (1984: 12); Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 41–42); Graf – Johnston (2007: 108).

segunda.Cuál sea la suerte que aguarda a quienes beben de esa primera fuente no se dice en ninguna de las laminillas. Ni siquiera se la identifica, aunque hay un amplio consenso en considerar que se trata de la fuente de Lete, el agua del olvido (BJ: 51). La enérgica advertencia que aparece en todas las laminillas acerca esta primera fuente, y el hecho de que la segunda sea la de Mnemósine, son argumentos suficientes en apoyo de esta interpretación.

La presencia del ciprés junto a la primera fuente suscita perplejidad. En especial porque el árbol se describe como λευκά, esto es, tanto ‘blanco’ como ‘brillante’ (BJ: 45). Una imagen que es reflejo invertido de la que nos presenta la experiencia cotidiana. En el mundo de los vivos, el ciprés, árbol oscuro, remite a la muerte. En el mundo infernal, imperio de la oscuridad y la sequedad, aparece un ciprés ‘al contrario’: radiante, atractivo, marcando la posición de una fuente. Se trata de un ciprés que deslumbra en el más literal sentido de la palabra (BJ: 46–47) y, por tanto, induce a engaño: quienes se dejan seducir por este señuelo beben del agua del olvido (GJ: 109 y una explicación alternativa en 160). Un olvido que es una segunda muerte, equiparable a la muerte definitiva que menciona Propp en el tema del “agua viva y el agua muerta” (atinadamente traído a colación en BJ: 53). Por tanto, el ciprés sigue siendo, también en el mundo infernal, un árbol de muerte. La cuestión que inmediatamente se plantea es: ¿en qué consiste esa segunda muerte?

Para dar respuesta a esta pregunta conviene ver qué ocurre cuando el alma del iniciado se acerca a la segunda fuente, la de Mnemósine. Frente a las engañosas facilidades de la primera, el acceso a esta otra resulta difícil. Se ha de superar un obstáculo, el de dar respuesta a los guardianes que custodian el agua. No hay acuerdo en las laminillas acerca de la pregunta que formulan: o bien inquieren por qué el alma del iniciado “investiga las tinieblas del Hades oscuro” (Hiponio, Entella), o bien pretenden saber “qué necesidad” la ha llevado a su presencia (Farsalo); en la laminilla de Petelia nada se dice al respecto. Lo que preguntan, en último término, es por qué el alma se encuentra allí, en su presencia, es decir, qué busca. La respuesta tiene que ser coherente con tal demanda. Pues bien, las cuatro laminillas muestran una llamativa coherencia: en todas ellas, la respuesta se articula en tres puntos, a saber, identidad, situación y petición, una estructura típica de la plegaria griega y romana. En primer lugar, el alma del iniciado se identifica a través de su filiación, dividida a su vez en dos instancias: su condición de hijo del Cielo y de la Tierra (en la laminilla de Farsalo se da incluso su nombre, Asterio, cuya condición de ‘resplandeciente’ hace pensar en los κλε(ε)ivoί que avanzan por la vía sagrada, mencionados al final de la laminilla de Hiponio), y su pertenencia a la raza celeste (aunque este último rasgo no aparece en la laminilla de Hiponio, ni tampoco en la de Entella; sí, en cambio, en una de Tesalia). Con estas palabras el alma informa de su ascendencia titánica y, por tanto, divina, y demuestra con ello que conoce su

verdadera naturaleza y, a la vez, que ha sido liberada de la mancha original impresa por el crimen de los Titanes.⁶ Pero si a esto añadimos la mención de su pertenencia a la estirpe celeste nos situamos en un grado superior, el de aquellos que ya en vida han sido iluminados en el conocimiento de que su alma procede del cielo y en él tiene su origen y destino: sólo estas almas, una vez liberadas de la cárcel carnal (σῶμα-σῆμα), están en condiciones de escapar al ciclo fatal de las reencarnaciones (BJ: 71–72; GJ: 118–119). Ahora bien, mientras que esta segunda condición parece decisiva para algunos redactores de laminillas, para otros es suficiente con la conciencia de la naturaleza titánica del iniciado. A continuación, el alma describe su situación, la propia de quienes transitan por las regiones infernales: la agonía de la sed, y formula la petición: que se le permita beber del agua de la fuente de Mnemósine.

Resulta, pues, que la condición del alma del iniciado es la misma que experimenta la de cualquier difunto llegado al Hades: se ve agobiada por el tormento de la sed. Ese tormento puede ser aliviado tanto si bebe de la primera fuente como de la segunda. Pero las condiciones para acceder a una y otra difieren: frente a las facilidades de la fuente que primero se ofrece al caminante, la segunda resulta inaccesible para quien no puede superar una prueba (y sólo lo pueden lograr aquellos que saben). Y también son radicalmente distintas las consecuencias: un agua produce olvido y la otra produce recuerdo. Sólo el alma del iniciado se encuentra en condiciones de hacer lo correcto, pero incluso esto ha de recordarlo: Μνημοσύνας τόδε ἔργον. De hecho, en la laminilla de Farsalo se especifica lo que se espera de aquella: que diga toda la verdad. Ahora bien, como acertadamente señalan BJ: 61–62, esa ἀληθείη, etimológicamente, es lo no olvidado. Por tanto, se trata de que muestre a los guardianes que conoce su verdadera naturaleza, un conocimiento obtenido mientras andaba entre los vivos, y que ahora, no sometida al olvido, le permitirá identificarse adecuadamente para tener acceso a la fuente que ha de calmar su terrible sed (GJ: 133–134). No estoy tan seguro, en cambio, de que sus palabras sean una simple contraseña,⁷ a pesar de los σύμβολα que aparecen en la laminilla de Entella (v. 20) y que yo interpretaría en un sentido más físico; más bien se antojan la condición necesaria para beber del agua de Mnemósine, porque sólo aquél que sabe quién y qué es puede acceder a ella y a sus benéficos efectos.

En consecuencia, el alma del iniciado ha de recordar, en su tránsito por el Hades, cosas que ha de hacer (no acercarse a determinada fuente, intentar beber de otra fuente) y cosas que ha de decir (identificarse correctamente, hacer la petición adecuada). El fracaso en esta encomienda lo llevará,

6 Feyerabend (1984: 1–2); Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 67–72, 223); Graf – Johnston (2007: 132, 134).

7 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 74); Graf – Johnston (2007: 152, 157–158; en la p. 134 Johnston habla de ‘trick’).

siguiendo esta misma lógica, a beber de la primera fuente, la del agua del olvido; el éxito, a catar la del recuerdo. Pues bien, lo que puede quedar definitivamente olvidado o recordado no es, a mi juicio, la experiencia vital previa, ni siquiera su iniciación (BJ: 51), sino tan sólo ese conocimiento esencial, obtenido en la misma iniciación, que se le pide ante la fuente de Mnemósine: el de su filiación, su verdadero origen y naturaleza. Ahora bien, las dificultades que encuentra el alma del iniciado en su camino infernal son, también, un crisol para ese conocimiento: el alma que se deja arrastrar por la angustia de la sed y acude al primer remedio que se le ofrece, aquélla que se deja deslumbrar por el señuelo, demuestra no ser digna de tal conocimiento; por el contrario, la conciencia bien acendrada de su auténtico origen le permitirá superar esa misma prueba. Por tanto, si el agua del olvido borra en aquél que la bebe la conciencia de su verdadero ser, condenándolo de esta manera a una segunda muerte, a un nuevo ciclo de reencarnaciones (entendidas éstas como camino de conocimiento, BJ: 51), la del recuerdo asienta definitivamente esa misma conciencia (BJ: 223 y GJ: 117): el alma ya nunca olvidará quién es y, por tanto, se encuentra habilitada para acceder a ese otro estadio de vida *post mortem* que resulta ser la verdadera vida (GJ: 64, 133) – libre ya del ciclo de reencarnaciones – prometida a los vencedores de las duras pruebas a los que se vitorea en la segunda laminilla de Turios, los héroes que menciona la de Petelia.⁸

Superada la prueba, el alma del iniciado puede beber del agua de Mnemósine, pero no sin que antes lo permita Perséfone, la “reina subterránea” de las laminillas de Hiponio y Entella (aunque en la primera también cabe la lectura alternativa βασιλῆϊ, referida a Hades, y en la segunda se trata de una restitución [BJ: 260, 262–263 y GJ: 139]). Los guardianes, se dice, consultan con la diosa antes de dar de beber a la sedienta alma del difunto. No se explica en qué consiste esa consulta. Puede tratarse, como se ha sugerido, de un juicio moral, relativo a la pureza del candidato (BJ: 99), pero el contexto apunta más bien a una cuestión de conocimiento (aunque éste no deja de tener un correlato ético para el iniciado mientras está vivo [BJ: 222–223, 229–230 y GJ: 155–156]): la divinidad que gobierna el Hades es la que determina en qué parte de él ha de residir el alma (BJ: 134) y lo hace una vez ha comprobado, a través de la respuesta dada por aquélla, que conoce su verdadera naturaleza.

Resta hablar de la vía por la que se encaminan las almas que han superado las pruebas y han bebido el agua de Mnemósine.⁹ No se dice a dónde lleva ese camino, pero sí que quienes lo recorren, μύσται καὶ βάκχοι, ‘iniciados y bacos’, avanzan ‘gloriosos’, κλε(ε)ῖνοι (diferente interpretación en

8 Feyerabend (1984: 5); Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 38, 229–230); Graf – Johnston (2007: 116, 128, 138).

9 Feyerabend (1984: 14–15) la relaciona con la doble vía de Parménides; Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2007: 223); Graf – Johnston (2007: 157).

Feyerabend [1984: 6–7]). Es, pues, una verdadera vía triunfal, recorrida por los vencedores de las pruebas, aquellos que se han hecho acreedores a la más alta recompensa y han confirmado así las promesas recibidas en su iniciación. La expresión ὁδὸς ἱερὰ tiene su correlato, según esto, en las grandes vías sagradas de Grecia, pero no como escenario de recorridos iniciáticos, sino más bien como marco de grandes procesiones festivas (BJ: 80). Existen, ciertamente, modelos de vías místicas o espirituales (en Grecia y fuera de Grecia), y de otras que conducen al Elíseo y lugares semejantes, pero la denominación precisa que se emplea en la laminilla de Hiponio, en conjunción con el adjetivo ἱερὰ, apunta a que es un verdadero camino procesional por el que avanza la comitiva triunfal y jubilosa de quienes, superadas las pruebas, se han convertido en héroes y se dirigen a los parajes reservados a los *beati*.¹⁰

Estas parvas observaciones no tienen otro propósito que el de contribuir a afinar, en algunas cuestiones de detalle, el magistral comentario que Alberto Bernabé y Ana Isabel Jiménez trenzaron en sus *Instrucciones para el Más Allá*. Queda a juicio de lector determinar si algo de ello se ha logrado y si de esa manera se puede dar por cancelada una parte mínima de la inmensa deuda que me precio en tener contraída con el profesor Bernabé, amigo y maestro.

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10 Sobre la existencia dichosa de los dioses, Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 230–231); Graf – Johnston (2007: 157).

29. La λίμνη divina della lamina di Petelia (OF 476.8–10)

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Nella geografia oltremondana descritta in alcune lamine d'oro orfiche, in cui è attestata la formula “sono figlio della Terra e del Cielo stellato”, compaiono due diversi tipi d'acqua, la κρήνη anonima vietata all'iniziato e la λίμνη di Mnemosyne donde sgorga l'acqua di cui si disseta l'iniziato per accedere alla via sacra. Entrambe sono associate al destino delle anime, di condanna al ciclo per chi cede all'istintiva sete di vivere¹ o di accesso alla λίμνη di Mnemosyne per chi è assetato di conoscenza.

A queste lamine, trovate in Magna Grecia, Tessaglia e Sicilia, che riportano intera la sequenza narrativa, occorre aggiungerne altre, con testo più breve, ritrovate a Creta, in cui è inscritta la stessa formula di riconoscimento, ma non v'è accenno alla dea Mnemosyne né alla λίμνη, e soprattutto, al posto della λίμνη, è indicata una κρήνη con la stessa funzione salvifica. Tale sostituzione testimonia una non casuale oscillazione dei formulari, e conferma anche la valenza intrinseca alle due acque, non solo a livello lessicale e topografico, ma anche concettuale e morale.

La diversa denominazione delle acque – fonte (κρήνη) o lago (λίμνη) – non è neutra, né senza conseguenze. Essa poggia sulle qualità naturali delle due acque e sugli effetti che producono a livello escatologico:² κρήνη definisce l'acqua di fonte³ mentre λίμνη designa l'acqua di lago calma e circoscritta che alimenta la memoria (Μνημοσύνης).⁴ Alla dicotomia naturalistica corrisponde quella intellettuale; all'indicazione topografica “non accostarti alla κρήνη” o “più avanti troverai l'acqua fredda che scorre dalla λίμνη” corrisponde quella etico-religiosa di condanna o premio, comparabile all'idea platonica del bivio oltremondano, che distingue una via di destra che conduce alla beatitudine, e una via di sinistra che conduce al castigo.⁵

1 Pugliese Carratelli (2001: 55). Sul problema del v. 4 della lamina di Hipponion, cf. Tortorelli Ghidini (1992: 177–181).

2 Tortorelli Ghidini (2006: 117–122).

3 Cf. Chantraine (1968) s. v. κρήνη ‘fontaine’.

4 Cf. Chantraine (1968) s. v. λειμὼν (C) ‘eau stagnante, lac, étang’.

5 Pl. R. 614c. Sull'opposizione destra-sinistra, Battezzato (2005: 71–81); Ferrari (2007: 127–129). I due studiosi propongono di interpretare la destra-sinistra delle lamine

Nella lamina di Hipponion, che è la più antica e la più estesa, la prima acqua che l'anima incontra nel suo itinerario oltremondano è una "fonte" che ostacola il viaggio dell'iniziato, perché, chi beve l'acqua della prima fonte, è costretto a ritornare nel ciclo delle esistenze.⁶ Più avanti, l'iniziato trova "l'acqua fredda che scorre dal lago della Memoria" a cui, solo chi ha rispettato il divieto di bere alla prima fonte, può essere ammesso. A quest'acqua l'iniziato si disseta dopo aver pronunciato la formula "sono figlio della Terra e del Cielo stellato", assicurandosi così il transito per la *via sacra* insieme agli altri beati⁷ o, come si legge nella lamina di Petelia, il privilegio di "governare sugli altri eroi".⁸

La singolarità del sintagma "lago della Memoria", un *hapax* che ricorre solo in queste lamine d'oro, emerge con chiarezza dal confronto con il rituale di Lebadea in Beozia, ricordato da Pausania, in cui è riportata un'analoga descrizione oltremondana che distingue tra l'acqua di Lethe e l'acqua di Mnemosyne. Ma qui le due acque che il consultante incontra durante la catabasi sono definite entrambe *πηγαί*. Da ciò risulta che l'antitesi si limita all'effetto che le acque producono, di memoria o di oblio, senza tener conto della loro qualità e funzionalità. Il consultante non sceglie l'una o l'altra acqua, ma le beve entrambe: "l'acqua di Lethe, perché gli venga l'oblio di tutto ciò che finora aveva in mente, l'acqua di Mnemosyne, grazie alla quale il consultante conserva la memoria di quanto ha visto durante la discesa".⁹

Analogamente nel mito di Er le anime destinate a tornare sulla terra, dopo essersi riunite nel *Λήθης πεδίον*, bevono l'acqua del fiume Améles che dà l'oblio e "non può essere contenuta da vaso alcuno".¹⁰ È evidente che quest'acqua ha una valenza negativa, non diversamente da quella della *κρήνη* vietata all'iniziato nelle lamine d'oro. Ed è un'acqua di punizione come quella che nel *Gorgia*¹¹ i non-iniziati sono costretti a versare in un orcio forato, e nell'*Assioco*¹² gli empi e le mitiche Danaidi sono costretti ad attingere in orci senza fondo, mentre gli iniziati, dopo aver affrontato il giudizio nell' *'Αληθείας πεδίον*,¹³ raggiungono la sede dei giusti, dove sorgenti zampillano e infiniti prati colmi di fiori rinfrescano l'aria.

come varianti connesse al sesso del defunto: destra per gli uomini, sinistra per le donne.

6 Scalera McClintock (1991: 396–408); Edmonds (2004: 50–55).

7 *OF* 474 (Hipponion).

8 *OF* 476 (Petelia). Cf. Di Benedetto (2004: 293–306); Tortorelli Ghidini (2006: 126–127).

9 Paus. 9.39.4–8 e 13.

10 *Pl. R.* 621c.

11 *Pl. Grg.* 493b.

12 [*Pl.*] *Ax.* 371e.

13 Anche in *Pl. Phdr.* 248b si parla di *'Αληθείας πεδίον*. L'espressione compare per la prima volta in *Ar. Ra.* 186.

Risulta chiaro che nella geografia oltremondana dei testi platonici l'acqua d'oblio e incontenibile dell'Améles rappresenta il polo negativo di un'antitesi, non esplicitamente citata, ma sottintesa, il cui polo positivo andrebbe riconosciuto in un'acqua di memoria con qualità purificatrici e salvifiche, simile a quella riservata agli iniziati delle lamine d'oro. La presenza di quest'acqua di memoria traspare nel divieto, imposto a Er, di bere l'acqua dell'Améles, affinché non dimentichi ciò che ha visto durante la catabasi.

Oltre che nell'associazione con Mnemosyne, il valore positivo della λίμνη orfica¹⁴ si ravvisa nel legame etimologico tra λίμνη e λειμών,¹⁵ il prato che, già nell'immaginario omerico, appartiene alla topografia dell'aldilà¹⁶ e nei testi misterici indica la dimora dei beati.¹⁷ Il significato di acqua umida e fertile in uno spazio circoscritto,¹⁸ che pertiene etimologicamente a entrambi i vocaboli, suggerisce un probabile nesso anche tra i sintagmi Μνημοσύνης λίμνη e λειμώνες Φερσεφονείας, che compaiono nelle lamine d'oro in testi con formulari diversi, apparentemente estranei tra loro. Μνημοσύνης λίμνη è attestata nelle lamine cosiddette mnemosynie; λειμώνες Φερσεφονείας ricorre nella lamina del Timpone grande¹⁹ e a Pherai.²⁰ Malgrado i due sintagmi designino realtà naturali diverse, associate a divinità diverse, il legame etimologico tra i due vocaboli, radicato nella coscienza linguistica dei Greci, sembra essersi, in qualche modo, conservato nell'immaginario oltremondano, facendo emergere scenari escatologici omogenei,²¹ in cui l'idea di spazio chiuso e profondo getta un ponte tra realtà naturali apparentemente diverse.

Talora λίμνη e λειμών sono sinonimi ed esprimono una comune realtà metaforica: ad Ἀτης λειμών, il 'prato di Ate' dove vanno errando le passioni dell'uomo, citato in Empedocle,²² corrisponde in Eschilo Ἄτης λίμνη, il 'lago di Ate';²³ analogamente, l'aerea λίμνη Ἀχερουσία, citata nel commento di Damascio al *Fedone*,²⁴ s'alterna con καλὸς λειμών βαθύρροος ἄμφ' Ἀχέροντα, luogo dove sono destinati coloro che sono senza colpa, nel commento alla *Repubblica* di Proclo.²⁵

14 Cf. Orph. *H.* 59.2–3 λίμνη οὐρανία è la dimora delle Moire.

15 Chantraine (1968) s. v. λειμών (A). Sull'analisi semantica di λειμών e λίμνη, e l'associazione con il mondo delle acque, cf. Motte (1973: 5–9).

16 Cf. ἀσφοδελὸς λειμών: *Od.* 11.538–539; 573; 24.13; *h.Merc.* 221, 334; ταρτάριος λειμών: Orph. *H.* 18.2. Per il prato delle Sirene, cf. *Od.* 12.45 e 158; A. R. 4.891.

17 Pi. fr. 129 Maehler; O. 2.71–74; Ar. *Ra.* 448–449; [Pl.] *Ax.* 371c.

18 Motte (1973: 247–255).

19 *OF* 487.6 (Thurii-Timpone grande) λειμόνας τε ἱεροὺς καὶ ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας.

20 *OF* 493.2 (Pherai) εἴσθ<ι> ἱερὸν λειμόνα.

21 Tortorelli Ghidini (2008: 657–670).

22 Emp. 31 B 121 DK.

23 A. *Supp.* 529–530.

24 *OF* 342.

25 *OF* 340.3.

Nel sistema simbolico delle lamine, λίμνη, acqua da cui s'alimenta la vita e acqua in cui si deposita la memoria divina e umana, interagisce con λειμών, luogo umido e fertile cui sono destinati gli iniziati, nell'alternativo ciclo della vita e della morte, in cui l'azzerrarsi della morte coincide con la rinascita del μύστης da uomo a dio. Le qualità simboliche dell'acqua (vita, purificazione, rinascita) si rafforzano in virtù del nesso tra lago e memoria, e dell'antitesi tra lago e fonte, come tra memoria e oblio, che appaiono coerenti con la struttura binaria²⁶ su cui è costruito lo *hieros logos* orfico delle lamine mnemosynie: fonte/lago, oblio/memoria, sinistra/destra, morte/vita, terra/cielo. Tale polarità sembra rinviare all'antitesi ontologica bene/male che è alla base del canone decadico pitagorico, riportato da Aristotele:²⁷ termine/interminato, dispari/pari, uno/molteplice, destro/sinistro, maschio/femmina, quieto/mosso, retto/curvo, luce/tenebra, buono/cattivo, quadrato/rettangolo.

L'ispirazione pitagorica avrebbe agito non solo sul ruolo accordato a Mnemosyne in questi testi, come è concordemente sostenuto dagli studiosi, ma anche sulla formazione dell'antitesi λίμνη/κρήνη, che si rivela in linea con le coppie d'antitesi menzionate nella tavola decadica, in particolare con quieto/mosso, termine/interminato, più pertinenti alle qualità delle acque. A ciò s'aggiunga che, se nella lamina di Pharsalos, territorio periferico del mondo greco, lontano dall'area magnogreca influenzata dal pitagorismo, dove sono state trovate le laminette di Hipponion e di Petelia, il sintagma Μνημοσύνης λίμνη si è ridotto a una sola occorrenza, ciò si deve probabilmente all'attenuazione dell'ispirazione pitagorica. Né va sottovalutato che, nel caso delle lamine cretesi, in cui mancano l'articolazione binaria (il bivio, le fonti) e l'accenno a Mnemosyne, la κρήνη non ha la funzione negativa di acqua d'oblio ma designa l'acqua di conoscenza che disseta l'iniziato, sostituendosi a λίμνη. Nella riduzione delle due acque a una sola (κρήνη) si ravvisa chiaramente la perdita di ogni risonanza pitagorica.

Queste considerazioni autorizzano a rivedere anche l'integrazione della lacuna al verso 10 di Petelia: θεῖς ἀπ[ὸ κρή]νης, accettata nelle edizioni più recenti, che rischia di turbare immotivatamente la dicotomia evidenziata nel testo. Se l'acqua che l'iniziato chiede di bere per raggiungere la salvezza è acqua di λίμνη, in cui si sedimenta la memoria dell'identità originaria, è evidente che i custodi, riconoscendo l'ammissibilità del defunto, gli faranno bere l'acqua della λίμνη divina, cioè della Μνημοσύνης λίμνη.

In tal senso, l'integrazione corretta della lacuna non può che essere θεῖς ἀπ[ὸ λίμ]νης.²⁸ Tanto più che l'aggettivo θεῖς si spiegherebbe come

26 Timpanaro Cardini (1958: 81) sostiene che la serie degli opposti tramandata nella tavola pitagorica rivela un duplice punto di vista, qualitativo e quantitativo.

27 Arist. *Metaph.* 986a 15; Timpanaro Cardini (1958: 80–82).

28 Franz (1836: 149–150); Gallavotti (1978–1979: 337–359).

sostituzione del genitivo Μνημοσύνης, che accompagna λίμνη al verso 9, troppo lungo per entrare nel verso 10.

Il mio suggerimento è dunque di ripristinare al verso 10 di Petelia la lettura del primo editore: θεΐης ἀπ[ὸ λίμ]νης, ‘il lago divino’.

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30. Festivals in the Afterlife: A New Reading of the Petelia Tablet (*OF* 476.11)

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καὶ τότε ἔπειτα [τέλη σὺ μεθ'] ἥρώεσιν ἀνάξει[ς]¹

The Petelia tablet was the first of the so-called ‘Orphic’ gold tablets to be discovered by modern scholarship, yet it continues to present us with enigmas that have not been resolved by the uncovering of further tablets of its type. This gold lamella, dating to the fourth century BC by its letter forms, was found in an undetermined location, stuffed inside an amulet case dating to the second century CE.² It is unlikely that the lamella was handed down for over 500 years as a family heirloom. More probably the lamella was put into the amulet case by someone in the second century who had discovered this ‘magic’ talisman in a grave and wanted to keep it close at all times.³ However, to make it fit within the amulet case, this unknown person rolled up the thin gold foil and then, since the end of this roll stuck out of the case, snipped off the the tip. Unfortunately, this destroyed the text at the end of the lamella, and none of the other tablets of the long B type, which parallel the Petelia tablet in most respects, has the missing lines. I hereby offer a new restoration of line 11, one of the lacunae caused by that inconsiderate citizen of the second century.

The missing section seems to concern the result obtained by the deceased when she successfully passes the guardians with her claim to be the child of Earth and starry Heaven. None of the gold tablets elaborate much on the results of the successful journey; the bulk of lines in any text is always

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- 1 This new reading appears in the edition of the gold tablets in ch. 2 of Edmonds (2011). I would like to thank Franco Ferrari for his helpful suggestions on this problematic line. I would also like to thank Miguel Herrero, Ana Jiménez San Cristóbal, Eugenio R. Luján, Raquel Martín, Marco Antonio Santamaría, and Sofía Torallas Tovar, for putting together this tribute, and, above all, Alberto Bernabé himself, for being such a friendly, courteous, erudite, and stimulating opponent in all matters Orphic.
 - 2 The discovery was published in Franz (1836) and treated in the dissertation of Goettling (1843), although it was not classified as ‘Orphic’ until Comparetti (1882).
 - 3 *Pace* Faraone (2009). See further Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 324–326) including illustration of tablet and case on p. 325.

on the solution to the obstacle posed.⁴ The Petelia tablet does indicate that the result will be that the guardians give the deceased a drink from the water of Memory, but then what? Only one hexameter in the Petelia tablet seems to treat the fate of the deceased in the afterlife.⁵

This hexameter is introduced by the transitional ‘and then’ (καὶ τότε ἔπειτα), and concludes with something to do with the heroes (ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς]). The final letter of the line falls in another snipped out gap, but, given the second person addresses throughout the text, the restoration of a sigma has seemed reasonable to every editor since the tablet’s discovery. Most editors in the 20th century have taken ἀνάξει[ς] to come from ἀνάσσω, and they interpret the line to signify that the deceased will become the king of the underworld or at least rule like a king over the heroes. However, ἀνάξει[ς] could be the second person singular of the future, not just of ἀνάσσω but also of ἀνάγω. Cougny, in his 1890 collection, renders the line as *et tunc inde amicos inter heroas reduces*, restoring a Greek text of καὶ τότε ἔπειτα [φίλοισι μεθ’] ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς].⁶

The verbs ἄγω and ἀνάγω can not only mean ‘to lead’ or ‘to lead back’ as Cougny seems to want, but also to conduct, as in ceremonies, festivals, or sacrifices. Herodotus uses ἀνάγω to refer to the rites that the Egyptians practice that resemble those the Greek do for Dionysos, while Aristophanes uses ἄγω for all the important festivals of Athens – the Panathenaia, the Mysteries, the Dipoleia, and the Adonia.⁷ If we restore in the lacuna an object for the verb that indicates some sort of ritual, then ἀνάξει[ς] can predict that the deceased will celebrate a festival in the afterlife. While ἐορτὰς would scan, it would provide only six characters to fill the gap (ΕΟΡΤΑΣ). Using τέλη instead, with the addition of σὺ to specify the subject, permits the preposition μεθ’ to go before the heroes (ἡρώεσσιν), yielding a restoration of nine characters (ΤΕΛΗΣΥΜΕΘ) that fits the lacuna better. The monosyllable σὺ is perhaps clunky, but it appears elsewhere in the tablet hexameters.⁸

4 Edmonds (2004: 99–101).

5 The remains of the tablet beyond line 11 resemble the verses from the beginning of the Hipponion tablet that introduce the whole situation – when you are about to die. Fontenrose (1978) might refer to this specification of approaching death as the ‘condition precedent’ in his classification of the parts of the traditional hexameter verse oracle. Cf. Edmonds (2011: 255–258) for an application of Fontenrose’s analysis to the tablets, suggesting that they may derive not from a canonical *hieros logos* but from short hexameter oracles.

6 Cougny (1890: 484), following the reading of Franz (1836).

7 Hdt. 2.48.2 τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα Ἑλλήσι. Ar. Pax 418–420 Καὶ σοὶ τὰ μεγάλ’ ἡμεῖς Παναθήναι’ ἄξομεν πάσας τε τὰς ἄλλας τελετὰς τὰς τῶν θεῶν, Μυστήρι’ Ἑρμῆ, Διπολίει’, Ἀδώνια.

8 Cf. OF 477.7 τοῖς δὲ σὺ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαν ἀληθείην καταλέξαι; OF 474.15 καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πῶν ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι; OF 485.7 καὶ σὺ μὲν εἰς ὑπὸ γῆν τελέσας ἅπερ ὀλβιοὶ ἄλλοι.

The choice is then between the two possible results for the deceased – will you ἀνάξει[ς] from ἀνάγω or ἀνάσσω? The problem with the latter is that an afterlife of kingship in the underworld does not appear in any other sources. Hades is king in the underworld, at the side of dread Persephone, and Kronos' rule in the Isles of the Blessed is the only alternate kingship that could fit. Previous scholars have at times imagined ἀνάσσω on the model of Achilles in the *Odyssey*, since Odysseus tells him that he is mighty among the dead (μέγα κρατέεις – *Od.* 11.485), and Achilles responds that he would rather be a portionless slave in life than to rule over the perished dead (πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν – *Od.* 11.491). Not even Achilles is king, however; his claim is a characteristic impossible wish, illustrating the wretched condition to which even the greatest of mortal heroes is reduced in Homer's vision of the afterlife.

Some scholars have read a line from the Hipponion tablet (*OF* 474.13) as ἐλεοῦσιν ὑποχθονίῳ βασιλῆϊ, implying a similar rulership for the deceased, now made a king.⁹ However, this suggestion ignores the gender of the deceased, since the woman at Hipponion would have to supplant Persephone as Queen of the Dead. Moreover, the verb should take an accusative, not dative, object, and no really satisfactory reading of this line has yet been proposed. In the absence of credible parallels, Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal take line 11 in the Petelia tablet very loosely to mean simply being freed from others' control. "Since it is a reign that is shared with a group ("you will reign with the other heroes"), we suppose that nothing is meant other than that the soul has freed itself from all subjugation".¹⁰ Graf and Johnston render it even more weakly, "to live among the heroes, *as* a hero".¹¹ These loose interpretations seem implausible as meanings for ἀνάσσειν, which should imply a positive primacy, not simply a negative lack of constraint.

Celebrating festivals in the afterlife, on the other hand, appears in a variety of sources as the ideal result of the passage into the underworld. The most elaborate description, of course, comes with the chorus in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, who celebrate mystic rites in the Underworld that seem to include a lot of eating, drinking, and sexual dalliance.¹² Plutarch provides a less comic view of such afterlife rituals, emphasizing the company of the pure and holy,¹³ but they share the idea that the best afterlife imaginable is the participation, after death, in the festivals that were the most enjoyable experiences of life. This kind of afterlife appears even in the limited evidence for the result of the journey in the gold tablets. In the Hipponion tab-

9 Merkelbach (1975: 9).

10 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 178).

11 Graf – Johnston (2007: 116).

12 *Ar. Ra.* 323–459; cf. Edmonds (2004: 138–141).

13 *Plu. fr.* 178 Sandbach περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι.

let, the deceased is told she will travel along the sacred road that the μύσται καὶ βάχχοι travel, like the sacred procession that was such an important part of the Eleusinian Mysteries (and no doubt other festivals as well).¹⁴ In one of the tablets from Pelinna, the importance of *teletai* for the blessed dead is stressed, and the deceased is promised wine for the celebrations.¹⁵ That the deceased in the Petelia tablet should look forward to celebrating rites in the underworld is thus a plausible conjecture, with far more parallel evidence than the idea of the deceased becoming Queen of the Dead.

The text καὶ τότ' ἔπειτα [τέλη σὺ μεθ'] ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς] thus provides a better restoration of the unfortunate lacuna in the Petelia text than the other restorations that were first proposed in the end of the nineteenth century. We may never know the rest of the lines that were lost when that person in the second century CE snipped off the end of the lamella to make it fit into the amulet case, but we can at least restore this particular lacuna in such a way as to remove the anomaly of the deceased hailed as the Queen of the Dead, substituting the more familiar and traditional reward of perpetual celebrations with the heroes and other blessed dead.

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14 OF 474.15–16 καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πῶν ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι· ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοι | μύσται καὶ βάχχοι ἱερὰν στεῖχουσι κλεῖνοι. Cf. Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 50–52).

15 OF 485.7 καὶ σὺ μὲν εἰς ὑπὸ γῆν τελέσας ἅπερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι. Cf. Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 84–91).

31. OF 485–486: ‘On this Day’

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The two gold leaves found in Pelinna, Thessaly, from the 4th century BC, contain an identical text, edited by Alberto Bernabé as OF 485 and 486, which starts with the following dactylic line: νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῷιδε¹ “You have died and you have been born, thrice blessed, on this day”. In this brief *symbolon* in honour of the editor of the *Orphica*, teacher and friend, I will concentrate on the final clause, ἄματι τῷιδε: this deictic formula, contrary to the exhaustive study of each word from these short but fascinating texts, has received scarce attention. It has been generally taken as a reinforcement of the twice repeated adverb νῦν, which marks the paradoxical simultaneity of death and birth, and as a deictic which points to the actual celebration of a ritual in funerary context or as a preparation for death.² However, the parallels with other texts from archaic and classical times that we shall presently see show that such expression is not just a poetic and emphatic way of saying ‘today’, but has a pregnant sense. This is consistent with the general practical tone of the leaves, where there is no space to accumulate empty formulas, and the soul of the defunct has little time to lose in long rhetorical speeches: all that is written in these little gold amulets is presumably relevant for salvation.

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- 1 Giangrande (1991) defends considering this line an original dactylic heptameter, against the majority of scholars who tend to think that τρισόλβιε was inserted in an original hexameter instead of μάκαρ (falling into milk is repeated three times in the following lines in the two leaves; the last line is a hexameter). Bibliography on these leaves in OF 485–486; add Faraone (2011).
 - 2 Segal (1990: 114) notes that the beginning of the text has a tone of urgency that contrasts with the peacefulness transmitted by the last lines; Graf (1993: 248): “the deictic pronoun refers to the moment in which the line is pronounced and points to a clearly defined ritual situation”; cf. Faraone (1996: 13–14, n. 42); Graf – Johnston (2007: 133). A clear parallel is Pindar’s *Paean* 15, which begins “on this sweet day (τῷδ’ ἐν ἄματι τερπνῷ) Poseidon’s immortal mares carry ...”. The occasion is the Aeginetan procession in honour of Aeacus. The temporal deictic unites the mythical and ritual dimensions, so that when the hymn is sung and the ritual is performed the day in which the mythical event happens is recognized. Cf. Rutherford (2001: 412), comparing it to the σήμερον of Pi. P. 4.2, O. 6.28. In Christian liturgy there are many such expressions: “this is the day the Lord has made”; “today is born our Saviour”.

Deixis with ὅδε means proximity and immediacy.³ It is typical of archaic lyric that focuses on *hic et nunc*. Whoever says ‘on this day’ refers necessarily to his own present. It is logical, therefore, that in narrative literature it is never said by the narrator, but by characters in direct speech. Homeric heroes and protagonists of tragedy and historiography use the emphatic expression to point to a crucial day in which an event of the utmost importance will take place. Hermann Fränkel’s classic study showed that in Archaic poetry ἡμαρ not only means ‘day’, but the situation which turns into decisive destiny. The epic hero (as many heroes of tragedy and historiography) has his νόστιμον ἡμαρ, his αἴσιμον ἡμαρ, his ἐλεύθερον ἡμαρ, which seals his destiny.⁴ The deictic ὅδε expresses the direct anagnorisis of the crucial day in which the hero recognizes that his ἡμαρ is arrived.

The formula is found six times in Homer, always in the dative, in crucial and solemn contexts like an emphatic vow or an oath that will be fulfilled ‘on this day’. The situations are the death of a warrior (*Il.* 11.444, 13.234, 15.252) or of the suitors (*Od.* 20.117), the birth of Zeus’ offspring (*Il.* 19.110), the fall of Troy (*Il.* 21.584). The utterance is longer and more archaizing than the usual word for ‘today’ (σήμερον, itself an ancient lexicalized deictic), and as such it is suitable for an oath or a vow: Zeus says in a casual way that the descendant of his that will be born ‘today’ (σήμερον: 19.103) will be king, but Hera demands an oath, which will necessarily be fulfilled, with the formula ἡματι τῷδε (19.110). Similarly, in the Iliadic combat between Sokos and Odysseus, the former says without much conviction that perhaps he will kill Odysseus ‘today’ (σήμερον: 11.430), and he fails to do so; instead, Odysseus answers that he will kill Sokos ‘on this day’ (ἡματι τῷδε: 11.444), and he immediately fulfills his vow. The emphasis expresses full confidence in the immediate accomplishment of the action: it is a “speech act”, in J. L. Austin’s terms, in which saying something is identical to doing it.⁵ This formal and ritualized value of the formula is similar to that of the Pelinna leaves, where the first line expresses exactly identical certainty about the birth to the new life and about the death of the defunct.

Yet the Homeric scene that most resembles the Pelinna leaf is in *Iliad* 15, when Hector, struck by Ajax with a rock, faints, and the Trojans take him to the margin of the river, where they try to reanimate him with water without success.⁶ Hector is in an uncertain position between life and death, until Zeus sees him and decides to give him new vigour through

3 On deixis in archaic poetry, cf. Bakker (2005), and particularly on temporal deixis, D’Alessio (2004).

4 Fränkel (1946) and (1955); cf. Santiago (1962) on the formulas with ἡμαρ in Homer.

5 Austin (1962). A typical example is the ritualized language of contracts or sacraments.

6 *Il.* 14.433–436. The most detailed analysis of this fainting of Hector that preannounces his death some books later is Neal (2006: 82–85).

Apollo. Coming back to his senses, Hector says: “I thought that on this day (ἡματι τῷδε) I would go to the dead and the house of Hades” (*Il.* 15.251 f.). Hector’s near-death experience makes him think that ‘this day’, the day of going to Hades, has come. The liminal context of a life-or-death situation recalls the value of the formula in the Pelinna leaves. It is possible that this Homeric scene of Hector’s pre-death, with water as the fundamental marker of a transition moment, is purposefully echoing contemporary poetic and ritual scenes of death with formulaic lines like those found later in the gold leaves.⁷

More often than in Homer, the expression ‘this day’, be it with the archaic ἡμαρ or the current ἡμέρη, is found in tragedy, which is hardly surprising: it is well known that tragedy tends to concentrate the action in the crucial days when the hero decides and acts in the edges of life and death. When Aristotle famously said that tragic action must be “one turn of the sun” long (*Poet.* 1449b 13), he was only reflecting what the preserved tragedies do. The fatal wrath of Athena against Ajax only lasts “this day that shines now” (*S. Ai.* 753: κατ’ ἡμαρ τοῦμφανὲς τὸ νῦν τόδε); Aphrodite will punish Hippolytus ‘on this day’ (*E. Hipp.* 22: ἐν τῇδ’ ἡμέραι); Creon will allow Medea to stay in Corinth one more day, enough for her to execute her vengeance (*E. Med.* 345, 370). The tension of tragedy is concentrated in the moment in which the protagonist points at the present day with the proximity deictic: the character, as the audience, recognize that he is in the crucial, decisive day which will determine his destiny.⁸ Gloomy as tragic tales are, “this day” is most often the day of death. As Cassandra says: “this day has arrived (ἦκει τόδ’ ἡμαρ): to flee is of no use to me” (*A. A.* 1301).

Two tragic scenes present the moment of death as a durative transition to Hades, as in the Pelinna leaves or in the Iliadic scene of Hector’s near-death experience, and both scenes are also marked with the expression “this day”. At the beginning of Euripides’ *Alcestis* (20–27) Apollo says that Alcestis “is agonizing; for it is on this day / when her destiny is to die and leave life” (ψυχorraγούσαν· τῇδε γάρ σφ’ ἐν ἡμέραι / θανεῖν πέπρωται καὶ μεταστῆναι βίου). And immediately after that he sees Thanatos coming “to

7 I have analysed in detail the correspondences of this scene with death-scenes in Herrero (forthcoming). Note that Hector says in 13.828f. that this day now (νῦν ἡμέρη ἥδε) will bring evil to the Achaeans and also to Ajax ‘if he has daring’ (αἶ κε ταλάσσης): the weakness of this wish (unaccomplished, of course) is similar to Sokos’ in 11.430, and perhaps the unique use of ἡμέρη ἥδε in the *Iliad* is intended to mark its equivalence to σήμερον. The fact that a few moments later (the lines in between describe events in the Olympus, not in the battlefield) Hector uses ἡματι τῷδε to recognize that Ajax almost kills him, seems to express the same opposition of ἡμαρ τόδε as a winning speech-act to σήμερον (or ἡμέρη ἥδε) in *Il.* 11.430–444 or *Il.* 19.103–110.

8 Cf. Henrichs (2009: 102–103) on this irreversible moment in tragedy, which is expressed by these utterances about a crucial day.

take her down to the house of Hades. He has arrived punctually, watching for this day (φρουρῶν τόδ' ἡμᾶρ) when she must die". In *Oedipus Coloneus* also Sophocles seals the scene of Oedipus' death with the same expression: after performing his own ritual funeral, Oedipus hears the voice that calls him from Hades and embracing his daughters he says (OC 1612 f.): "on this day you have no longer a father, for I am totally dead (οὐκ ἔστ' ἔθ' ὑμῖν τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πατήρ. / "Ὀλῶλε γὰρ δὴ πάντα)".

In these two scenes 'this day' marks the departure to Hades, without excluding diverse variants of how this death will result (return in the case of Alcestis, heroization in that of Oedipus). The expression marked in tragedy the point of inflexion, the moment when everything changes. Oedipus is the paradigmatic character of a crucial day, when he discovered his true identity. At the end of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, a messenger says (1282–1285): "the old happiness of the past was once / happiness indeed. But now in this day (νῦν δὲ τῇδε θῆμέρᾳ) / lamentation, ruin, death, shame and every earthly ill / that anyone could name, none is lacking". And in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* Antigone says: "the god who fulfills these sorrows / has brought them all together on this day (ἐν ἅματι τῷδε), father, for our house". And the chorus answers her: "this day (τόδ' ἡμᾶρ) is the beginning of many sorrows o the house of Oedipus. May he live to be more fortunate!" (E. *Phoen.* 1579–1583). The crucial day in tragedy brings a radical transition from one state to its extreme opposite: from happiness (ὄλβος) to sorrow, from life to death. It is the day of an irrevocable step, on which decisive events seal the life of the hero.⁹

However, in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Euripides gives a hint of another possible dimension of this crucial day: it is not any more the day of a transition from life to death, but both happen at the same time. The messenger that announces to Agamemnon that his daughter has been saved *in extremis* uses an expression strikingly similar to the Pelinna leaves (1612–1613): "the gods' ways are not what mortals expect / and they save those whom they love: for this day / has seen your daughter dead and living (ἡμᾶρ γὰρ τόδε θανούσαν εἶδε καὶ βλέπουσαν παῖδα σήν)". The deictic 'this day' marks the arrival of death, but also of life. This formulation, like that of the leaves, purposefully emphasizes the paradox of juxtaposing life and death. Such language is enigmatic and oracular, and it needs a divine illumination to be understood.

9 In contrast to this attitude of epic and tragedy there is another attitude typical of popular wisdom, expressed in the famous words by Solon to Cresus (Hdt. 1.32–34) on the many days in the changing life of a man. Cf. Henrichs (2009: 100), Clarke (2008). The ideology of Hesiod's *Days* (Op. 765–770, 822–828) is much closer to this cautious attitude than to the heroic fixation with the supreme day: the dialogue between passionate Electra and the prudent paedagogue in S. *El.* 1363–1366 shows the contrast of both attitudes.

The paradoxical simultaneity of life and death on the same day is formulated in the same terms in a key dialogue of *Oedipus Rex* (437–438). Teiresias says: “this day will give you birth and will destroy you” (Ἡδ’ ἡμέρα φύσει σε καὶ διαφθερεῖ), to which Oedipus angrily answers: “you say everything in riddles and too obscurely (πάντ’ ἄγαν αἰνικτὰ κάσαφῃ λέγεις)”. Famous for his skill in solving αἰνίγματα, Oedipus is not yet able to grasp the meaning of Teiresias’ sentence. When he discovers the truth about his own identity, he will understand.¹⁰ In a different scale, the same happens in the leaves to the initiate, who understands the paradox because he is conscious of his own identity as a *mystes*. The way, however, in which the oxymoron is uttered in the Pelinna texts, has an optimistic tone, as in *Iphigenia in Aulis*: the syntactic order death-life, contrary to the somber life-death of Teiresias’ prophecy, announces salvation.

In the speculation about life and death in classical Greece, the paradox of making both coincide on the same day set a clear boundary separating those who understood it and those who did not. Not only do we find it in so different genres as tragedy and ritual eschatological poetry.¹¹ Also in the famous initial scene in Plato’s *Crito* (44a) Socrates says that he has known through a dream that he will die in three days: “a beautiful woman, dressed in a white tunic, came to me and called me and said: ‘Socrates, in the third day you would arrive to fertile Phthia’ (ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο)”. *Crito*, impatient and practical as he is, does not take it too seriously, even if the allusion to Achilles’ words in the *Iliad* (9.363) does not escape him – he later offers Socrates help to go to Thessaly, “if that is what you want” (45c), as if he had understood him literally. However, commentators have noted that Plato plays with the meaning of the Iliadic passage, perhaps influenced by Pythagorean interpretations of Homer: like Achilles, he is talking of a return home.¹² What for common men is death, for Platonic Socrates is return to the true fatherland (there is a clear play with the ety-

10 These lines of *Oedipus Rex* are probably echoed by Euripides in *Ph.* 1689: “a single day gave me happiness, a single day destroyed me (ἐν ἡμαρ μ’ ὤλβισ’, ἐν δ’ ἀπώλεσεν)”. Here Oedipus is capable again of understanding and formulating αἰνίγματα.

11 In *AP* 7.638.3, Crinagoras uses the expression ‘in this day’ in an epigram about the simultaneous salvation and death of two brothers (cf. Bowersock 1964). Other examples of the life/death juxtaposition in Bernabé (2007).

12 On this passage of the *Crito*, cf. Detienne (1962: 47–52); Kramer (1988). Although it is perhaps too speculative to localize in Thessaly a particular emphasis in this afterlife sense of ἡμαρ τότε, it is noticeable that the two leaves with this formula were found in Pelinna; *Alcestis*, the tragedy which most underlines ‘this day’ in the process of death, is localized in Thessaly; Cic. *Diu.* 1.59 retells Socrates’ dream and another of Eudemus with the same idea of the soul’s fatherland, which would have taken place in Pherai, Thessaly (where other leaves have been found: *OF* 493a and b; another important Thessalian leaf was found in Pharsalos: *OF* 477).

mology of Phthia, related to the root φθι-: ‘to die’). Crito is talking of exile, while for Socrates death would be precisely return from exile. The third day is decisive for both, but in a completely different sense.

Let us now conclude. What do these parallels tell us about the first line of the Pelinna leaves?

In the first place, a clear conscience of being in the crucial day, in a moment of “life or death”, can be supposed of the main character of the text – the soul of the initiated defunct –. The belief in a happy life of the soul after death implied in the leaves is very far from Homeric epics and tragedy, where the hero confronts death with a similarly clear conscience of its being the end. However, these radically different attitudes share the idea that human existence culminates, and is decided, in a supreme day. The day on which the unwilting glory (κλέος ἄφθιτον) begins for epic heroes is also the day on which the initiates will “proceed in glory” (OF 474.16: στείχουσι κλεινοί) towards immortal life.

Secondly, the first line of the Pelinna leaves uses an oxymoron typical of enigmatic and oracular utterances, in which life and death are simultaneous. The word order death-life gives it an optimistic tone that links it to heroic immortality, like in the cases of Iphigenia or Heracles, which contrasts with the pessimistic order life-death present in many other passages of early Greek poetry.

Finally, it seems clear that the eschatological poetry of the gold leaves reflects, in this expression as in many others (e.g. OF 476.11: “you will reign over the other heroes”), the heritage of the ancient poetic tradition that sang about heroic immortality – a poetry echoed, but rejected as an option, by Homer. This poetry of epic heroization, with undoubtable ritual connections, must have later ended up in Orphic eschatological poetry. In the minds of the audience of Homeric poetry, of tragedy, or of Plato, the mention of the decisive day “of life or death”, evoked the inverse sense of this day in the Orphic tradition: “of death and life”.¹³

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13 I thank Marco Antonio Santamaría for his useful comments.

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32. “Ram, You Fell into the Milk” (*OF* 485.5–486.4). Possible Orphic Echoes in an Apulian Image

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Dialogue between ancient texts and images has always borne abundant and splendid fruit that has allowed us to widen the horizon of our knowledge of certain aspects as transcendental as Greek religion and Greek cultic and ritual practices. And within this very wide field there is an area, that of vase iconography of Magna Graecia, which offers infinite possibilities for analysis and readings, sometimes by themselves and sometimes alongside written documents. The informative capacity of the image is sometimes immediately revealed by itself; at other times it is kept ambiguous or hermetic to our reading. Such always readings give rise to fruitful debates and controversies that bring forth developments in the definition of the code and of the iconographic system, as well as in the representation of ideas and actions within a religious context. In this sense, one of the more fruitful analyses has been carried out on links between images from Magna Graecia and Orphism, which has been widely discussed and documented.¹ Although readings are currently more nuanced, less mechanical in the correspondence between the former and the latter, such debates have contributed with complementary contents to the widening of our points of view on both spheres, the imagery and the religious.

Based on an encounter and a dialogue between word and image – a mutually enriching dialogue – I would like to approach Apulian imagery and its religious universe together with the content of some Orphic tablets. The excuse is to analyse and disentangle, if at all possible, the meaning of an image in an Apulian chalice crater, or simply put forward possible interpretations in the light of, and accompanied by, some Orphic texts.

The image in question is the main face of a chalice crater held at the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, attributed by Trendall to the Vatican Group W4, and dated between 360–350 BC.² The scene takes place in the open air, in a natural setting, as indicated by the plants that sprout from below and the white stones represented in it. This space, however, is enclosed

1 Metzger (1944–1945); Pensa (1977); Schmidt (1975, 2000); Bernabé (2009).

2 Trendall – Cambitoglou (1978: I, 408, nr. 61, pl. 144, 3–4).

and ritually signified; it is a sacred space, due both to the characters wandering in it, as we shall see, and to the different elements thus pointing it out: a wreath and a bucranium hanging at the back, a thymiaterion, or perfume-burner, placed between the two protagonists of the scene and a pillar upon which the main character reclines. Wreath, bucranium and perfume-burner are iconographic elements usually employed by painters to indicate a ritual space, where meaningful actions, from the religious and cultic point of view, take place. The pillar is usually an indication of transit; it sets a limit, a border between the sacred space and that external to the ritual, a beginning and, why not, an initiation.

In the centre of the scene, a woman, sitting on a stool, dressed in a *chiton* and wearing a veil on her head, glances to her right, to the main character, while performing with her hand a gesture characteristic of *anakalepsis*, of revealing her face. Behind her, a woman standing holds in her hand a great phiale, which she advances, most likely to perform a libation. The protagonist of this scene is a male figure, a semi-naked youth, with a mantle rolled up around his hips and gathered in his left arm, holding a vegetable branch in his left hand and reclining upon the pillar, as he advances his right hand towards the woman who is sitting, in a gesture we will analyse further on. The most definitive and interesting feature of this character, however, is that he is depicted with ram-like horns which are painted white. Behind him, a second youth stands naked with his mantle rolled up in his arm; he holds a large vegetable branch and looks towards the central group.

This is the description of the scene but, who are these characters? Who is the youth with ram-like horns? What action is being depicted in this ritual setting? Let us first analyse who is the main character, the youth with ram-like horns, for whom different interpretations have been proposed, such as Apollo and Dionysus.

For some authors,³ it is Apollo Carneios, epiclesis of the god whose cult is widely documented in Sparta and who enjoyed great diffusion in the whole Achaean sphere. This identification is based on iconographic similarity with the coinage from Cyrene, Metapontum and Tarentum, issued from the year 425 BC onwards, whose reverse presents a youth's head with ram-like horns and in whom a depiction of Apollo Carneios has also been sought,⁴ despite that the fact that his cult, at least in Magna Graecia, has not been documented.⁵ This identification has long been debated.⁶

3 Imhoof – Blumer (1917: 8–9).

4 Imhoof – Blumer (1917: 7–9); Lambrinudakis (1984: 226, nrs. 337–338).

5 Some authors have seen in these coin images from Metapontum and Tarentum a representation of Zeus Ammon or, even, of Dionysus; cf. Montagner (2008: 80 ff., especially 93), where the state of the question is summarised.

6 Lecant – Clerc (1981: 683, nr. 170), where several interpretations are collected: for Stephani it is Dionysus, followed by Pan, being reconciled with Rhea after having

The identification with Apollo Carneios, apart from the similarity with coinage types, an identification that is in itself problematical, is based upon the presence of the laurel branch in the hand of our protagonist and in the youth's accompanying him, as well as upon the absence of iconographic attributes of any other god, particularly Dionysus, since the ivy and the thyrsus are missing. However, the branch held by our protagonist is not necessarily laurel. There are countless Apulian images in which men and women in different contexts, particularly funerary, hold vegetable branches similar to this. In some cases, a man is even depicted carrying this type of branch in one hand and a cluster of grapes in the other. The vegetable branch does not refer strictly to an attribute specific to a god, it could be a more general symbol evoking different meanings: presentation before a divinity, supplication, offering, or, in a more general sense, the germinating and renewal power of a god. The sense of a vegetable branch in Apulian scenes, designed for the realm of the dead, acquires an eschatological sense: the plant is the image of the *physis*, of the eternally renewed and spontaneous growth of evergreen nature, an expression of the inexhaustible strength of life, a promise and symbol of rebirth after death.

The proposals identifying the character with Dionysus insist on the presence of the ram in Dionysian imagery.⁷ They also adduce that the second male character, the youth located on the right side of the tableau, is a young Pan (admittedly, with human legs) since they also see little goatly horns painted on his forehead, a detail which it is difficult to accept if one has not examined the piece directly.

If we accept the hypothesis of its identification with Dionysus, whose religious and salvation message floods Apulian funerary iconography, how should the scene be interpreted? The whole scene, particularly based on the woman's gesture, seems to be an image of *theogamia*, the encounter between a mortal woman and her future divine spouse; a woman accompanies the bride and with the phiale seems to suggest a future welcoming or celebration libation, as another youth does with the groom. The bride could be the image of a woman deceased, an initiate in Bacchic mysteries, a new Ariadna

restored her father Ammon to the throne of Libya. Fasciato and Leclant consider it to be an echo of the last fresco by Protogenus of Caunos, in which the Carian master would have represented Alexander and Pan. Finally, Leclant and Clerc identify it with Ammon, or, rather, with a glorification of Alexander as Ammon.

- 7 Gasparri (1986: 512, nr. 870); Bottini (1992: 131–133); Montagner (2008: 93). Some authors have recognised in this image a Libyan Dionysus: Cf. Leclant – Clerc (1981: 688), who have collected references from ancient mythographers who had attributed to Dionysus the origin of the sanctuary at Siwah oasis, and they underline the links between Dionysus and Ammon. However, no inscription or text point to the existence or to the cult of a Libyan Dionysus. On the identification of the god with a ram in textual evidence, cf. Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 116).

who will join with the god in an infernal hierogamy. But, why is Dionysus portrayed with ram-like horns in this scene?

Now is the time, as we proposed at the beginning, to let ourselves be accompanied by the texts, especially by Orphic texts and in particular by the Pelinna tablet.⁸ This is an Orphic text with instructions for the Netherworld of a particular character, since it is the only tablet in which Dionysus is unequivocally mentioned: "Tell Persephone that Bacchus himself liberated you", a formula that is supposedly an explicit reference to Bacchic mysteries and confirms the relation of these tablets to the Dionysian sphere.

In this and other tablets, Persephone, Dionysus' mother in Orphic theology, is the queen of the infernal regions, in whose domains the paradise promised to the initiates is located. She is the judge in the last decision on the destiny of the soul, and to her are addressed the declarations of purification and liberation of the initiates.⁹ In a magnificent example of Apulian iconography, a crater from Toledo (Ohio),¹⁰ Dionysus and Persephone guarantee the initiates the liberation of their corporal bonds, of the primordial guilt inherited due to the Titans' crime, as well as their welcoming to the Netherworld, where they will find rest from all ills. It is Dionysus Lysios, liberator, who guarantees and performs this salvation function, which, in turn, has to be approved and endorsed by Persephone.

The explicit mention of Dionysus is not its sole particularity, since it is also the only text in which, among the formulae about the animal fallen into milk, the ram is mentioned: "Ram, you fell into the milk". Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal have commented upon the function and the meaning of these formulae, in which the kid or the bull are more frequently mentioned, since they are undoubtedly animals associated to the Dionysian religious world. They are not passwords to be pronounced for the soul to be admitted in the beatific realm, but rather a mystic formula to be enunciated once happiness has been attained and that, in the opinion of these authors, "concentrates the concepts of identification with the god, the rebirth into a new life and the well-being it produces for the newly-born sheltered by the goddess, his mother".¹¹

The Pelinna tablet contains several elements that allow for a new approach to the image in the crater from the Hermitage. We could interpret that the main character, the youth with ram-like horns, is Dionysus, but maybe we could also see in it an initiate, a mystes, one who, as indicated by the sentence in the Pelinna tablet, is identified with the ram that fell into the milk, and, ultimately, with Dionysus. And if he is a mystes, we could inter-

8 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 87–125).

9 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 99).

10 Johnston – McNiven (1996); Bernabé (2009: 113, fig. 6.5).

11 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 107–116, quotation in p. 117).

pret her as Persephone, last instance judge of the destiny of the initiates, and consider the gesture simply as an 'unveiling' or revelation of the goddess in a decisive epiphany. The mystes, a new Dionysus, presents himself before her as a suppliant, with the branch of a suppliant before the infernal deity, and before her, he would proclaim his ritual purity and his divine lineage to gain her favour and obtain the long-sought entry into a blessed Netherworld: "I now come as a suppliant before chaste Persephone / to see if, benevolently, she will send me to the abode of the limpid".¹² The deceased is accompanied by another mystes, or maybe Pan, in any case a member of the Dionysian thiasus, while the woman holding the phiale suggests an immediate libation that will ritually sanction Persephone's welcome and decision. The sacred setting, the infernal sanctuary, serves as an appropriate framework for ritual action: the entering of the initiate into paradise after his presentation before the goddess and her judgement.

The deceased is buried with this vase, significantly a chalice crater, a service vase at the symposium, and, with this image, he could have present, as with the tablet, the ritual formula that will express his identification with the god. He would be the ram that, after 'falling into the milk', presents himself as suppliant, already purified and liberated by Dionysus, before his mother, the queen of the underworld, in order to be accepted into her shelter and reborn to the paradise promised to the initiates. The god aids the mystes in his transit between life and death, between the human and the divine, to transmute her into a god by means of his action of salvation and liberation: "blessed and fortunate, you will become a god, from the mortal that you were".¹³

The image's ambiguity allows for multiple readings that should not necessarily be exclusive. In my opinion, the common and unequivocal elements are 1) the scenery depicted, a sacred setting, a ritual space, already located in the other world, since the scene has been drawn for a funerary vase; 2) an encounter between a female character and a male one, undoubtedly the protagonists, each of them accompanied by another character of the same sex; 3) a direct and close relation between both based on the exchange of their glances and gestures (her unveiling and his extending his hand towards her). Based on these data, various possibilities open out: that she is a mortal, an initiate, taken into paradise by a Dionysus depicted with ram-like horns by means of a future theogamy; or that he is a mortal, transmuted into Dionysus after "falling into the milk", who presents himself before Persephone. The branch he carries could be that of a suppliant, but also the symbol of his rebirth. The image can be interpreted in one sense or the other and of-

12 Thurii tablet OF 489–490. 6–7: Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 155); cf. also on this aspect of the supplication Edmonds (2009: 78 ff.).

13 Thurii tablet OF 488.9: Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 136).

fer, under different, but not mutually exclusive, points of view, elements of eschatology of mystic, Orphic and Dionysian cults. Whoever is buried with it, man or woman, could, him or herself, make the most accurate reading.

The final transit will be expressed in a new Apulian image, the one presiding the neck of a voluted crater from Matera,¹⁴ in which, among a profusion of vegetable elements, flowers, buds, tendrils, leaves and arabesques, a male head with long curly hair, wearing a radial diadem and ram-like horns, emerges from a great floral chalice. This emergence of the character with ram-like horns, god or mystes, presents the image of initiation space where a human, after death, walks towards life, the garden of paradise, the idyllic setting of an eternal and blessed existence, a splendid confirmation of what the scene depicted in the Hermitage vase already announced.

Our proposal is but an attempt to identify and offer a reading from the point of view of Orphism alongside some of its texts. We may have wished to glimpse in this image closer links to Orphism than those allowed by the ambiguousness of the iconographic language. We do not intend to assume that the image was the illustration of a ritual or an Orphic formula, but there are echoes of practices and expressions present in Orphism in it. In any case, the identification with Dionysus and his role in liberating eschatology in certain religious beliefs in Magna Graecia is present in this as well as in many other Apulian vases.



Fig. 1: Chalice crater held at the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, 360–350 BC

14 Bottini (1992: fig. 35).

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33. En las redes de χρόνος. La peregrinación inicial de las almas contaminadas (Plu. *De facie* 943C): sobre OF 487.6

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Tras las pertinentes correcciones al mito de Deméter y Perséfone,¹ reinterpretado con exégesis etimológicas y alegóricas que identifican a la primera con la Tierra y a la segunda con la Luna y tras determinadas precisiones sobre la composición tripartita del hombre (σῶμα, ψυχή, νοῦς)² basada en principios platónicos y aristotélicos, el mito de Sila describe nuestro destino más inmediato después de la muerte.

Los dos temas, el del cuerpo como tumba del alma, ahora liberada de él, y el de la experiencia ultraterrena para la que se preparaban los iniciados en los misterios, son parte esencial de la producción científica de Alberto Bernabé, cuyos estudios sobre Plutarco y el orfismo³ han ofrecido una nueva línea de interpretación de los mitos plutarqueos; a él por esto rendimos tributo de reconocimiento con estas breves reflexiones nuestras de ahora.

Debemos señalar, en primer lugar, que la geografía escatológica que Plutarco presenta en este mito no está al alcance de todas las almas, tras su separación del cuerpo; sino que, para las sucesivas etapas, hay oposiciones binarias basadas en diferencias cualitativas entre las almas que no logran superar algunos de esos espacios y las que progresan por ellos en su viaje de retorno a los orígenes. La primera parte de este viaje se desarrolla en las regiones sublunares; aquí se habla de los erráticos paseos de las almas tras su separación del cuerpo y, en cuanto al destino de las almas desencarnadas, se distingue (primera división binaria) entre el de las injustas y el de las justas. Las últimas logran llegar a las Praderas de Hades, la región aérea próxima a la luna, donde sufren un proceso de purificación, semejante al de los iniciados; pero también de ellas (segunda división binaria) sólo unas cuantas logran el premio de la victoria y entran en la llanura elísea, situada en la zona luminosa de la luna. En este trabajo nos ocuparemos tan sólo de

1 Pérez Jiménez (1998).

2 Pérez Jiménez (2002).

3 En particular, Bernabé (1996, 2001).

la peregrinación inicial de todas ellas por el espacio sublunar sometido al tiempo y al movimiento, parte del que son, como hemos dicho, las praderas de Hades, reservadas para la purificación de las mejores.

En esta primera etapa *post mortem* es fundamental el tiempo (de ahí nuestro título), cuyas leyes se aplican a todas las almas desprendidas del cuerpo:

943C. Πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, ἄνουν τε καὶ σὺν νῶ, σώματος ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰμαρμένον ἔστιν (ἐν) τῷ μεταξύ γῆς καὶ σελήνης χωρίῳ πλανηθῆναι χρόνον οὐκ ἴσον, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄδικοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι δίκας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τίνουσι, τὰς δ' ἐπιεικεῖς, ὅσον ἀφαγνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποπνεῦσαι (τοὺς) ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ αἰτίου⁴ πονηροῦ μiasmou, ἐν τῷ πρασιότῳ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὃν λειμώνας Ἄϊδου καλοῦσι, δεῖ γίνεσθαι χρόνον τινα τεταγμένον.

De acuerdo con un procedimiento estilístico habitual del Queronense, como en otros lugares hemos subrayado a propósito de la alegoría mitológica⁵ y de la antropología,⁶ las primeras palabras sirven de título a todo el pasaje. En este caso se indica el sujeto de la experiencia (πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, ἄνουν τε καὶ σὺν νῶ) y el momento de la misma (σώματος ἐκπεσοῦσαν, un verbo a cuyo sentido se acomoda perfectamente la cláusula ditrocaica con su ritmo descendente, como de caída, y cuyo preverbio ἐκ- anticipa uno de los motivos dominantes en todo el pasaje, el de la separación implicada por la primera muerte, tras el abandono del cuerpo). Estoy de acuerdo con Cherniss⁷ en que el sentido de ἄνουν τε καὶ σὺν νῶ refleja la distinción, esencial en lo que sigue, entre almas prudentes, justas, que son las provistas de νοῦς y, por tanto, con posibilidades del progreso ascensional hacia la luna, y almas injustas, carentes de juicio. La posibilidad de que incluso, tras separarse el νοῦς de la ψυχή en la luna con la segunda muerte (944E), algunas puedan reencarnarse (945B) no contradice, sino que confirma esa interpretación. En cuanto a la separación, tal como se formula en esta frase-título, evidencia la importancia que ésta tiene en todo el pasaje, pues es condición *sine qua non* para el peregrinaje escatológico del alma: está presente en expresiones donde dominan las preposiciones/preverbios separativos, como σώματος ἐκπεσοῦσαν y ἀφαγνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποπνεῦσαι (τοὺς) ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ αἰτίου πονηροῦ μiasmou y se refuerza con la aliteración secuenciada de las cuatro palabras ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰμαρμένον ἔστιν

4 Prácticamente todos los editores aceptan la corrección ἀτμοῦ de los manuscritos, introducida por Emperius y que se apoya en *De tuend. san.* 129C: ὅταν ἀτμοὶ πονηροὶ καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις πικραὶ συνιστάμεναι “ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς,” ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀνακραθῶσι “περίοδοις”. Sin embargo, la responsabilidad del cuerpo en la contaminación de esas impurezas al alma (como cicatrices se describen en el mito de Tespesio, Plu. *De sera num. uind.* 565C) hace innecesaria la corrección. Y Vernière (1977: 67) mantiene en su traducción la lectura de los manuscritos: “et exhale les miasmes qui proviennent du corps, comme d’une source malsaine”.

5 Pérez Jiménez (1998: 291).

6 Pérez Jiménez (2002: 468, 469).

7 Cherniss (1957: 200–201).

y ἐν) (adición de Wyttenbach bastante verosímil). Por otra parte, el uso del participio ἐκπεσοῦσαν para indicar la separación reciente, cuando la materia todavía empara al alma, implica una caída inicial (no una elevación espiritual) muy a tono con la corporeidad remanente que el filósofo le atribuye en el instante inmediato a la separación. La materialidad es, pues, el principio que rige las coordenadas espaciales y temporales de este primer viaje tras la muerte, ya sea en forma de castigo para las almas ἄδικοι⁸ condenadas a sufrir las reencarnaciones previstas en la *República*,⁹ ya sea como purgatorio temporal, en el caso de las almas ἐπιεικεῖς.

El movimiento espacial y temporal, que se realizará en los pasajes siguientes como inestabilidad emocional,¹⁰ controla este primer viaje de las almas. No parece casual el hecho de que aquí, como en la parte descriptiva del mito, donde Crono simboliza la mutabilidad del mundo sensible tanto por su naturaleza titánica como por su identificación con el tiempo,¹¹ χρόνος sea el término recurrente. En efecto, toda la unidad se encuentra formalmente atrapada en el tiempo, gracias a una composición anular, iniciada con εἰμαρμένον¹² ... χρόνον y que se cierra con χρόνον τινὰ τεταγμένον. Interesa subrayar esa temporalidad a la que están sometidas las almas; pues un rasgo del tiempo es el movimiento incesante, expresado sin ambages en esta unidad estilística, que anticipa, como decíamos, la inestabilidad psíquica de las almas en la segunda parte del pasaje.

No se trata de un movimiento rectilíneo o circular ni ascendente, que tendría una connotación positiva, de estabilidad, control y perfección, sino del que corresponde a un alma todavía borracha por el lastre de su materialidad física todavía no purificada. En este sentido el verbo πλανηθῆναι, que recuerda el comportamiento atribuido por el *Fedón* platónico al alma encarnada (πλανᾶται καὶ ταραττεται)¹³ y que Plutarco vuelve a utilizar en otro lugar para describir la experiencia posterior a la muerte,¹⁴ refleja el movimiento caótico del alma durante ese período de tiempo prefijado; ambas nociones, movimiento y tiempo, encuentran el ritmo adecuado en la cláusula, donde están implicados los términos referidos a ellas: πλανηθῆναι

8 Castigos explícitos en el mito de Tespesio (*De sera num. uind.* 566E–568A).

9 Pl. R. 617a–621a.

10 En el párrafo siguiente – para cuyo análisis remitimos a Pérez Jiménez (2010) –, con referencia a las almas que purgan sus impurezas y en 944B a propósito de las almas castigadas.

11 Barigazzi (1994: 61–69).

12 Un término que denota la influencia del *Timeo* 41e donde los λόγοι εἰμαρμένοι regulan la secuencia de los nacimientos, como advierte Vernière (1977: 194).

13 Pl. *Phd.* 79c.

14 Fr. 200: ἴσασίη δὲ νῆσος ἡ δεχομένη τὸν ἀποθνήσκοντα μοῖρα καὶ χώρα τοῦ περιέχοντος, εἰς ἣν ἐμπεσοῦσαι πρῶτον αἱ ψυχαὶ πλανῶνται καὶ ξενοπαθοῦσι καὶ ὀλοφύρονται καὶ οὐκ ἴσαιν ὅπῃ ζόφος ...

sus almas los principios de la física aristotélica. Éste, diferenciando la región del cielo (αἰθήρ), a cuyos cuerpos pertenece el movimiento circular perfecto, de la sublunar, cambiante, suponía que, al ascender hacia aquellas regiones superiores, el aire se hacía más puro, suave.¹⁸ Y, en la misma dirección, aquí las praderas de Hades (ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὃν λειμῶνας Ἅϊδου καλοῦσι) son el lugar científicamente más apropiado para el progreso de las almas que aspiran a la estabilidad. Naturalmente, el Hades celeste tiene su antecedente en las praderas platónicas de la *República* y del *Fedro*, pero tampoco es extraño para los órficos que le dan un sentido místico, acorde con la función que le atribuye Plutarco¹⁹ y tal vez esos prados recuerden aquellos otros en que se celebraban los misterios, como en Eleusis.²⁰

Espacio y tiempo, por otra parte, se concretan, se limitan positivamente en la segunda parte de la unidad, cuando el protagonismo pasa a las almas buenas. El tiempo predestinado (εἰμαρμένον), pero sin perspectiva final, sigue condicionando la existencia sublunar de las almas injustas, castigadas de forma permanente; lo denota el aspecto durativo del presente τίνουσι y tal vez la cláusula. Ésta, con sus ambigüedades, se ajusta en cualquier caso al destino de los injustos. Si la interpretamos como dicrético (ἀδι-κημάτων τίνουσι = cr + ba), asumiendo el valor breve de la -i- de τίνω en ático, acompaña al sufrimiento de estas almas sometidas a castigos. Si es un ditroqueo (ἀδικημά-των τίνουσι), el ritmo descendente va bien con la teleología de los castigos, que es el descenso de nuevo a la tierra y la reencarnación. Y si consideramos la -i- de τίνω como larga (igual que Homero), la cláusula, un dispondeo (ἀδικημά-των τίνουσι), marca el *tempo lento* de la existencia de las almas injustas, en contraste con las justas.

Y es que para éstas, para las ἐπιεικεῖς, la duración del purgatorio es concreta, como también lo es el espacio en que han de sufrirlo. Otra vez el tiempo se adueña aquí de la forma literaria, ahora representado al comienzo por el pronombre ὅσον, cuyo valor cuantitativo se traduce en temporalidad limitada y al final por el sintagma χρόνον τινὰ τεταγμένον, donde el participio y el indefinido fijan un tope temporal.²¹ En cuanto almas elegidas, el premio a su buena conducta moral en la tierra es la provisionalidad de su permanencia en las praderas de Hades y una iniciación purificadora²²

18 Arist. *Meteor.* 1.3.339b–340a. Cf. Vernière (1977: 172).

19 Pl. R. 614a, *Phdr* 248b, *OF* 487: λειμῶνας τε ἱεροῦς καὶ ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας. Cf. Vernière (1977: 190).

20 Cf. Vernière (1977: 208).

21 Disentimos en este punto de la interpretación de Vernière (1977: 197), que atribuye la expresión a todas las almas: “Ces premières errances sont le lot commun, mais leur durée, scrupuleusement mesurée, ainsi que leurs modalités, dépendent de la qualité des âmes”.

22 Obsérvese el parecido con *De anima*, fr. 178 Sandbach, donde se relaciona esta experiencia con la de los iniciados (comparación que recoge ya explícitamente el propio

con que superar etapas en el viaje de regreso hacia la verdadera realidad. La terminología (ἀφαγνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποπνεῦσαι <τοὺς> ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ αἰτίου πονηροῦ μiasmou), y el valor ritual de su estancia allí recuerda la experiencia de los iniciados en los misterios, para los que su iniciación no sólo les informa, sino que los ayuda a superar los espacios escatológicos.²³ De hecho, Plutarco en *De anima*, como ya hemos dicho, relaciona la experiencia de la muerte con los misterios en términos que están presentes en el texto que comentamos. En nuestro caso, la función purificadora de la estancia en el Hades se señala con la repetición de la preposición/preverbio separativo ἀπ-/ἀπό repetido tres veces y con el término μiasmou, expresamente ligado a la responsabilidad del cuerpo; en cuanto a la terminología de los misterios, es evidente el carácter ritual del infinitivo ἀφαγνεῦσαι y el místico de ἀποπνεῦσαι, un verbo que también leemos en el fragmento 177 Sandbach:

διὸ δὴ καὶ λόγον ἔχει καθάπερ ἐκ καμπῆς τινοῦ ἀνείσης οἶον ἐξάττειν καὶ ἀναθεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποπνέοντος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπνέουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναψύχουσιν (*De anima*, fr. 177.2 Sandbach).

Con el estilo esa separación purificadora es total, subrayada por el aspecto puntual de los aoristos, por el valor perfectivo de los preverbios y por la insistente repetición seguida de los mismos (ἀφαγνεῦσαι ... ἀποπνεῦσαι <...> ἀπὸ ...). En cuanto a la cláusula, si es ditrocaica (πονηροῦ μiasmou), acompaña con su ritmo descendente la pérdida de las impurezas físicas; y si es un dicrético (πονηροῦ μiasmou ba + ba), hay en ella la fuerza emotiva que corresponde al proceso de purificación mística, tal como leemos en el pasaje siguiente, donde las imágenes sitúan definitivamente toda esta aventura metafísica en los ambientes místicos del fragmento del *De anima* que nos ha servido de modelo recurrente. Pero esto quede para otra ocasión.

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- 23 La situación de las almas aquí es semejante a la del fr. 200 donde se hace explícita la comparación con los ritos purificatorios de la iniciación. Las manchas de aquí son allí las pasiones y los apetitos con que el cuerpo contamina al alma: διὸ δεῖ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ καθαρεύοντα παντὸς ἀπέχειν πάθους φαύλου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν χαλεπὴν κοιμήσαντα καὶ φθόνους καὶ δυσμενεῖας καὶ ὀργὰς ἀπωτάτω τιθέμενον τοῦ φρονούντος ἐκβαίνειν τοῦ σώματος.

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34. “I Have Reached the Desired Crown with Swift Feet” (OF 488.6)*

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*Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn,
Freudig, wie ein Held zum Siegen.
(F. Schiller, An die Freude)*

In the gold lamella OF 488, from Thurií, the deceased introduces himself as “pure from the pure” to the deities of Hades, declares his pride in being of their own lineage and assures that the Moira and Zeus have subdued him with the thunderbolt (vv. 1–4).¹ Then he states the following (5–6):

κύκλο(ν) δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο,
ίμερτο(ῶ) δ' ἐπέβαν στεφάνο(ν) ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι

I have flown away from the painful circle of heavy sorrow
and I have reached the desired crown with swift feet.²

If the first verse refers to the negative situation being left by the soul, the second alludes to the happy life that begins in the other world, symbolized by the “desired crown”, which has the connotation of victory and celebration,³ among others. The agile feet of the deceased and the crown towards which

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1 For the interpretation of these verses, see Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 109–114).

2 The literary quality of these two verses makes it possible to assume that they were extracted from a longer poem, as indicated by Zuntz (1971: 339). Riedweg (2002), from the lamellae, reconstructed a poem which was probably used in the ritual and from which the text of each was culled.

3 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 123–128) also speak about the symposium, funerary and mystic connotations. Some authors (quoted by Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 122–123, nn. 114, 115, 117, 118) have affirmed that the term στέφανος designates the place in the hereafter reserved for the blessed. Ferrari (2004: 95) claims that it would be the kingdom of Hades and Persephone, “i cui limiti tendono a identificarsi con quelli, circolari in quanto marcati al fiume Oceano, del mondo superiore”. However, v. 5 speaks not so much of a place as of a state, so it can be expected that v. 6 will not refer to a specific place either, but to a new condition attained by the deceased. On the other hand, in Hesiod (*Th.* 577–

they run present him as a kind of athlete.⁴ Only he who has undergone hard training will be capable of winning and be rewarded with the prize of the crown, which is an ideal image to express the harsh asceticism of the Orphic initiate awaiting his award in the next life.

The term ἱμερτός, which usually means ‘pleasant, delightful’, here is above all ‘desired, longed for’, as a verbal adjective of ἱμείρω and in parallel with the substantive ἵμερος, which in principle is ‘desire, longing’, and only secondarily, ‘love’. We can mention a passage from Mimnermus (fr. 9.1–2 West) which talks about a place that is left and another longed for place which is reached, regarding to an expedition that is going to settle in Colophon:

Αἰπὺν < > τε Πύλον Νηληϊῶν ἄστν λιπόντες
ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα.

After leaving the rugged city of Pylos, of Neleus,
we arrived with the ships in the longed for Asia.

With respect to the verb ἐπέβαν and the expression ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι, it would be useful to trace their antecedents in the epic in order to observe their values and connotations from the context. In fact, the analysis of the Homeric models of many expressions and images from the Orphic lamellae has already proven to be a very efficient method of capturing their meaning and function.⁵

In the archaic epic, ἐπιβαίνω is often accompanied by a genitive which indicates the place got on to or arrived at, such as the carriage, the bed or the ships.⁶ This is sometimes a yearned for land or city after a long or difficult voyage. In *Il.* 16.395–396, Patroclus prevents a Trojan battalion from returning to the city, as was its desire (οὐδὲ πόλῃος / εἶα ἱεμένους ἐπιβαινέμεν). This place is often the longed for homeland, either of Agamemnon or Odysseus,⁷ which could have served as a basis for the lamella, where the happy places of the next world are like the homeland to which the soul desires to return.⁸

578) we also find the expression στέφανοι ἱμερτοί, which undoubtedly designates crowns.

4 This has been indicated by several authors: Zuntz (1971: 319), Graf – Johnston (2007: 127) and Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 124).

5 See the works of Di Benedetto (2004), Martin (2007) and Herrero de Jáuregui (2011).

6 For example: δίφρον: *Il.* 8.44; 23.379; ἵππων: *Il.* 5.255; 8.128–129; *vid:* *Il.* 10.513: καρπαλίμως δ’ ἵππων ἐπεβήσετο; ὀχέων: *Il.* 5.221; *vid:* *Il.* 11.517: αὐτίκα δ’ ὦν ὀχέων ἐπεβήσετο; εὐνῆς: *Il.* 9.133; *Od.* 10.334; νεῶν, νηῶν: *Il.* 8.512; 15.387; *Od.* 4.708, 9.101.

7 Agamemnon: *Od.* 4.521: ἧ τοι ὁ μὲν χαίρων ἐπεβήσετο πατρίδος αἴης, with an interesting reference to joy, an emotion implicit to the lamella. Odysseus: *Od.* 7.196, 223; 11.166–167 = 481–482.

8 Herrero de Jáuregui (forthcoming) has indicated several passages of the *Odyssey* in which the hero’s pleas when he arrives in Scheria are similar to the soul’s requests

But two passages from the *Odyssey* are particularly interesting: in book 5, when Poseidon destroys Odysseus' raft and the latter finds himself adrift, he suddenly sees land and "swam fast to reach dry land" (νήχε δ' ἐπειγόμενος ποσὶν ἡπείρου ἐπιβῆναι, 399). Castaways are also talked about in a comparison from *Od.* 23.238, regarding Penelope's longing for her husband: "joyfully they reached land, escaping from misfortune" (ἀσπάσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης, κακότητα φυγόντες). There are remarkable parallels between these verses and that of the lamella we are analysing, the first, because of the use of ποσὶν, and the second, because of the reference to joy and to the misfortune that is left behind.⁹ As in the case of Ithaca, they are places that involve salvation and mark the end of hardship, in the same way as the otherworldly destination that awaits the deceased in the lamella. We can recall also verses 902–905 of Euripides' *Bacchae*, which talk of the escape from a storm and the arrival at the port which is the initiation. The verb ἐπιβαίνω has a similar connotation in two passages of the *Homeric Hymns*, when Demeter refers to her return to Olympus, her true home, after searching the earth for her daughter, and when Leto, after many failed attempts, finally finds a place to give birth to Apollo: the Island of Delos.¹⁰ In other passages of the archaic epic, also close to the lamella, the verb ἐπιβαίνω has a complement in genitive that designates an honour received. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, Zeus promises that the gods who support him will obtain their deserved rank and rewards (τιμῆς καὶ γεράων), and in the *Hymn to Hermes* the child god hopes to achieve the same dignity (τιμῇ) as Apollo.¹¹ In the lamella, obtaining the crown represents the greatest honour for an initiate: beatitude after death.

The words at the end of verse, "with swift feet", demonstrate the enormous impatience and longing with which the initiate races towards the crown of the blessed. On other lamellae, we can observe this same urge to attain the otherworldly bliss. The souls that, despite their intense thirst, have been capable of leaving behind the first spring they find in Hades, the spring of Oblivion, and continue with an ascetic spirit¹² until they reach the spring of Memory, ask the guardians to let them drink the water straightaway.¹³ The

to Persephone in the lamellae, and how the long voyage of Odysseus may have been a precedent to the banishment of the δαίμων described by Empedocles.

- 9 Zuntz (1971: 319, n. 2) had already suggested that this verse could be the model of the lamella. Cf. also *Od.* 3.174–175.
- 10 *h.Cer.* 331–332 and *h.Ap.* 49.
- 11 Hes. *Th.* 396, *h.Merc.* 172–173.
- 12 *Vid.* Graf – Johnston (2007: 101): "It is their ability to resist drinking the first water that they encounter, in spite of their thirstiness, that enables the good-plus to hold out for the Lake of Memory".
- 13 ... ἀλ(λ)ὰ δότ' ὥκα / ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πίνειν (Hipponion, *OF* 474.11–12). The lamella of Petelia (*OF* 476.8) presents αἰψα instead of ὥκα, whereas that of Entella, that of Pharsalus and all the Cretan ones only contain μοι (*OF* 475.13, 477.9; Creta: 478–483.1).

longer lamella of the two found at Pelinna (*OF* 485.4) says: αἶψα εἰς γ<ά>λα ἔθορες, “fast have you jumped to the milk”.¹⁴

The epic precedents of the expression ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι are also very illustrative to better understand its implications in the Orphic verse. The term καρπάλιμος and the most frequent adverbial form in -ως are so markedly epic that they are hardly found in other genres.¹⁵ They are rare in lyric poetry, never used in elegy, iambic verse or tragedy, and only once in comedy.¹⁶

The expression ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι is used three times in the *Iliad*, always in a context of war: in 16.342 it appears just so; in 16.809 we find πόδεσσι τε καρπαλίμοισι and in 22.166 καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι, in the first two cases at the end of a verse as in the lamella. It is obvious that these words designate a vital quality in a warrior, speed in the race. Not in vain is it the most characteristic feature of the best of the Achaeans, to whom the formula πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς is constantly attached in the *Iliad*, or πόδας ταχύς or ποδώκης. In all three cases the expression is related to death, as it refers to heroes just before fatally injuring a warrior. In 16.342 “the swift feet” are those of the Cretan Meriones, when he reaches Acamas and kills him. In 16.809, the expression is used to characterize the Trojan Euphorbus just before he attacks Patroclus in his last fight. More significant is the third use (22.166), which is applied to Achilles and Hector when the former pursues the latter to kill him and in the chase they run round Troy three times. Since this episode is a culminating moment in the plot of the *Iliad*, it would be reasonable to assume that it served as a model for the author of the verse of the lamella to talk with particular solemnity about the circuits run by the soul in the cycle of transmigrations and its final release, coinciding with death (in the same way that the pursuit ends with the death of Hector).¹⁷

14 About the Pelinna lamellae, *vid.* Segal (1990: 414): “funerary performance would also suit the urgent tone”; Ricciardelli (1992: 28): “le lamine orfiche in genere danno una sensazione di urgenza”. The proposal of Lloyd-Jones (1990: 107), followed by Ferrari (2004: 91, n. 5), is suggestive, affirming that αἶψα would be a corruption of the original reading, αἶξ, which goes well with the other animals mentioned in the previous and following lines, the bull and the ram, which are also said to have fallen into the milk. With this in mind, Méndez Dosuna (2009) has made the attractive proposal that the original reading would be αἶζα, a feminine derivative of αἶξ.

15 Apart from Homer, in hexametric poetry it is found in Hes. *Th.* 492, *Sc.* 452; *h.Cer.* 371; *h.Ap.* 281 and *Emp.* fr. 51.3 DK, and ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι in *Nostoi* fr. 11 Bernabé and in *h.Merc.* 225. In this last passage, the formula has a clearly comical meaning, since Apollo speaks of the big hoofprints his cows have left when fleeing “with swift feet”. The application to animals of formulae typical of heroes of the *Iliad* reveals a spirit of parody which will be fully expressed in the *Batrachomyomachia*.

16 Stesich. fr. S150, col. II 6: καρπαλίμ-; Pi. *P.* 12.20: Εὐρύαλας ἐκ καρπαλιμῶν γενέων, a strange *iunctura*; Ar. *Th.* 957, in a choir.

17 Most (2007: 294–298) has suggested that the famous passage in which Achilles pursues Hector may have inspired Zeno of Elea’s paradox of Achilles and the tortoise.

The warlike connotations of the expression do not annul the agonistic ones: Homer uses precisely a sporting analogy with regard to the two heroes in the contest. Their race is similar to that of the horses that run towards a finishing line for a big prize (τὸ δὲ μέγα κείται ἄεθλον, 163), either a tripod or a woman (164), which could well be the precedent of the "desired crown" in the lamella of Thurii.

Given all these parallels, it is very plausible that the anonymous author of verses 5 and 6 of the lamella chose as literary models certain passages from Homer that described scenes similar to the vicissitudes of the soul as conceived by the Orphics: the longing of a castaway to save himself from a storm and reach dry land (*Od.* 5.399, 23.238); and a desperate three lap race that will only end in death (*Il.* 22.166), compared by Homer to a race in which the horses compete for a big prize similar to the "desired crown" (163). In all these passages, the Orphic poet seems to have found effective images and expressions full of epic resonance which he reworked to describe the swift race of the initiate's soul towards the crown, symbol of the reward of a blessed life in the hereafter.

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35. The “Great Tablet” from Thurii (OF 492)

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Recent archaeological discoveries combined with splendid scholarly work from historians of religion and philologists have resulted in a dramatically enhanced understanding of the religious content and sociological context of the so-called Orphic gold tablets.¹ Yet, despite all these enthralling new results, the Great Tablet from Thurii (OF 492) has remained almost as puzzling and isolated as when Domenico Comparetti produced the first partial transcription of it in 1878–1879, and Hermann Diels published its highly imaginative *editio princeps* in 1902. In view of the formidable interpretative difficulties surrounding this document, scholars who have significantly contributed to the new appraisal of the gold tablets have usually refrained from advancing any hypotheses on, or even tackling with, the Great Tablet. To be sure, in the case of this text, certainty or final results – or anything even approaching that – is more than what may ever be hoped for.² Yet, however daunting, and possibly hopeless, the task is, the Great Tablet appears to be too intriguing, and possibly too momentous, a document simply to throw in the sponge and admit defeat – as the proverb goes, “nothing ventured, nothing gained”. However, since Zuntz, the only scholars who have ventured to re-examine this text systematically are Alberto Bernabé and his co-author Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal.³ They have not only produced a novel edition, but have offered an attractive original interpretation of the most baffling formal features of the text, and provided some fresh and thought-provoking comments on the content of it. In this brief contribution I will engage with some of their suggestions by making three remarks, first on the nature of the text, second on a formal feature of it, to end, third, with a highly speculative and inconclusive note.

1 See esp. Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001) and (2008); Pugliese Carratelli (2003); Graf – Johnston (2007); Tzifopoulos (2010) and Edmonds (2011).

2 Edmonds (2011: 4) somewhat sarcastically remarks that “various editors have picked key words that fit in with their preconceived notions of [the tablet’s] meaning – rather like a Rorschach blot”. This seems to me somewhat exaggerated, but is an important reminder about the status of the expected results.

3 Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 183–200; 2008: 137–150).

1. The most problematic feature of this text is that intelligible words, and occasionally conjunctions of words, are interrupted by unintelligible strings of letters. Professor Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal object, rightly I think, to the idea that these unintelligible portions of the text are intrusions from another, known or unknown, language. Second, they do not accept that the parts that resist interpretation result from extremely heavy textual corruption. They argue that both the socio-cultural position of the deceased and the relatively high quality of the other tablets from the same sepulchral context militate against this hypothesis. These are powerful, even if by no means watertight, arguments. Third, they also oppose the hypothesis that the unintelligible strings of letters are *voces magicae*, supposed to possess special power. Rather, by reviving elements of Comparetti's interpretation,⁴ they accept that what looks gibberish is just gibberish. But these meaningless strings of letters, they suggest, serve a purpose: they were inserted into the text intentionally in order to conceal the message of the text. Only the initiate knows what to look for, and thus only he or she will be able to recover the eschatologically potent message from among the unintelligible letter sequences. Only the initiate will be able to solve the "word search puzzle" on which the salvation of his or her soul depends.

This is an intriguing and appealing suggestion – one that, nonetheless, raises a number of questions. Most importantly, we have to realize that the hypothesis in fact assumes multiple levels of concealment. For, armed with our philological skills and information about the religious context, we are, in a sense, also "initiates": we can also, if not know, at least suspect, what to look for. Yet, the fifty odd words that we are able to retrieve do not immediately deliver us any meaningful message. It is unlikely that the number of recoverable words can be dramatically multiplied, and the significant items thus obtained will never, it seems, constitute a continuous text. Occasionally, we get two-, or maximum three word-long syntactic units, but the harvest consists mainly in syntactically disconnected groups of words with or without an apparent semantic link. What the initiate could thus regain by knowing what to look for is no more than fragments of an assumed underlying continuous text. It is of course entirely conceivable that these snippets were meant to serve as *aides-mémoire* for the initiate to remind him or her of a text, written or orally performed, that he or she got acquainted with at some previous, presumably ritually significant, occasion. And it is also perfectly true that most comparable documents, such as the other gold leaves or the Gurób papyrus, also presuppose and require a measure of background knowledge. The information recorded on these documents should be supplemented by elements of background knowledge and thus can they

4 Comparetti (1910: 12).

be made useful in the relevant ritual or eschatological situation.⁵ Yet all such texts that are sufficiently long tend to contain more extended, articulate, syntactically connected units. The results of the “word search” in the case of the Great Tablet, by contrast, appear just as discontinuous as the juxtaposed words on the Olbia bone plates, the Pherae gold tablet (*OF* 493) and the tablets from Crete and Macedonia, where only theonyms or the name of the dead initiate appear. On the other hand, our text is much richer and evidently wants to record a much higher amount of information. It does not merely list the *symbola*, but apparently makes reference to some *legomena* containing a mythical narrative presumably about Kore, some *dromena* (cf. esp. lines 7–8), their explanation in physical terms, and possibly, towards the end of the tablet, the assumed eschatological effect, the salvation of the hero. At the end of the day, the chief impediment for the uninitiated to the understanding of the text is not so much that he or she fails to solve the “word search”, but much rather that he or she has not had access to the background knowledge which is required to reconstitute a meaningful continuous discourse from the snatches recorded on the tablet. In this sense, even if we can solve the “word search”, we fall into the group of the uninitiated.

2. There are some differences in reading that do not make much variance for the overall interpretation of the text, yet could be significant in other respects. Take for instance the first half of the first line. Professor Bernabé prints Πρωτογόνω(ι) ΤΗΜΑΙΤΙΕΘ Γᾱι ματρί ΕΠΑ. In view of the fact that the scribe’s gammas and taus are strictly indistinguishable (as we can see already in the word ΠΟΤΟΓΟΝΟ),⁶ I would be more inclined to read the first and last two characters of group left uninterpreted by Professor Bernabé as ΓΗ instead of ΤΗ.⁷ Then, the remaining letters between these two occurrences of ΓΗ, *i. e.* ΜΑΙΤΙΕ, will be rather easy to assimilate to the interpreted word ματρί, especially in view of the fact that it is also followed by an (otherwise uninterpreted) Ε. The outcome seems to be that the same meaningful items get repeated with some variation or modification.

This phenomenon appears to be a recurrent feature of the text. For at various points of the tablet we can observe the same strings of letters reappearing with some measure of transposition or modification. Towards the end of line 5, for instance, we read the following group of letters: ΗΜΕΟΗΜΕΡΑΜΕΡΑ.⁸ This string manifestly delivers the meaningful word ἡμέρα: ΗΜΕΟ ἡμέρα ΜΕΡΑ. Yet it seems equally clear that the characters that precede and follow this meaningful item, ΗΜΕ and

5 This is to be contrasted with the Derveni Papyrus, which seeks to provide a comprehensive explanation, and does not build on any background knowledge.

6 I would prefer to retain the nominative to emending it into the dative.

7 A number of former editors, such as Diels, Murray, Zuntz, and Comparetti, already suggested to read ΓΗ, either in the nominative or (with an emendation) in the dative.

8 Bernabé reads a Φ where I see an Ο towards the middle of this group.

MEPA, are fragments of the same word. To quote another instance, we read the following sequence of letters towards the end of the second line: ΠΑΝΤΑΣΤΗΝΤΑΣΤΗ.⁹ In this case, the letters ΝΤΑΣΤΗ after the sign Ι repeat the end of what comes before the Ι: ΠΑΝΤΑΣΤΗ. This observation, although in no way conclusive, might in turn provide some support to construing the text as πάντ' ἄσση, as we read in Parmenides B 1.26, and as was proposed already by Diels.

This phenomenon of repetition with fragmentation or variation means that we can decrease the number of letters unaccounted for, without necessarily increasing the number of significant items. On the one hand, we are able to recognize, with some measure of certainty, meaningful items. On the other hand, there are strings of letters that appear to be utterly meaningless or irremediably corrupt. Yet, in between these two, there are groups of letters that we can apparently account for as variations or repetitions of elements from the first group. This consideration suggests that the typographical convention of printing the meaningful items in lower case, and the rest in upper case, does not deliver an entirely clear picture of what parts of the text are accounted for, and what parts have resisted interpretation. Moreover, the problems concerning the overall interpretation of the text may, to some extent, be tested on these cases. The suggestion that we have intrusions of another language is patently inadequate. On the other hand, this does not seem to be a very typical form of systematic textual corruption, and certainly is not in evidence on the other tablets. The main remaining options are, I think, repetition with some ritual or magical purpose (cf. *e.g.* OF 492 or the Olbia vase base), or the type of encrypting suggested by Professor Bernabé.

3. The possibility that the theonym Phanes turns up in this text is momentous in itself and Professor Bernabé's stimulating remarks invite further speculation.¹⁰ First, as far as I am aware, this might be the earliest occurrence of the name in such a context. Moreover, I agree with Prof. Bernabé and his co-author that it is much more probable that the Protogonos mentioned together with Gaia at the very beginning of the text is Ouranos, just as in the Derveni Papyrus (at least on the interpretation, Professor Bernabé and I

9 Let me take this opportunity to rectify Bernabé's and Jiménez San Cristóbal's text and report on this point. In their most recent edition (2008: 263), they continue this group of letters, including the last ΣΤΗ from the group 'quoted' above, as ΣΤΗΡΩΣΑΤΟΠΕ. They report in the apparatus that the string ΗΡΩΣ is my reading, supplanting the reading ΗΝΙΣ of previous editors. They add in the commentary (2008: 143, n. 25) that the term ἥρως would be difficult to fit in the context. However, what I have suggested is to read ΗΡΩΣ instead of the generally accepted reading ΗΝΙΣ *not in this line*, but in line 8 (where it is accepted and reported correctly by them). In line 2 I don't propose to read ΗΡΩΣ, but accept the (uninterpreted) ΗΝΙΣ of previous editors.

10 Admittedly, this is not the only possible construal. Diels prints ἐφάνης and a one-letter emendation would yield <σ>τεφάνη or <σ>τεφάνης.

share). If this is accepted, it follows that there could be versions of the Orphic theogony in which the figure of Phanes did appear, yet not in the role of the primordial divinity anterior to Ouranos that he plays in the *Rhapsodies*. Professor Bernabé, however, goes further. He suggests that just as in the Orphic verse quoted by Diodorus Siculus (1.12.3), Phanes is here identified with the sun and Dionysus. I fear that the identification with Dionysus in the tablet is hard to confirm on this basis. On the other hand, the sun seems to play a prominent role in this part of the text; besides, the assimilation of a god called Phanes with the sun does not require much imagination.

These considerations, in turn, might shed some new light on the notorious question of what Zeus swallowed in the poem commented on in the Derveni Papyrus. For the debate has mostly been framed in terms of an exclusive alternative: Zeus swallowed *either* the *aidoion* of Ouranos (which has nothing to do with Phanes) *or* the primordial divinity Phanes as he/she appears in the *Rhapsodies*. The possible reference to Phanes in the Great Tablet might however remind us that there can be a number of possibilities besides these two options. It is remarkable, first of all, that on either interpretation, the object of swallowing is explicitly identified with the sun in the Derveni text (cols. XIII and XVI). If the object of swallowing is Phanes, then we get the same identification that Prof. Bernabé suggests for the Great Tablet (without Dionysus).

In the other case the situation is more complex. It is generally assumed that the identification of the *aidoion* to the sun is part of the allegorical interpretation of the Derveni commentator. It might however well be the case that Ouranos' phallus got assimilated to the sun already in the poem. Indeed, Prof. Bernabé has repeatedly suggested that the severed phallus remained suspended between sky and earth during the reign of Cronus, before it got gulped down by Zeus, and that this could help the commentator in identifying it with the sun.¹¹ But it seems to me that with this admittedly very bizarre image we get so close to assimilating the phallus to the sun, that we hardly need our ingenious commentator to take this exegetical step. We could, moreover, thus have a clear answer to what happened to the phallus all through Cronus' rule. It is thus conceivable that the *aidoion* and the sun got assimilated, explicitly or implicitly, already in the poem,¹² or at least that it was an obvious and relatively widespread interpretation. Now, if both Phanes and the *aidoion* could be identified with the sun in Orphic texts, as Diodorus and possibly the Great Tablet reminds us,¹³ then the assimilation to the sun can bridge the gap between the *aidoion* of Ouranos and Phanes.¹⁴

11 See, most recently, Bernabé (2008: 299; 2010: 71).

12 Cf. Calame (2008: 858).

13 See also Procl. *in Ti. E prooem.*, III 169.22.

14 For a different attempt to "bridging the gap", see Brisson (2003).

It seems thus that we can have a middle position between the two interpretative alternatives – with the important difference that Phanes should not be conceived, for these versions, as anterior to the first-born Ouranos.

The immediate sequel of the text after the mention of Phanes is also intriguing. The characters are fairly easily legible and yield the sequence ΦΑΝΗΣΠΑΜΜΗΣΤΟΙΜΟΙΡΑΙΣΣ. Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal prefers to emend the middle part into πάμνηστοι, ‘who remember all’. Yet, apart from this being the more conservative construal, what might speak in favour of keeping πάμμηστοι (possibly by emending the ending) or some other derivative of μήστωρ is that the word μήστωρ (in the form μέστωρ) turns up again towards the end of the penultimate line of the text. By evoking Homeric parallels, Professor Bernabé and his co-author suggest that the term here refers to Zeus who is about to engage in an incestuous relationship with Kore (2008: 148). Thus, a word referring to a defining intellectual capacity of Zeus seems to be mentioned in line 3, in the close proximity of Phanes. This connection might remind us of the relationship between Metis, another object of swallowing (cf. Hes. *Th.* 886–890), and Zeus’ enhanced intelligence (cf. μήτιετα *PDerv.* col. XV 6). And, as is well known, Metis has also been identified in some fragments of the *Rhapsodies* with Phanes. What is more, the next meaningful unit in line 3 is σὺ κλυτὲ δαίμων. This might in turn evoke the problem of the identification of the daimon of the Orphic poem quoted in the Derveni Papyrus (col. VIII 5) – this *daimon* has sometimes been interpreted as the divinity who will be swallowed by Zeus, be it Metis or Phanes. Interestingly, in one of the texts that identify Metis and Phanes, all these key terms occur together: πρῶτον δαίμονα σεμνόν / Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτόν, ὃν τε Φάνητα / πρωτόγονον μάκαρες κάλεον κατὰ μακρόν Ὀλυμπον (*OF* 140 = *Procl. in Ti.* I 451).

Admittedly, each step in this reasoning is highly speculative and inconclusive. Nonetheless, what is shown, I hope, is that even if we cannot say anything about the “Great Tablet” with certainty, this intriguing text might still trigger of speculations that can widen the range of interpretative possibilities relevant for this and other related documents. At any rate, what the “Great Tablet” evinces, on any interpretation, skeptical, optimistic, or fantastic, is the remarkably multifarious nature of texts and religious phenomena connected to Orphism.¹⁵

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36. *OF 496: Dialectal Diversity in Macedon at the End of the Fourth Century BC*

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OF 496 brings together a number of brief texts engraved on gold lamellae that have an Orphic content. Eight of them come from the geographical area of the ancient kingdom of Macedon and of its neighbouring areas: a-b and f from Pella, g from Paeonia, h from Methone, k from Aigai (modern Vergina), l from Heracleia (modern Agios Athanasios) and n from Amphipolis. To these we could probably add the lamella edited in *SEG 52: 607*, found in a Macedonian tomb erected in the region of Mygdonia (perhaps also in the ancient city of Heracleia). Leaving aside k and *SEG 52: 607*, both of the Hellenistic period, and l (see *SEG 52: 626*), which is of unknown date and offers a fragmentary text that is difficult to interpret, I will focus on the six gold lamellae dated to the end of the fourth century BC (a, b, f, g, h and n).

These gold lamellae have been edited and thoroughly studied. Particular attention has been paid to their use in burials, to the Orphic beliefs they attest and to the interpretation of their content.¹

The present contribution addresses the question of the dialects in which these gold lamellae are written and aims at emphasizing the relevance of such documents for gaining an insight into the linguistic situation of the ancient Macedonian kingdom. It goes without saying that I do not intend to give a solution to the highly debated question of the characterization of the ancient Macedonian dialect, a subject that would require a larger space than I have at my disposal and a close examination of all the available evidence. Recent bibliography on the Macedonian dialect is abundant and has in common with the bibliography that deals with Orphism the fact that both fields of research have experienced great advances and yielded new results in the last two decades thanks to new findings and publications.²

1 See Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2001: 211 ff. and 279 ff.); Jiménez San Cristóbal (2007); Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008).

2 See Masson (1996); Brixhe – Panayotou (1994); Brixhe (1999); Panayotou (2007); Hatzopoulos (2006, 2007).

The dialectal variety exhibited by the gold lamellae found in the ancient kingdom of Macedon is striking if we compare it to what is found in other areas of the Balkan peninsula in the same period. Most areas of the Greek speaking world attest a single regional and relatively uniform dialect except for the well defined particular cases of the international sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi, Dodona, and others. Of the six Macedonian gold lamellae that can be dated to the end of the fourth century BC, a Φιλοξένα, f Ἥγησίσκα and h Φυλομάγα present -ᾱ, what makes sure that they are not written in Ionic-Attic. The lamella edited as b Φερσεφόνη Ποσειδίππος μύστης εὐσεβής provides forms with $\eta < *ā$, that can be Ionic-Attic; but the name of the goddess of Hades is not Attic, because the cluster -ρσ- developed to -ρρ- in Attic. Furthermore, the form that is attested in Attic inscriptions and in literary prose is Φερρέφαττα. The inscription n εὐαγῆς ἱερὰ Διονύσου Βακχίου εἰμὶ Ἀρχεβού[λη] ἡ Ἀντιδώρου attests a form for the feminine article that can be understood either as Ionic or as Attic; but εὐαγῆς and ἱερὰ exclude its ascription to Ionic and point rather to Attic or to koine. Being from Amphipolis, the centre of the Attic rule over the Thracian coast since the second half of the fifth century BC, the lamella is likely to have been written in Attic. The long vowel $\bar{a}$ in εὐαγῆς is sure since it is part of the spondee at the beginning of the text, which constitutes a dactylic hexameter. Finally, the form Βοττακός with ττ in g can be interpreted as Attic or as koine, if it is really a derivation of the ethnic Βοττιαῖος and Βοττιεύς (referring to the inhabitants of Βοττιαῖα, the region located to the north of Pieria) employed as a personal name (see *LGPN* IV s. v.) by means of the suffix -ακ- (see Schwyzler 1939: 497).

The form Ἥγησίσκα in f is a hybrid since it presents $\eta < \bar{a}$ in the root and -ᾱ in the ending, which is not an uncommon feature. Finally, if the second element of the compound Φυλομάγα in h is equivalent to -μάχα, as suggested by Masson (1984; 1991: 104, 385), then this feminine personal name features a Macedonian peculiarity attested in other inscriptions engraved on stone found in the ancient kingdom of Macedon and in glosses attributed by Hesychius to the Macedonian. Such sources often attest β, δ, γ instead of φ, θ, χ, for the development of the inherited Indo-European voiced aspirated stops, probably as a result of the interference with a given language or dialect adstrate (see Brixhe – Panayotou 1994; Brixhe 1999; Hatzopoulos 2006; 2007). Similarly, the Macedonian personal names Βάλακρος and Βερενίκα correspond to Φάλακρος ('bald') and Φερενίκα ('who brings victory') in other dialects.

As it can be seen, the Orphic gold lamellae that have been found in the ancient kingdom of Macedon and are dated to the end of the fourth century BC are written in various Greek dialects. Some of them present forms that can be understood as Aeolic, Doric or northwestern Doric, but not Ionic-Attic (a, f). One of them exhibits forms which can only be Ionic, but not

Attic (b). Some of them have forms that can be attributed to Attic or to koine (g, n). One, finally, shows a specific Macedonian feature in a form that cannot be understood as Ionic-Attic (h).

Even the three gold lamellae found in Pella differ as to their dialect: a Φιλοξένα cannot be Ionic-Attic; b Φερσεφώνη Ποσειδίππος μύστης εὐσεβής is written in Ionic; and f Ἥγησίσκα is a hybrid to the extent that it has 'H- < ā (cf. λᾱγέτᾱς in Pindar and the frequent personal names in Ἀγησι-), and at the same time -α.

To conclude, the Orphic gold lamellae studied in this paper show that different Greek dialects were in use for writing private documents in the ancient kingdom of Macedon at the end of the fourth century BC. This dialectal diversity in the Macedonian gold lamellae that have an Orphic content probably reflects a dialectal diversity in oral communication as well. Unlike the relative dialectal uniformity observed in other areas of the Balkan peninsula during the classical period, the Macedonian gold lamellae allow us to suggest that no uniform dialect existed all over the Macedonian kingdom. Such internal dialectal diversity may have been one of the reasons why the Macedonian court adopted a neutral form based on the Attic dialect with Ionic features as their vehicle for formal communication. This vehicle for formal communication, which later on received the name of koine, was already employed for official communication among Greek states and became progressively fixed in a never-ending process of solidification.

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37. *Ad OF 496*^{*}

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In his seminal *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta*, fasc. 2, Alberto Bernabé is cautious and does not include in *OF 496 a–n* – the group of *epistomia* with short texts – the three names incised on coins and a gold disc, all from Pieria. He does mention, however, the names *Andron* and *Xenariste* at the endnote, among other texts suspect of being ‘Orphic’.¹ In what follows, it is argued that, even if these incised objects exhibit an anomaly in comparison to the other *epistomia* on which one or a few words were incised, nevertheless, these three names deserve inclusion in *OF 496*, because the incised two coins and pseudo-coin were employed so as to accomplish for all intents and purposes the same results as the other incised *epistomia*.

The two names *Andron* and *Xenariste* are incised on two gold coins of Philip II, which were discovered in two, almost identical in their decoration, graves at Pydna, Pieria as Matthaios Bessios has reported;² and the name *Epigenes* was incised with dotted letters on a small gold disc, probably a pseudo-coin, discovered in Macedonian Grave V in Dion, Pieria and published by Dimitrios Pantermalis.³ These three incised objects are not the expected ones, because all the *epistomia* are incised on gold paper-thin, very small lamellae or bands, which are cut in various shapes so as to approximate the shape of the mouth.⁴ Coins on which personal names are incised are extremely rare, and so far these three names incised on two coins and a pseudo-coin from Pydna and Dion in Pieria respectively present unique cases.

* It is my honor to offer this small contribution, based on Tzifopoulos (2010), as a token of appreciation and gratitude to Alberto Bernabé.

1 Bernabé (2005: 75–79, mention of the names in 78); likewise, Graf – Johnston (2007: 28) refer to the coins without printing the names; cf. Tzifopoulos (2010: 274–279) and Edmonds (2011). For *OF 496 1L* (= *epistomion E5*) see Hatzopoulos (2008); Tzifopoulos (2010: 270–273) and Edmonds (2011).

2 Bessios in Tzifopoulos (2010: 32–34).

3 Pantermalis (1999: 271) (*SEG* 49: 703).

4 Tzifopoulos (2010: 67–76) with the bibliography.

A key issue related to the *epistomia*, and apparently a matter of importance to those buried with an *epistomion*, was the placement of the *epistomion* inside the grave.⁵ Some are found near the cranium or the mouth (A4, C1, E4, F7, F3, F8, F9),⁶ others on the chest (B10, D2AB, D3?, D4), or, less often, close to hand (A1–3, F3). What is striking is that the so-called Charon's obol or *danake* or burial-coin was placed inside the mouth, at least from the second half of the fifth century BC onwards,⁷ but it was also placed in the hand, on the chest, or simply anywhere inside the grave, a practice that Margarita Guarducci associated with the incised *epistomia*.⁸ Not all graves, however, contained a coin, and not all graves with an *epistomion* contained coins – these two facts imply a differentiation in burial practices and funerary ideology. The number of coins recovered from graves eclipses the number of incised lamellae unearthed, and in turn, the occurrences of graves with coins are far outnumbered by instances of graves excavated with no coins at all. Placing a coin in a grave is not a widespread phenomenon within the ancient Greek necropoleis. This practice should therefore not be associated exclusively with Charon's Greek myth, because it does not fit entirely well with this myth, and because it is also attested in other cultures where the Charon myth does not exist.

The first evidence of this practice, so it appears, comes from the famous scenes of Aristophanes' *Frogs* between Dionysus, Xanthias, and Heracles (lines 139–140), and between Dionysus, Xanthias, and Charon (lines 170–270). The ferryman transports the dead for a fee to the Underworld, where, in addition to the fee paid, Dionysus is also forced to pay in kind, “working” as an oarsman, a theme that will be later developed and expanded. There is no doubt that this was an actual practice at the time of Aristophanes – otherwise the scene's jokes and hilarity would be pointless – but this does not confirm how widespread it was, nor does it answer why only a rather small group of people practiced it. Although she does not discuss the issue of the burial-coin practice, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has argued convincingly that Charon the ferryman and Hermes Chthonios emerge as *psychopompoi* in art already by *ca.* 500 BC.⁹ This indicates shifting attitudes and ideologies in the archaic period as new needs arose, either from a development of a more individualistic attitude towards and concern for death,

5 Tzifopoulos (2010: 76–82).

6 For the classification of these texts into letter-groups see Tzifopoulos (2010: 93–101, 255–284).

7 For the use of burial-coins in graves of Macedonia see also Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006).

8 Guarducci (1974: 8–18).

9 Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 303–361, esp. 353–356), Vermeule (1979: 4–5, 211–212) and Seaford (2004: 162–165).

the afterlife, and its rituals, or from the emergence of a polis system which looked to control burial practices as well as funerary rituals and ideology.

Keld Grinder-Hansen (1991) proposed to replace expressions like “Charon’s/Charonian obol/fee/coin” with the less ideologically-charged “death/burial-coin” or the like, whereas Susan Stevens rightly stressed that references or allusions to “Charon’s obol” in a variety of texts are guided by different aims, all of which imply a connection between poverty and death, as the obol is the cheapest denominator. Thus, this expression is employed for humor or an ironic look at the vanity of conventional views on the afterlife, but it also signals the replacement of alimentary goods in the grave in exchange for the nourishment of the soul as it begins its journey. When the coin is placed inside the mouth immediately after death, it may especially denote “a rite of passage rather than burial practice.”¹⁰ This interpretative variety is also exhibited in the archaeological record and, according to Stevens, it comes from a belief rooted in the religious-magical significance and intrinsic value of coins on account of their ‘invisible’ power. This burial practice or rite of passage was “a way for the living to communicate with the dead, to promote life among the dead, while the door to the other world was still open”.¹¹ Renata Cantilena has correctly remarked that change in terminology provides a more accurate description of the facts, but does not solve the essential problem of explaining the funerary ideology, if any, behind this burial practice.¹² Placing a coin in a grave has indeed been explained in many different ways: it may or may not indicate the affluence of the deceased and his or her social status as another burial offering; it may constitute a symbolic payment or recompense facilitating the passage from life to death; it may also have been used as a talisman to protect the dead or as an amulet for protection of the living against the dead; or even, as Rohde had proposed,¹³ as a *pars pro toto*, symbolizing the transference of the dead’s wealth to the living members of his family.¹⁴

These explanations, alongside with others that account for economic, political, and social circumstances, need not account for every coin in every grave. They simply bring to the fore some of the ideas and symbolism that people may or may not have had in relation to the burial-coin practice. Sourvinou-Inwood’s recommendation of “more complex and ambivalent categories” to replace a “dichotomy belief/not belief of the Greeks in the myth of Charon” which is “culturally determined and misleading”¹⁵ is applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the practice of the burial-coin, and arguably to

10 Stevens (1991: 221).

11 Stevens (1991: 223–227 and 229).

12 Cantilena (1995: 165–166), and the contributions in Cantilena (1995).

13 Rohde (1987: 306–307).

14 Grinder-Hansen (1991: 215), Stevens (1991: 227–228) and Cantilena (1995).

15 Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 355).

the use of the gold *epistomia* as well. In particular, there are cases (D2AB, D4, E4, F2, F4, F5, F7, F8, F9, F12?, G1) where both an *epistomion* and a coin or pseudo-coin accompany the deceased, but there are cases where only an *epistomion* is found. In the latter cases, the *epistomion*, when it functions also as what the word means literally ‘mouth-band’, apparently takes over the coin’s duties altogether.

Guarducci was the first to realize the similarities between the custom of placing a coin in the mouth and the customs seemingly surrounding some of the *epistomia*.¹⁶ Accordingly, Guarducci postulated a practical explanation. On account of its shape and the fact that it is not folded, the Cretan *epistomion* B6 was probably placed at the right hand, as the Thurii lamellae (A1–3), whereas the Cretan *epistomia* B3–5, on account of their being folded, were probably placed inside the mouth, the safest place of the body. Guarducci’s suggestion encountered Günther Zuntz’s scepticism,¹⁷ because *epistomia* B3–5 were not unearthed during systematic excavations. Puzzled, however, by the fact that some lamellae were found folded or rolled up, so as to “become coins” and fit into the mouth in order to “put the right words on the tongue”, Zuntz allowed for the possibility that some of these may have been later employed as amulets.¹⁸ There is, however, no substantial evidence whatsoever that these were put inside cases, except for the curious case of the Petelia *epistomion* B1, and for the reports of the Eleutherna sellers for *epistomia* B7–8. In like manner, Petros Themelis (1994) suggested for the gold myrtle leaf incised with the female deceased’s name *Philemena* (F7) that, since no coin was found inside the grave and the leaf was discovered under the cranium, the incised myrtle leaf may have also served as a *danake*.

Guarducci’s and Themelis’ cautious suggestions are corroborated by the three unique (thus far) examples in Macedonia, which bring together the use of the burial-coin practice with the mystic *symbola*.¹⁹ At present, there is no plausible explanation for the placement inside the grave of an incised coin or pseudo-coin, an extremely rare phenomenon either way, except the obvious one: either because of a lack of a gold foil, or lack of time, or for some other reason, the relatives(?) of *Andron*, *Xenariste*, and perhaps *Epigenes* employed as tokens two gold coins and a small gold disc or pseudo-coin on which they engraved the deceased’s names. These three examples appear to combine (in a manner so far unique) the burial-coin with the gold *epistomion* practices, although both have distinct funerary ideologies. Apparently, the three deceased and (?) their relatives felt strongly both about the burial-coin practice

16 Guarducci (1939), *IC* II: 314–315; and especially Guarducci (1974: 8–18).

17 Zuntz (1971: 335–336, n. 2).

18 For the “magical” aspect of the *epistomia* see Tzifopoulos (2010: 93–101).

19 This may also be case for the unincised *epistomia* of group G, for which see Tzifopoulos (2010: 99–100, 280).

and about the incised gold *epistomion*. Even though the ambiguity between the burial-coin practice and the mystic *symbola* lingers and the three examples from Pydna and Dion in Pieria only increase the difficulty in approaching a solution to the problem, nonetheless, there is no reason to exclude these three names from OF 496. Consequently, *Andron*, *Xenariste*, and *Epigenes* should be assigned their numbers – o, p, and q respectively – in OF 496.

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38. Reflejos del orfismo en Plutarco (OF 524, 358 II, 31 V; Epimen. fr. 43)

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Da que pensar el que un platónico como Plutarco refleje o cite más o menos abiertamente en tantas ocasiones doctrinas órficas, consideradas tradicionalmente por los estudiosos propias de una religiosidad popular. Los índices de la *editio magna* de los *Orphicorum testimonia et fragmenta* ofrecen en su completa relación de autores y citas una buena muestra de las ocasiones en que Plutarco acude a Orfeo o al orfismo como referencia o como apoyo.

Pues bien, de entre todas ellas, en muestra de homenaje a nuestro órfico supremo, Alberto Bernabé, hemos elegido las citas, cuatro, – no hechas siempre por el mismo interlocutor –, del diálogo délfico *De defectu oraculorum* (*Sobre la desaparición de los oráculos*), como clara muestra de que ya la religiosidad órfica había impregnado con su fervor todos los ambientes en el Imperio romano. Aparecen éstas en 415A, 415F, 436D editados como OF 524, 358 II, 31 V, respectivamente, y la primera en 409E, que transmite dos versos de Epiménides (fr. 43 B).

Este diálogo que investiga las causas de la decadencia de los oráculos quiere dar una explicación del problema para lo cual Plutarco dispone cuatro respuestas: en boca del cínico Dídimo,¹ de su maestro Ammonio, de Cleómbroto y de su hermano Lamprias, quien es también el narrador. Pues bien, Cleómbroto expone su teoría sobre los démones, que viven más que los hombres pero no son inmortales como los dioses, lo que conduce a su explicación sobre cómo desaparecen los oráculos (414E-431E). Es él quien hace las dos primeras menciones a Orfeo (415A, 415F).

En 415A atribuye éste la mayor importancia a quienes colocaron a los démones en un lugar intermedio entre hombres y dioses como lazo de unión entre los hombres y la divinidad, sin que importe nada, dice, quién fuese el autor de tal teoría:

ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λῦσαι καὶ μείζονας ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων τρόπον τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταῦτο καὶ

1 Apodado Planetiades, sin duda por el “andar errante” de los de su escuela, es el único cínico que aparece en la obra de Plutarco. Véase Ziegler (1951: 672).

συνάπτον ἐξευρόντες· εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν εἴτε Θράκιος ἀπ' Ὀρφέως εἴτ' Αἰγύπτιος ἢ Φρύγιος

Mas a mí me parece que más y mayores dificultades resolvieron aquellos que, con el descubrimiento de la raza de los démones, intermedia entre hombres y dioses, de alguna manera aunaron y juntaron nuestra comunidad, ya sea de magos del círculo de Zoroastro esta doctrina, ya sea tracia, proveniente de Orfeo, ya sea egipcia o frigia (...)²

A propósito de este pasaje ha dicho A. Bernabé³ que, por el método de análisis en el que Plutarco ve verdades ocultas tras mitos y ritos, puede entenderse tal explicación, la de que para éste sean iguales los textos místicos griegos, órficos o dionisiacos, que los egipcios o frigios.

En otro lugar, como ya se dijo, el 415F, Cleómbroto,⁴ en su réplica a Demetrio, vuelve a citar a Orfeo, esta vez en relación a su desagrado ante el uso que se ha hecho de la conflagración estoica extendiéndola incluso a los versos de Heráclito y Orfeo, cosa que también ha ocurrido, dice, con los versos de Hesíodo:

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἀκούω ταῦτ' ἔφη πολλῶν καὶ ὁρῶ τὴν Στωικὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ τὰ Ὀρφέως ἐπινεμομένην ἔπη οὕτω καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσιν·

Y Cleómbroto dijo: “A muchos he oído decir eso y veo cómo la conflagración estoica se extiende y prende fuego también a los versos de Hesíodo lo mismo que a los de Heráclito y Orfeo”.

Si estos dos pasajes presentan solamente menciones de Orfeo, más bien banales, es al final del diálogo (436D) cuando encontramos una cita de mayor relevancia, la del *Himno a Zeus*, pero de un verso solamente, cuyo contenido atribuye Lamprias a los muy antiguos teólogos y poetas:

Καθόλου γάρ, ὥς φημι, δύο πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίας ἐχούσης οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταὶ τῇ κρείττονι μόνῃ τὸν νοῦν

Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλονται·

προσεῖχον τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι πᾶσι πράγμασι ταῖς δ' ἀναγκαίαις καὶ φυσικαῖς οὐκ ἐτι προσήεσαν αἰτίαις.

2 Las traducciones del diálogo están tomadas de Pordomingo – Fernández Delgado (1995).

3 Bernabé (2001: 10): “Vemos cómo Plutarco postula una ciencia natural antigua, prácticamente común a griegos y bárbaros, que se expresa por mitos, lo que representa velar el discurso físico por un discurso en el que no sólo lo que se dice no es lo que parece, sino que incluso se revaloriza lo que se silencia, como más importante que lo que se dice. Y a partir de este método de análisis, que ve una verdad oculta tras los ritos y los mitos, puede entenderse el modo de pensar de los antiguos. A este respecto son iguales los textos místicos griegos (los órficos o los dionisiacos), que los egipcios o los frigios”.

4 El que se manifieste en contra de las doctrinas estoicas hacen a algunos concebir a Cleómbroto como otro portavoz de Plutarco, junto a su hermano Lamprias.

En resumen, pues, aunque como digo, toda génesis tiene dos causas, los teólogos y poetas más antiguos prefieren prestar atención solamente a la superior, citando juntamente esta máxima general para todas las cosas:

Zeus es el primero, Zeus el medio y de Zeus proceden todas las cosas,
y las causas necesarias y físicas todavía no las abordaban.

Este hexámetro forma parte de un himno órfico (OF 31) de cuya difusión dan cuenta los muchos lugares donde aparece citado. Dice Bernabé⁵ que se trata de uno de los versos iniciales de un *Himno a Zeus* del que se conocen diversas versiones (una ya en el *Papiro de Derveni*, otra de época clásica y todavía otra más amplia de época posterior) y que se encuadra en el ámbito de las teogonías órficas.

De otra parte subraya Bernabé como detalle curioso que el verso termina en una forma πέλονται que tan sólo se encuentra aquí, pues en las demás fuentes, muy copiosas, hallamos τέτυκται o τελεῖται. Se tiene la impresión de que se trata de una cita de memoria, dice Bernabé en su comentario a OF 31 (*memoriae lapsu*). En cambio, en *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* se encuentra la forma τέτυκται, pero Plutarco atribuye en este caso el verso a los estoicos,⁶ lo que indicaría que lo habría leído en un autor estoico. Contrastan, a nuestro ver, de una forma extraña las dos citas del himno en el mismo autor, si tenemos en cuenta la importancia concedida al verso en *De Defectu oraculorum*, donde Plutarco lo atribuye a “los teólogos y poetas más antiguos”, quienes tendrían esta máxima como explicación de la causa superior, sin preocuparse aún de las físicas. Sin embargo, el *De comm. not. adv. Stoicos* despacha el verso con un ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, sin duda un tanto despectivo. ¿Nos encontramos otra vez más con la cita decorativa y sin demasiada justificación a las que nos tiene acostumbrado nuestro autor?

En último lugar, echamos una mirada al comienzo del *Def. orac.* 409E, donde en su dedicatoria a Terencio Prisco se hace una alusión al “llamado ombligo”, recogiendo a continuación los versos de Epiménides que niegan la existencia de un “ombligo” en medio de la tierra:

Ἀετοὺς τινας ἢ κύκνους, ὧς Τερέντιε Πρίσκε, μυθολογοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φερομένους εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ συμπεσεῖν Πυθοὶ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὀμφαλόν· ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Φαίστιον Ἐπιμενίδην ἐλέγχοντα τὸν μῦθον ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβόντα χρησμόν ἄσαφ' αἰ ἀμφίβολον εἰπεῖν (fr. 43 Bernabé)

ἄρ' ἔην γαίης μέσος ὀμφαλὸς οὐδὲ θαλάσσης·
εἰ δέ τις ἔστι, θεοὶς δῆλος θνητοῖσι δ' ἄφαντος.

Cuentan, Terencio Prisco, que unas águilas o unos cisnes, dirigiéndose desde los extremos de la tierra hacia el medio, se encontraron en Delfos junto al llamado om-

5 Bernabé (1996: 72): “L'ultimo riferimento diretto e senza mediatori (*Def. or.* 436D) è più interessante”.

6 Plu. *Comm. not.* 1074E: Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ Ζεὺς μέσσα Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι.

bligo; luego, pasado el tiempo, Epiménides de Festo, tratando de probar la leyenda ante el dios y habiendo recibido un oráculo oscuro y ambiguo, dijo:

No hubo en verdad un ombligo en medio de la tierra ni del mar;

Y si alguno hay, es claro para los dioses pero oscuro para los mortales.

Estos dos versos de Epiménides constituyen el fr. 43 de la edición de Bernabé (B 11 DK, 8 [A 4] Colli). La presencia de Epiménides en esa introducción al diálogo no parece tanto relacionada con el orfismo sino, más bien, otra cita de este personaje legendario, medio santo, medio chamán, como protagonista,⁷ con ribetes de erudición por parte de nuestro autor más que por ser necesaria. Bien es verdad que en época de Plutarco se le consideraría aún como autor de un poema, aunque sean de Damascio y Filodemo los textos con los que Bernabé intenta una reconstrucción de una teogonía epimenídea.⁸ Es además un personaje que, por su historial, añade viveza y colorido al comienzo con esta, cita cuando habla Lamprias como narrador, a quien nosotros por los rasgos que le caracterizan creemos Plutarco, confusión de la que no salimos hasta el cap. 8.

Así, con esta figura interesante por su biografía, pero envuelta en la niebla de tradiciones no siempre coherentes, terminamos nuestro apunte sobre las citas del orfismo en el *De defectu oraculorum*.

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7 Sobre la posible relación de Epiménides con el orfismo véase Dodds (1980: 139–141, y especialmente nn. 40 y 53). También Bernabé (2001a: 195). En general los pocos autores que se ocupan de Epiménides están más interesados en su figura de santón y milagrero que en los fragmentos que se le atribuyen.

8 Véanse Bernabé (2001a: 196); Jiménez San Cristóbal (2002: 151 y *passim*).

39. OF 531 I, Sapph. fr. 58 Voigt¹ y la “nueva Safo”

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Pausanias presenta en 9.27.2, 3 y en 29.8 una lista que “historia” los poetas que cantaron a Eros empezando por el licio Olén, seguido por Panfo y Orfeo (= OF 531 I), como autores de ἔπη en honor de Eros.

Poco se sabe de los dos primeros. Se dice de Olén que era licio, recordándose de él que compuso los himnos delios para los griegos, lo que sería la primera constatación de un poeta anatolio cuya actividad se desarrolla en ámbito griego, trayectoria biográfica de la que participará posteriormente Alcman. Algo más se sabe de Panfo, al que se atribuye haber ejercido gran parte de su arte en un entorno ático haciéndosele autor de himnos en honor de Apolo en Flia.² En cuanto a Orfeo, es inútil recordar aquí ahora la inmensa documentación sobre su compleja biografía y obra atribuida,³ apareciendo Eros (ἔρως ποθεινός), el “deseado amor”, ya como principio órfico, en el texto de Ar. Au. 696 (= OF 64). Pero si seguimos leyendo a Pausanias, tras recordar al Eros κάλλιστος ἐν ἄθανατοῖσι θεοῖσι de la *Teogonía* hesiódica (vv. 116–122) nos encontramos en 9.27.3 con Safo (= fr. 198c Voigt) de la que se dice que “muchas veces, *aunque no de manera homóloga a unos y otros* (οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα ἀλλήλοις), *cantó a Eros*”. Efectivamente, en la poesía de Safo, Eros tiene un lugar preponderante: puede ser algo que reside en el rostro de la persona amada, pero también algo buscado, un ser activo y finalmente hipostasiado como dios.⁴ La diferencia entre Safo y los poetas anteriormente reseñados radicaría probablemente en lo diverso del género y métrica utilizados por ella.

No es el único pasaje en el que Pausanias sitúa a Safo como el último eslabón de una tradición poética muy arcaica. En 9.29.8 dice que Panfo compuso también cantos por la muerte de Lino, al que llamó Οἰτόλινος, e. d., ‘Lino el de triste destino’, ‘el malogrado Lino’. Safo, sigue Pausanias,

1 Añadimos el nombre de la editora Voigt para Safo, para distinguir ciertos textos de los de la “nueva Safo”.

2 West (1983: 53) considera que tanto el nombre de Panfo como el invento de la ‘lámpara’ que se le atribuye son un intento de relacionarlo con los misterios eleusinos.

3 Bernabé (2008b: 329).

4 Rodríguez Adrados (1971: 5–23).

μαθοῦσα (Sapph. fr. 214 Voigt) de los ἔπη de Panfo, cantó a Adonis y también a Οἰτόλινος. Es evidente que, en época de Safo, Lino, como Adonis, era un joven amado cuya prematura muerte se deploraba intensamente, al que se refería el antiquísimo canto documentado en *Il.* 18.567–572,⁵ cuando Homero presenta dos coros de muchachos y doncellas en medio los cuales un παῖς, ‘muchacho’, tañe la forminge entonando el ‘lino’ o el ‘canto de Lino’. El canto es aquí calificado como ἱμερόεν, ‘deseable’, ‘que suscita el deseo’, es decir, también es canto de amor,⁶ no sólo trenético. Pensamos que los cantos dirigidos a jóvenes semidioses o a Eros no perfeñecían a géneros totalmente diferentes. Por otro lado, Lino, de ser un joven al que se conmemoraba con trenos, será considerado un poeta mítico, al que, como testimonia Pausanias (9.29.4) no faltará el carácter de magisterio que se advierte p. ej. en Panfo.⁷

No son Adonis o Lino los únicos cuya suerte es deplorada por Safo o por una diosa con la que, como veremos, posiblemente se identifica la poetisa. Uno de los textos más significativos es el fr. 58 Voigt en el que se relata el amor de la Aurora por Titono, figura que ya los antiguos relacionaron con la ‘luz’⁸ y para el que la diosa había logrado de los dioses la inmortalidad, pero no la eterna juventud. Al final del poema aparecen cuatro versos (23–26) pronunciados por la propia Safo según Clearco (fr. 41) para los que propusimos hace unos años la siguiente traducción:⁹ “Pero yo amo la lozanía ... eso y a mí el brillante amor del sol y lo bello me corresponden”. Pensábamos que era la Aurora (y Safo en identificación con ella) la que de manera celosa y desafiante reclamaba las atribuciones que como diosa “tenía asignadas” (λέλογγε),¹⁰ e. d. la lozanía de la juventud y la belleza, así como la luz o *el amor del Sol*, viéndose sin embargo condenada a ocuparse de Titono, cada vez más decrepito.

La inclusión de Orfeo en la serie que, encabezada por Olén en el testimonio de Pausanias 9.29.8 llega hasta Safo, ha cobrado relieve súbitamente con la aparición de la llamada “nueva Safo”, *PKöln* inv. 21351 frs. I, II e inv.

5 El “lino” homérico sería la más antigua mención de un género lírico, Rodríguez Adrados (1976: 85, 88).

6 ἱμερόεν forma parte del campo semántico del amor, Rodríguez Adrados (1971: 10).

7 Sobre Lino, cf. Bernabé (2007: 56–104), Martínez Nieto (2008a: 560–564).

8 Para τιτώ, τιθωνός con el significado de ‘la mañana’, la ‘luz del día’, ver referencias en *h.Ven.* 218 ff. en Càssola (1997: 218). Se ha advertido en *h.Ven.* cierta glorificación de los Enéadas, Bernabé (1978: 185); también Titono pertenece a la familia Dardánida que detentó el poder en la Lesbos mítica, Martínez Nieto (2008b: 37–40 y n. 40). Ello es comparable a la vinculación de poetas con linajes aristocráticos, con cierta relevancia del componente femenino como los Licómidas con Panfo, él mismo origen de un γένος de mujeres Παμφίδες, o Alcman con las Dimenas.

9 Gangutia (1994: 145).

10 *Vid.* Hes. *Th.* 201–206, versos en los que se explicita cuáles son las atribuciones (λέλογγε) de Afrodita respecto a las muchachas jóvenes. Cf. Di Benedetto (2006: 5–18).

21376, transcritos en el s. III a. C.¹¹ y actualmente editados también por M. Gronewald y R. W. Daniel en los papiros de Colonia, *Kölner Papyri* (PKöln) 11, 2007 como PKöln 429 y 430.

Una de las cuestiones mas problemáticas que presenta la “nueva Safo” es su relación con el fr. 58 Voigt, que acabamos de mencionar. Ha sido planteada en forma particularmente clara por Liberman,¹² quien constata que el fr. 58 Voigt y la “nueva Safo” se complementan en un “poema” central, pero están enmarcados por arriba y por abajo por otros “poemas” iniciales y finales totalmente diferentes en cada papiro. Los “poemas” son, en el caso del fr. 58 Voigt, los vv. 1–10 (“iniciales”) y 23–26 (“finales”) reconocibles como sáficos por dialecto y métrica; además, los situados al final están autorizado como de Safo por el testimonio de Clearco fr. 41. En la “nueva Safo”, también el texto “central” PKöln 429.1–12 es igual y complementa el texto “central” de 58.11–22 Voigt, pero estaría precedido por un “poema” inicial (PKöln 429.1.1–11), temáticamente diferente del que aparece en la misma posición en 58.1–10 Voigt, aunque sáfico por dialecto y métrica. Además, el texto adosado al final del “nuevo Safo” (ahora PKöln 430.1.13), es totalmente disímil en temática, dialecto (salvo alguna palabra) y metro de 58.23–26 Voigt. Pensamos que en ambos textos estamos ante una forma compositiva particular en la que puede haber principios o finales adosados a un “centro”, como “módulos” o “componentes” alternativos, bien del mismo autor o tomados de otro(s) diferente(s).¹³

Son los dos que llamamos finales “alternativos” los que nos interesan ahora. En el caso de la “nueva Safo”, como hemos adelantado, tras el último verso del “centro” prácticamente común con fr. 58 Voigt aparece un texto totalmente diferente al final de 58 Voigt: en él un personaje femenino reivindica su esfera de poder en relación al “amor del sol” y la juventud. A pesar de sus radicales diferencias con 58 Voigt, subyacen en el “final” de la “nueva Safo” algunos elementos temáticamente paralelos: se trata del tema amoroso expresado por una mujer, en relación a un “muchacho”; también hay una invocación al Sol.

En este texto situado al final del “centro” de la “nueva Safo”, denominado PKöln 430 por sus editores, una mujer, según nuestra interpretación,¹⁴ dialoga con un joven que pretende abandonarla, y al que se dirige como παῖ, ‘muchacho’, y ἑταῖρε, ‘amigo’ (líneas 2, 3).¹⁵ Creemos también que a continuación cambia la persona y es este παῖς y ἑταῖρος el que confirma el abandono diciendo ἀφέρπω (línea 3) ‘yo me marchó’, ‘me largo’. Tras una laguna, la mujer se queja de su triste situación (línea 5 ἄπνους, ‘estoy sin aliento’, ‘prácticamente muerta’).

11 Gronewald – Daniel (2004: 1–8).

12 Liberman (2007: 50 ss.).

13 Gangutia (2010: 21).

14 Gangutia (2010: 20).

15 Para παῖς como el ‘amado’, v. Gangutia (2010: n. 32).

Es a partir de la línea 6 cuando el texto adquiere significado para el tema que nos ocupa ahora: la mujer invoca (líneas 6, 7) “la luz de los astros y el resplandor que brilla ardiente del Sol” (πυριφεγγές ἀελ[ίου σέλας), lo que parece producir fuerte impresión en el muchacho que antes anunciaba su marcha y que ahora parece detenerse expectante exclamando πᾶς ἀκούω ‘soy todo oídos’ (línea 8). En líneas 8–10 suponemos que es la mujer la que introduce la mención de Orfeo (líneas 8–9), cuyo poder se compararía con el canto que ella pretende entonar tomando la lira (líneas 8–13): 8–9 Οἰάγ] ρου κόρον Ὀρφέα ... / 10 [ἐρ]πετὰ πάντα κ[/ 11 ... τὰν ἐρατὰν λά]βοισα ... 12 [εὔ]φθογον λύραν ... / 13 [συ]νεργὸν ἔχοισα ... que traducimos así: “(Así como dicen) que Orfeo el hijo de Eagro (amansaba) a todas las fieras (yo), tomando la amable y biensonante lira y teniéndola como aliada, (entonaré un canto)”.

Creemos que todo el texto editado como *PKöln* 430 es precisamente una introducción, en forma dialogada, de un “canto de mujer” o “de amigo”.¹⁶ La mujer toma la lira, evidentemente para entonar un canto que retenga al joven, con efectos seductores comparables a los producidos por la música de Orfeo, siendo el epíteto πυριφεγγές de la línea 7¹⁷ el preludio de la mención órfica.

Es difícil que este “final” de la “nueva Safo” sea de nuestra poetisa.¹⁸ En cualquier caso, el eventual autor puede haber intentado en un programa de representación musical y canto alternado una imitación de Safo, manteniendo el tema amoroso y con una referencia casi preceptiva al Sol como en el “final” de *Sapph. fr. 58 Voigt*.¹⁹

En lo que se refiere concretamente a la mención de Orfeo, pensamos que es todavía más difícil atribuir estas creencias a Safo. Pero indudablemente en este texto transcrito en el III a. C. hay un intento de incluir a nuestra poetisa en la tradición poética reseñada en Pausanias 9.27.3 (= *Sapph. fr. 198c Voigt*), en la que Orfeo tiene su lugar como cantor de Eros.

Para ello se aprovechan determinados rasgos del mundo lesbio asimilándolos al movimiento órfico o viceversa. En un principio, tenemos el mito, según el cual la cabeza cortada de Orfeo acaba su deriva marítima en la isla de Lesbos, con lo que se trata de hacer depender del mítico autor la tradición poética y musical de la isla,²⁰ de la que Safo es el gran exponente y a la que se atribuye un aprendizaje a partir de Panfo, que a su vez ella transmitirá a grupos femeninos aristocráticos.

16 Gangutia (1994: 66–68).

17 Martínez Nieto (2011).

18 Cf. Lundon (2007: 155, 166).

19 Referencias casi formularias al Sol han sido advertidas recientemente p. e., en el “nuevo Posidipo”, epigramas 16.6 y 52.6, Austin – Bastianini (2002); Gangutia (1994: 19).

20 Cf. Santamaría Álvarez (2008: 105–135, especialmente 125 ss.).

Esta formación y el magisterio musical y poético de Safo tienen importantes paralelos, previos al desarrollo órfico, con el ámbito anatolio, lidio o del Próximo Oriente, focos culturales en los que la música, el canto y la danza, enseñados profesionalmente a mujeres, conviviendo incluso en edificios aparte, se centuplican en los entornos regios o aristocráticos de Asiria, el mundo hitita o Persia; en alguno, como en Sidón, las cantoras y virtuosas instrumentistas “jonias y de otros puntos de la Hélade”, fueron extraordinariamente apreciadas.²¹

El hecho cultural de Lesbos, tan volcada al mundo anatolio y oriental, se advierte muy claramente en su sustrato arqueológico e histórico. N. Spencer²² ha demostrado que en la Edad de Bronce y en la historia más antigua de Lesbos no existe prácticamente influencia griega, sino que culturalmente la isla es una extensión del mundo anatolio antes y aun después de la llegada de los colonos eolios, que coexistirán con una población muy variada, en la que no faltan los tracios, como el padre de Pítaco. En lo que se refiere a la religión, se ha exhumado un recinto templario en el que se han hallado representaciones figuradas de una diosa con atributos que recuerdan a Cíbele y restos de ofrendas en las que puede encontrarse el nombre de Apolo, estando ambas divinidades extendidas por toda la isla.²³ Este templo y la presencia de la poderosa diosa convienen bien con la tremenda Αἰολίαν κυδαλίμαν θεὸν / πάντων γενέθλαν “gloriosa divinidad eolia, generación de todas las cosas” de Alceo fr. 129.6–7, que, superando la categoría de “diosa madre”, ha sido relacionada con las creencias órficas. La diosa del texto alcaico está incluida en una tríada, mientras que la arqueología muestra junto a ella solamente un páredro masculino, lo que nos lleva más bien a una religiosidad minorasiática en la que la diosa ama a un joven (que en el caso de Cíbele²⁴ puede ser también su hijo), a veces con rasgos solares,²⁵ pero destinado a una desaparición prematura y a ser llorado por la comunidad femenina con cantos de amor y treno.

21 Ver Hardie (2005: 13–32), quien añade bibliografía muy útil, p. e. Ünal (1999: 231); en Asiria, las mujeres cantoras e instrumentistas cultivan su arte en una “casa” aparte, *The Assyrian dictionary* (1980: XI, N, part 1, s. v. *nartu* c); el rey persa (Briant 2002: 283, 293) mantiene centenares de cantoras e instrumentistas μουσουργοί que cantan alternando solista y coro, según cuenta Heraclides de Cumas 1.2; ver también en relación al rey sidonio y sus apreciadas cantoras e instrumentistas griegas, p. 294. La invasión árabe descubre en oriente este saber musical y apreciará también las cantoras griegas, difundiendo este arte hasta Occidente, ver Ribera (1927 [1985]), que recogíamos en Gangutia (1994: 118 ss. y n. 233).

22 Spencer (1995: 270–306).

23 Recordemos que es en el templo de Apolo donde se consagra la lira que viaja con la cabeza de Orfeo, cf. Santamaría Álvarez (2008: 125 y n. 87).

24 Ver Gangutia (1994: 22 y nn. 30, 63; 1995: 482 y nn. 1 y 3).

25 Apolo será identificado con Helios en un texto adscrito a Esquilo con dudas, cf. Eratosth. *Cat.* 24, cf. West (1983: 12–13).

En los versos finales de Sapph. fr. 58 Voigt, la diosa que se queja y reivindica celosa y desafiante el ‘amor del sol’, ἔρως ἀελίου, era considerada por nosotros la Aurora, diosa amante del también luminoso Titono, cuyas vicisitudes se relataban en el texto “central”. A la vez la asimilábamos a la poderosa diosa solar de Arinna que se distingue por su exclusiva predilección por el rey hitita y su familia.²⁶ Recientemente, Bernabé²⁷ ha estudiado un texto hitita, con importantes paralelos en relación con el “alma” y el Más Allá que reaparecerán en textos órficos. Pero lo que ahora más nos interesa es que en ese texto la “Diosa Solar de la Tierra” muestra su sufrimiento ante la muerte de un ¿humano, hijo, amante? del que sólo se conoce el epíteto de “el Deseado”. Y aquí queremos recordar que Eros, según Safo, puede ser πόθεννος ‘deseado’ (Sapph. fr. 15.11–12), epíteto que dos siglos más tarde se aplicará, como hemos visto, al Eros órfico en Aristófanes.

El elemento “solar” que aparece al “final” de fr. 58 Voigt y está también presente en la invocación de la mujer del “final” de la “nueva Safo” (PKöln 430.7) adquiere relevancia en el orfismo ya desde el *Papiro de Derveni* (col. XIX). Pero creemos particularmente importante la aparición de Fanes en textos que pueden ser coetáneos del momento en que la “nueva Safo” y su “final” se ponen por escrito. El resplandeciente “sol” amado en exclusividad por un personaje femenino divino de 58 Voigt puede haber sido entendido por un autor del III a. C. como Fanes identificado con Eros.²⁸ Si el orfismo ha ido asimilando rasgos variados de religiosidad, entre otros anatolios o asiáticos de los que participaron los autores lesbianos, podemos pensar que un eventual autor helenístico, mediante técnicas compositivas que luego se han revelado productivas, consideró legítimo en el siglo III a. C. adosar a un texto sáfico unos “versos” (PKöln 430) que, con explícitas alusiones “órficas” sustituyeran, –¿o incluso reinterpretaran?– elementos del “final” que encontrábamos en Sapph. fr. 58 Voigt.

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40. Un dio dai molti nomi (OF 540)

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Dopo avere osservato che il sole è venerato ora come Apollo ora come Libero ora con altro nome, Avieno chiede a Vettio Pretestato la ragione di una così grande varietà per un solo dio.¹ Le diverse proprietà (*virtutes*) del sole diedero origine a nomi di dèi, ed è per questo che i primi sapienti affermarono ἔν τὸ πᾶν, è la risposta.² Dopo di che prende l'avvio una rassegna di alcuni nomi di dèi, a cominciare da quello di Apollo, per poi passare a quello di Libero. I due nomi indicano in realtà un solo dio e, dato che Apollo è già stato identificato col sole, ne consegue che il padre Libero e il sole sono la stessa divinità.³ Nel corso di questa dimostrazione Macrobio cita alcuni versi di un inno a Bacco-Sole, che attribuisce a Orfeo. Riporto uno di questi frammenti:⁴

τήκων αἰθέρα δῖον ἀκίνητον πρὶν ἔόντα
ἐξανέφηνε θεοῖσιν Ἔρων κάλλιστον ιδέσθαι.
ὄν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον
Εὐβουλήά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδηλον·
ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλο καλοῦσιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων.
πρῶτος δ' ἐς φάος ἦλθε, Διώνυσος δ' ἐπεκλήθη,
οὐνεκα δινεῖται κατ' ἀπείρονα μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον·
ἄλλαχθεις δ' ὄνομ', ἔσχε προσωυμίας πρὸς ἐκάστων
παντοδαπὰς, κατὰ καιρὸν ἀμειβομένοιο χρόνοιο.

dissolvendo l'Etere divino che prima era immobile
mostrò agli dèi Eros bellissimo a vedersi,
che ora chiamano Fanes e Dioniso
e Eubuleo signore e Antauge illustre;
gli uomini sulla terra lo chiamano chi con un nome chi con un altro.
Per primo venne alla luce, e fu chiamato Dioniso,
poiché gira nel vasto Olimpo infinito,
ma cambiato nome ebbe da ciascuno denominazioni
d'ogni specie, secondo il momento nel mutare del tempo.

1 Macr. Sat. 1.17.1.

2 Macr. Sat. 1.17.2.

3 Macr. Sat. 1.18.7.

4 OF 540 (Macr. Sat. 1.18.12). Sembrano appartenere allo stesso inno OF 538–545 (Bernabé 2005: 112–121).

Soggetto di v. 1 è Χρόνος, il Tempo, che nella teogonia ieronimiana è padre dell'umido Etere, di Chaos infinito e di Erebo nebbioso, nei quali (o tra i quali) genera un uovo. Nella teogonia rapsodica Tempo genera Etere e Chaos,⁵ poi dal (o nel) divino Etere forgia un uovo splendente. In entrambe le teogonie, dall'uovo esce un dio dai molti nomi. Nelle *Argonautiche orfiche* sono presenti due passi cosmogonici; in uno si dice che il Tempo generò Etere ed Eros-Fanes.⁶

In *OF* 540 Tempo non genera Etere (o almeno questa informazione non compare nei versi del frammento), ma lo 'dissolve'. Il verbo τήκω ha il significato di 'fondere', 'sciogliere'; è usato nel *Timeo*, dove Platone sta spiegando perché né il fuoco né l'aria τήκει (60e4) la terra, mentre l'aria la τήκει (60e9). Damascio applica a Etere l'epiteto νοτερός 'umido' (*OF* 78), e il fatto che col suo dissolversi Eros diventi visibile conferma la sua nebulosità.⁷ Secondo il nostro frammento, Etere preesiste, se non al Tempo, quanto meno alla sua azione: è però immobile (v. 1) finché Tempo non lo dissolve. L'azione del Tempo è strettamente legata al movimento. Platone definisce χρόνος "una certa immagine mobile dell'eternità".⁸

In *OF* 540 non si parla dell'uovo che, nelle teogonie orfiche, è generato da Tempo, ma si dice che questi, dissolvendo l'Etere, mostrò agli dèi Eros. Per quanto è possibile dedurre dai versi citati da Macrobio, anche questi, come Etere, sembra preesistere all'azione di Tempo. A Eros vengono dati nomi diversi: Fanes, Dioniso, Eubuleo e Antauge. Come primo nome riceve quello di Dioniso, "poiché gira (δινεῖται) nel vasto Olimpo infinito": in questo nome evidentemente si vuole riconoscere un legame col verbo δινέω.⁹ Qualcosa di simile si dice in un inno indirizzato a Protogono: πάντη δινηθεῖς πετέρυγων ῥιπαῖς κατὰ κόσμον ("roteando da ogni parte convenientemente con i colpi delle ali"), dove però il gioco etimologico non si basa su δινηθεῖς, ma su πετέρυγων ῥιπαῖς, che per assonanza richiama Πρίηπος, uno dei nomi

5 Sull'assenza di Erebo nella teogonia rapsodica *vid.* West (1983: 230–231). Sulla Necessità come compagna di Tempo nella teogonia ieronimiana *ved.* West (1983: 198–199).

6 Orph. A. 12–32. L'altro passo cosmogonico si legge ai vv. 421–431. Cf. Ricciardelli (2007: 168; 1993: 38–39).

7 La posizione di αἰθήρ più in alto di ἀήρ in *Il.* 14. 288 suggerisce invece una sua maggiore limpidezza.

8 Pl. *Ti.* 37d5: εἰκὼ ... κινητόν τινα αἰῶνος.

9 *Vid.* vv. 6–7. All'interpretazione di questo nome data da Orfeo, Macrobio (*Sat.* 1.18.13–15) trova una conferma in Cleante, per il quale Dioniso fu detto così ἀπὸ τοῦ διανύσαι, in quanto nella sua rotazione quotidiana da oriente a occidente, con la quale produce il giorno e la notte, 'compie' il suo viaggio nel cielo. I fisici, continua Macrobio, spiegano invece Διόνυσον Διὸς νοῦν, perché il sole è la mente del mondo, che a sua volta è Zeus. Il v. 7 di *OF* 540 si legge anche su una coppa di alabastro, *ved.* Delbrueck-Vollgraff (1934: 54); Leisegang (1955: 197ss.); Iacobacci (1993: 83–85).

attribuiti a Protogono al v. 9 di quell'inno.¹⁰ Gli altri nomi presenti in Orph. H. 6 sono Erichepeo, Fanes, Antaue; questi due ultimi sono collegati alla luce, in modo esplicito Fanes: “conducendo la splendida luce (φάος) santa, da cui ti chiamo Φάνης” (v. 8); più velatamente Ἀνταύγης ‘dallo sguardo lucente’ (ἐλίκωπον, v. 9). Questi due nomi figurano sia in Orph. H. 6 sia in OF 540;¹¹ ma in questo frammento mancano quelli di Protogono e Erichepeo, che figurano in Orph. H. 6 (vv. 1 e 4), dove invece non compaiono quelli di Dioniso ed Eubuleo.¹²

Il v. 3 di OF 540 si trova quasi uguale in Diodoro: τοῦνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον (“perciò lo chiamano Fanes e Dioniso”);¹³ evidentemente accompagnava la spiegazione “etimologica” di questi nomi. In un altro frammento, secondo West appartenente al nostro inno a Bacco-Sole, si dichiara che uno è Zeus, uno Ade, uno Helios, uno Dioniso,¹⁴ dove il dio del cielo si identifica col dio degli inferi, il Sole con Dioniso.¹⁵ Il frammento poi conclude: εἰς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι. Dunque non si tratta più solo della congruenza dei diversi nomi con i diversi aspetti del dio, ma anche dell'unicità della divinità sotto nomi diversi. È quanto diceva Macrobio all'inizio della discussione sui tanti nomi del sole, affermando: ἐν τὸ πᾶν.¹⁶

Riguardo alle diverse denominazioni presenti nel frammento si possono fare alcune considerazioni. Eros individua il dio già al suo apparire (v. 2), per cui Dioniso è il primo nome (v. 6) tra quelli dati dai mortali.¹⁷ Qui si sfiora dunque la questione di una lingua divina differente da quella di cui si servono gli uomini; a questi è attribuita esplicitamente la paternità dei diversi nomi con cui chiamano il dio (vv. 5, 8–9), compreso Fanes che, secondo un altro frammento, è invece il nome usato dai beati sull'Olimpo.¹⁸ A quanto

10 Orph. H. 6.7; *vid.* Ricciardelli (2006: 254–255, *ad* vv. 8–9); sulle etimologie e i giochi fonici nei testi orfici ved. Bernabé (1992: 40–48; 2008: 867–896).

11 Macrobio (*Sat.* 1.18.13) fa derivare il nome Fanes ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ φανεροῦ (*id est a lumine atque inluminatione*, poiché è visto da tutti osservando tutto).

12 Il fatto che Orfeo attribuisca al dio anche il nome di Eubuleo (OF 540.4) indica, secondo Macrobio (*Sat.* 1.18.17), che Dioniso è custode del buon consiglio, il che si spiega col fatto che il sole è la mente del mondo, da cui deriva agli uomini il principio dell'intelligenza.

13 D.S. 1.11.3 (OF 60), su cui ved. West (1983: 206, n. 95).

14 OF 543, la cui appartenenza allo stesso carme secondo Bernabé (2005: 113) non può essere dimostrata né respinta. Questo verso, nella forma εἰς Ζεῦς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἥλιος, εἰς τε Σάρατις, si legge in Iul. Or. 11(4).136a; cf. West (1983: 206 con nn. 96 e 253).

15 Un verso citato da Macrobio (*Sat.* 1.18.17 = OF 542), forse dello stesso inno, dichiara che Dioniso è un nome del Sole: “Ἥλιος, ὃν Διόνυσον ἐπικλησιν καλέουσιν.

16 Cf. *supra*, n. 2.

17 Anche in Orph. A. 14–16 il nome Eros sembra essere quello originale, mentre Fanes è dato dai mortali.

18 OF 140. In diversi luoghi della letteratura greca si accenna a una lingua degli dèi, differente da quella di cui si servono gli uomini; mi limito a rinviare a West (1966: 387–388); Bernabé (1992: 31 ff., con la bibliografia ivi cit. alla n. 16).

è detto in *OF* 540, il dio ha ricevuto diversi nomi “secondo il momento nel mutare del tempo” (κατὰ καιρὸν ἀμειβομένοιο χρόνοιο, v. 9).¹⁹ Non è chiaro come vada intesa questa espressione. Un confronto con l’oracolo di Klaros²⁰ potrebbe suggerire che il “mutare del tempo” alluda al succedersi delle stagioni, ma la spiegazione del nome Dioniso, l’unica presente nel frammento (v. 7), indirizza diversamente. Un passo del *De mundo* dichiara che i molti nomi di Zeus sono dovuti a tutti i fenomeni che egli provoca;²¹ segue un elenco di epiteti del Cronide (ἀστραπαῖος, βρονταῖος, ecc.), coronato dalla citazione di un inno orfico a Zeus di cui abbiamo anche una versione più lunga.²² Ma in *OF* 540, come si è visto anche in *OF* 543, oltre che epiteti (Eubuleo, Antauge), al dio di cui si parla vengono dati anche nomi di dèi diversi, ognuno con una sua identità (Eros, Fanes, Dioniso). Ho già ricordato che l’assimilazione di Fanes e Dioniso figura in un verso citato da Diodoro e in *Orph. H.* 6, dedicato a Protogono; questo è un altro nome di Fanes, che nella raccolta degli *Inni orfici* viene attribuito anche a Dioniso.²³ Nella versione più lunga dell’inno orfico a Zeus, si dice che tutto è in lui, anche Eros e Metis,²⁴ che a loro volta sono altri nomi di Fanes.²⁵ Non si può non notare come tutti questi nomi che vengono ad accumularsi su un solo dio sono soprattutto di divinità che hanno un particolare rilievo cosmogonico nonché quella che potremmo chiamare una spiccata vocazione ad assimilare tutto.

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19 Per ἀμειβομένοιο χρόνοιο (v. 9) cf. *Orph. A.* 422.

20 *Macr. Sat.* 1.18.20: φράξω τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἰαῶ, / χεῖματι μὲν τ’ Αἰδὴν, Δία δ’ εἶαρος ἀρχομένοιο, / Ἥλιον δὲ θέρεως, μετοπώρου δ’ ἄβρον Ἰαῶ. (“Considera Iao il dio supremo fra tutti: d’inverno Ade, Zeus all’inizio della primavera, Sole d’estate, in autunno delicato Iao”). Iao qui può indicare Dioniso o Sarapis o Adonis; ved. *OF* 543.1. Cf. West (1983: 253); Buresch (1889: 48–49); Peterson (1926: 244); Fauth (1995: 24–25, n. 136 con bibliografia ivi citata).

21 [*Aristot.*] *Mu.* 7.401a, 12–13, a proposito di Zeus, dice: Εἷς δὲ ὦν πολυώνυμος ἐστὶ, κατονομαζόμενος τοῖς πάθεσι πᾶσιν ἅπερ αὐτὸς νεοχομοί.

22 *Ved. OF* 31 e 243; Ricciardelli (2009: 423–432); Bernabé (2009: 65–78).

23 *Ved. Orph. H.* 6. 1; 30. 2; 52. 6; cf. Ricciardelli (2006: 352).

24 *OF* 243.9; cf. *OF* 141. Cf. *supra*, n. 22.

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41. OF 540 = Macrobio, *Sat.* 1.18.12 e *Inno orfico* 52: Dioniso tra teogonia e attualità religiosa

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Nel vivido affresco del vasto e composito panorama delle figure divine e dei culti tradizionali delineato da Vettio Agorio Pretestato nel discorso rivolto al piccolo gruppo di amici riuniti nella sua casa per celebrare – “in conversazioni culturali (*colloquio liberali*)” – la festa solenne dei *Saturnalia*, quali Macrobio riferisce nell’opera omonima,¹ si propone una peculiare visione religiosa, definibile in termini di “teologia solare”. Fin dagli studi magistrali di F. Cumont,² tale concezione è stata identificata come una delle note peculiari se non la struttura portante dello scenario religioso del Mediterraneo tardo-antico³ in cui da secoli confluivano le diverse tradizioni nazionali, le cui strutture di tipo politeistico – disponibili al reciproco riconoscimento e alla convivenza – avevano affrontato e infine perduto il confronto ideologico e sociale con i portatori del nuovo messaggio cristiano. Tra la seconda metà del IV secolo e la prima metà del V, in cui si colloca l’opera di Macrobio, quella “teologia” si proponeva come una cifra interpretativa capace di omologare le più varie credenze, culti e divinità tradizionali e offrire agli “ultimi Elleni”, ovvero – nell’ambito della romanità – ai difensori del *mos maiorum* uno strumento utile al recupero e alla difesa della propria identità culturale e religiosa.

A conclusione di una dettagliata illustrazione del calendario romano, scandito dalle festività religiose, Vettio Agorio Pretestato cita alcuni versi delle *Georgiche* (1.5–7) che gli permettono di aprire l’ampio squarcio di teologia solare, ponendola subito sotto il segno dionisiaco, insieme con quello – più consolidato e tradizionale – apollineo. Il poeta, infatti, invocava

1 Macr. *Sat.* 1.1 Marinone (1977), dalla cui traduzione cito anche in seguito. Sui problemi relativi all’identificazione e collocazione storica dell’autore, oltre che all’introduzione, con buona informazione bibliografica, del Marinone, rimando soltanto alla monografia di Flamant (1977), che traccia le linee fondamentali della sua fisionomia platonica.

2 Tra i numerosi interventi sul tema dello studioso, basti qui ricordare il “classico” saggio di Cumont (1909).

3 Cf. Fauth (1995).

Liber et alma Ceres come quelli che guidano “per il cielo l’anno che scorre” e Pretestato dichiara che ciò egli ha fatto “designando con questa invocazione tanto il sole che la luna come guide dell’anno” (*Sat.* 1.16.42). Quindi confessa di avere a lungo riflettuto sulle ragioni per cui – afferma – “veniamo il sole ora come Apollo, ora come Libero, ora sotto vari altri nomi” (*Sat.* 1.17.1) ed enuncia chiaramente il presupposto «teologico»⁴ che ispirerà tutto il suo discorso: “Le varie manifestazioni di un solo dio si devono considerare come altrettante divinità... Di qui i primi sapienti proclamarono il principio $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (il Tutto è uno)” (*Sat.* 1.17.4). Alla luce di questa visione “teo-pantistica” saranno interpretate, dopo quelle relative ad Apollo a cui è senz’altro identificato,⁵ le varie espressioni della personalità di Dioniso, assimilato ormai senza alcuno scarto al latino *Liber*, quali emergono sia dalle diverse forme del suo culto, sia dalle rappresentazioni del dio da parte di poeti, storici e scrittori interessati alle tradizioni religiose. Tra i primi un’autorità preminente è riconosciuta ad Orfeo,⁶ di cui Pretestato citerà una serie di versi, attribuibili con ogni verisimiglianza, come propone il collega ed amico a cui, con stima e simpatia, sono dedicate queste pagine, un Inno a Dioniso-Helios.⁷ Tuttavia l’identità “solare” di Dioniso, affermata in maniera esplicita in un verso successivamente addotto da Pretestato,⁸ nell’Inno orfico si situa in un’ampia dimensione cosmologica che in pari tempo evoca alcune direttrici fondamentali della peculiare visione teogonica di questo ambiente religioso, intesa a saldare protologia, attualità ed escatologia proprio sotto la cifra dionisiaca. Il testo infatti recita:

Liquefacendo l’etere divino che prima era solido / svelò agli dèi, bellissimo a vedersi, / quello che ora chiamano Fanete e Dioniso / e signore Eubuleo e splendente Antaue; / gli uomini sulla terra lo chiamano or con un nome or con un altro. Per primo venne alla luce e fu detto Dioniso, / perché gira intorno al vasto Olimpo senza confini; / ma cambia nome assumendo da ciascuno denominazioni / d’ogni specie secondo il momento nel succedersi del tempo.⁹

4 Per l’origine e il significato della nozione di *theologia* in Grecia cf. Golschmidt (1950) e Flacelière (1974).

5 “Ciò che abbiamo detto di Apollo si può considerare anche per Libero. Infatti Aristotele, che scrisse i *Theologumena*, prova che Apollo e il padre Libero sono una sola e identica divinità” (Macr. *Sat.* 1.18.1). Incerta è l’identificazione del personaggio addotto quale *auctoritas*, forse collocabile nel II sec. a. C. (cf. Marinone²1977: 266, n. 1).

6 In questa sede non devo argomentare sulle complesse problematiche connesse alla variegata tradizione orfica. Per un’aggiornata messa a punto basti rimandare ai recenti contributi editi a cura di Bernabé – Casadesús (2008) e di Bernabé – Casadesús – Santamaría Álvarez (2010). Utile la rassegna bibliografica di Santamaría Álvarez (2003).

7 *Sat.* 1.18.12 Marinone (1977: 268s. = *OF* 540).

8 *Sat.* 1.18.18 Marinone (1977: 270s. = *OF* 542): “Orfeo dichiara apertamente che il sole è Libero in questo verso: ‘Il sole che chiamano con il nome di Dioniso’”.

9 Cf. *Sat.* 1.18.17 ed. Marinone (1977: 270s.): “I versi di Orfeo che lo chiamano (sc. Dioniso) *Eubuleus* dimostrano che questo dio presiede al buon consiglio”.

Ad una prospettiva analoga, e forse al medesimo testo da cui cita Macrobio, rimanda una testimonianza di Diodoro Siculo. Lo storico greco, in un contesto in cui argomenta sull'identità Osiride-Dioniso a ragione delle comuni connotazioni solari, dopo aver addotto da *Canti bacchici* attribuiti al mitico Eumolpo il verso che recita "splendente come astro, Dioniso, dallo sguardo infuocato in ogni suo raggio", aggiunge: "mentre Orfeo (afferma): 'Questa è la ragione per la quale lo chiamano Phanes e Dioniso' ".¹⁰ Tuttavia il parallelo decisivo ai versi citati ci viene dall'*Inno* 52 della raccolta degli *Inni orfici*, sulla cui collocazione cronologica e geografica la discussione è ancora aperta.¹¹ Nel ritmo incalzante delle invocazioni, la sequenza di epiteti, epiclesi e nomi divini¹² delinea un quadro complesso in cui attorno alla personalità di Dioniso si addensano figure diverse. In pari tempo tale personalità si rifrange in una molteplicità di piani e di identità divine:

Te invoco, beato, dai molti nomi (πολύωνυμε), invasato, Baccheo, / dalle corna di toro, Leneo, nato dal fuoco, Nisio, Liseo / nutrito dalla coscia, Licnite, iniziatore di coloro che celebrano i misteri, / notturno, Eubuleo, porti la mitra, agiti il tirso, / mistero indicibile, triplice, germoglio segreto di Zeus, / Protogono, Erichepeo, padre e figlio di dèi (πρωτόγον', Ἑρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ἡδὲ καὶ υἱέ), / ami la carne cruda, porti lo scettro, pazzo per i cori, guida dei cortei, / baccheggiante nelle sante trieteridi serene, / rompi la terra, risplendi di fuoco, †Epafo, figlio di due madri, / vaghi sui monti, con le corna, vestito di pelle di cerbiatto, celebrato nelle feste biennali / Paian dalla lancia d'oro, nel grembo, adorno di grappoli d'uva, / Bassaro, ami l'edera, dalle molte fanciulle, dalla bella chioma, vieni, beato, agli iniziati rigoglioso sempre lieto.

La definizione di Dioniso quale "padre e figlio di dèi", in stretta sequenza con la menzione di due figure-cardine della visione teogonica orfica, quali *Protogonos* ed Erichepeo a loro volta denominazioni alternative dello "splendente" nato dall'uovo cosmico – *Phanes* – incardina strutturalmente il personaggio in quella visione ponendolo all'inizio e a fondamento di essa.

A conferma della percezione delle valenze religiose e "teologiche" di tale dimensione dionisiaca da parte dell'autore e dei suoi interlocutori sta la presenza, all'inizio della raccolta, di un *Inno a Protogonos* (*Inno* 6) in cui si di-

10 D.S. 1.11.2 = *OF* 60.

11 Edizione e traduzione di Ricciardelli (2000), da cui sono tratte tutte le citazioni. Cf. la precedente edizione di Quandt (1941, ²1955). La letteratura critica sugli *Inni* non è molto ricca. Forse a causa del loro carattere tardivo e dello stile, spesso considerato ripetitivo ed enfatico, come notava J. Rudhardt che ad essi ha dedicato un'attenzione particolare (cf. 1991, 2002 e 2008), sono stati generalmente trascurati. Si vedano i pochi titoli elencati in Santamaría Álvarez (2003: 245s.). Il lavoro di Morand (2001), che vuole essere una disamina complessiva della raccolta innica, tuttavia, nel suo andamento espositivo e scolastico, risulta privo di adeguato spessore critico. Si veda anche, per la dimensione rituale, Graf (2009).

12 Osservazioni pertinenti su tale caratteristica dello stile degli *Inni* in Guthrie (1930), Rudhardt (1991) e Hopman-Govers (2001). Sulle molteplici valenze religiose degli appellativi divini cf. Belayche-Brulé *et alii* (2005).

spiega nei suoi tratti essenziali la prospettiva teogonica nota dal resto della documentazione quale tipica espressione, pur nelle sue importanti varianti, della tradizione di Orfeo:¹³

Invoco Protogono dalla doppia natura, grande, errante nell'etere, / nato dall'uovo, superbo dalle ali d'oro, / dalla voce di toro, origine dei beati e degli uomini mortali, / seme memorabile, onorato con molti riti, Ericepeo, / indicibile, sibilante occulto, germoglio tutto lucente, / che dissipasti la nube oscura dagli occhi / roteando da ogni parte convenientemente con i colpi delle ali / conducendo la splendida luce santa, da cui ti chiamo Fanes / e Priapo signore e Antaue dallo sguardo lucente. / Ma, beato, molto scaltro, molto fecondo, vieni con gioia / alla sacra multiforme cerimonia fra coloro che iniziano ai misteri.

Vi appaiono, come nell'Inno addotto da Macrobio, i nomi di *Phanes*, *Eubuleus* e *Antaues*, qui appellativi di *Protogonos*. Tuttavia, il Dioniso-Fanete-Eubuleo-Antaue del testo macrobiano, nel suo essere "primo" tra le manifestazioni divine, implicitamente assume la qualità distintiva dello stesso *Protogonos*, quale gli viene attribuita in maniera esplicita nell'*Inno* 52.

L'antichità di questa prospettiva, che agglutina attorno alla figura di Dioniso, una serie di personaggi della tradizione orfica, è dimostrata da quel prezioso, anche se problematico documento che è il *Papiro di Gurôb*¹⁴ che, nella sua disperante frammentarietà, lascia tuttavia trasparire chiare le connotazioni di un testo rituale di pertinenza orfico-dionisiaca. In una sequenza resa oscura dalle lacune testuali, si susseguono i nomi divini di Brimo, Demetra, Rhea e i Cureti in armi, Ghe e Pallade. La *teleté*, nel menzionare gli "empi padri" e oggetti quali trottola, rombo, dadi, raganella e specchio che da Clemente Alessandrino conosciamo essere stati i "giocattoli" forniti dai Titani per attrarre e catturare il fanciullo divino,¹⁵ assicura la presenza dello scenario mitico orfico dell'uccisione di Dioniso.¹⁶ *Symbola* e *synthemata*, inoltre, con il contestuale riferimento a specifici atti rituali (bere vino, gettare nel canestro, il "dio attraverso il seno" etc.), conferiscono una netta dimensione iniziatica e quindi misterica a tutto il quadro cultua-

13 Senza presumere di fornire un sia pur minimo bilancio storiografico sul tema, nel rinviare alle informazioni bibliografiche fornite dall'edizione di Bernabé (2004–2005) e Santamaría Álvarez (2003), già citato, basti segnalare il volume di West (1983) che, pur oggetto di critiche e riserve, rimane ancora utile per la raccolta e organizzazione dei materiali.

14 *P.Gurôb* 1.23 (OF 578). Cf. Tortorelli Ghidini (2006: 253–277) con pertinente commento.

15 Clem. Al. *Prot.* 2.17.2 (OF 588).

16 Sulla questione dell'antichità e coerenza del mito dell'uccisione di Dioniso, soprattutto in relazione all'origine degli uomini, rimando soltanto agli interventi di Bernabé (2002, 2003), che offre le coordinate generali del tema. La documentazione in Bernabé (2004: 50–54) in cui si distingue una *prisca fabula de Baccho et Titanibus* (OF 34–39). Al contrario, una decostruzione del mito nei suoi referenti antropologici è proposta da Brisson (1992) e da Edmonds (1999).

le. Assai probabile inoltre è la pertinenza a Dioniso dei nomi di Eubuleo ed *Erikepaigos* che intervengono anche negli *Inni orfici*¹⁷ e pertanto garantiscono l'antichità dell' "assimilazione" del dio alle figure della teogonia orfica proposte in questi documenti tardi. Nel *Papiro di Gurôb* (v. 23b) il dio è acclamato come "uno",¹⁸ proponendosi quella visione "enoteistica" intesa a conciliare, nella prospettiva politeistica greca, la nozione dell' "uno e dei molti"¹⁹ che nel periodo tardo-antico si imporrà come una delle componenti peculiari della religiosità del mondo mediterraneo. Ancora Macrobio, per bocca di Pretestato, ci conferma come la mobile e variegata tradizione orfica contemplasse siffatta visione, la cui tensione verso una *reductio ad unum* della molteplicità delle figure dei pantheon tradizionali, trovava nella multiforme figura di Dioniso uno dei suoi principali referenti. Un "verso più laborioso" del poeta trace, infatti, avrebbe affermato: "Uno Zeus, uno Ade, uno il sole, uno Dioniso".²⁰

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17 Cf. anche *Inno* 56.

18 Versnel (1990: 205) sottolinea come "Dionysos was the first god to be hailed with an acclamation that became the most characteristic identification of the great gods of later times". Ampio materiale sul tema nell'opera ancora utile di Peterson (1926).

19 Osservazioni importanti sulla strutturale dialettica fra la nozione della fondamentale unità del divino e quella di una polifunzionale molteplicità di dèi nel politeismo greco in Rudhardt (1966). Cf. anche François (1957), Grant (1986), Detienne (1988, 1989, 1997) e, in particolare per la complessa prospettiva platonica, gli studi editi a cura di Laurent (2003).

20 *Sat.* 1.18.17 (*OF* 543).

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42. Orfismo nel culto romano di *Bona Dea* (OF 584)

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Bona Dea, detta pure Fauna, era, ed è, una fra le divinità più misteriose nel pantheon dei Romani, anche perché i suoi riti erano celebrati in segreto ed escludevano la partecipazione degli uomini. Principalmente si trattava di due generi di riti celebrati dalle donne romane: quelli all'aria aperta, sotto le tende e in mezzo al verde, alle falde dell'Aventino, e quelli nella casa del sommo magistrato romano, durante il mese di dicembre, per una notte. La natura orfica di quest'ultimo rito non è mai stata finora indagata e vedremo che essa può aprire una pagina completamente nuova nella religione romana.

Per cominciare, leggiamo la descrizione della cerimonia avvenuta, nel dicembre del 62 a. C., nella casa di Cesare, secondo il racconto di Plutarco:¹

(Clodio) amava Pompea, moglie di Cesare, la quale non era insensibile alla cosa. Ma la custodia del gineceo era attenta, e la madre di Cesare, la saggia Aurelia, seguiva attentamente la giovane sposa e rendeva sempre difficile e rischioso l'incontro dei due. I Romani hanno una dea, che chiamano Bona, la quale corrisponde alla dea Gynaieia greca. I Frigi la credono una loro dea e dicono che era la madre del re Mida. I Romani dicono che era una ninfa Driade e moglie di Fauno; i Greci che, fra le madri di Dioniso, era quella il cui nome non poteva essere pronunciato.

Da ciò deriva che le donne che celebrano la sua festa coprono le loro tende con rami di vite, e un serpente sacro è posto presso l'immagine della dea, conformemente al mito. Allora non è permesso ad alcun uomo di partecipare alla celebrazione dei misteri né di trovarsi nella casa dove i riti sacri vengono celebrati. Le donne restano sole e celebrano, a quanto si dice, riti sacri analoghi a quelli orfici. Per cui, quando arriva la data della festa, il console o il pretore esce di casa e con lui ogni uomo; la moglie prende possesso della casa e la addobba come conviene. Le cerimonie più importanti si svolgono di notte; giochi e molta musica si associano alla festa notturna.

Allora la festa veniva organizzata da Pompea; Clodio, ancora imberbe, pensando di non essere pertanto riconosciuto, prese i vestiti e gli strumenti di una arpista e venne sotto l'aspetto di una giovane donna.

Poi Plutarco parla del modo in cui Clodio fu scoperto e aggiunge:

Lo spavento prese le donne; Aurelia fece cessare la cerimonia e velare gli oggetti sacri, poi ordinò di chiudere le porte e percorse la casa con torce alla ricerca di Clodio.

1 Plu. *Caes.* 9-10 = OF 584, editi dall'amico Alberto Bernabé, al quale questo studio è dedicato.

Plutarco sicuramente sapeva quello che diceva e non parlava infondatamente, quando attribuiva una natura orfica ai misteri della Bona Dea.² Egli, come pure sua moglie, erano stati iniziati ai misteri dei riti dionisiaci.³ Se ci si chiede in cosa consistesse la natura orfica dei riti di Bona Dea, la risposta più semplice è che essi avevano una componente dionisiaca, dato che l'Orfismo aveva un ruolo grandissimo della ritualità dionisiaca.⁴ Robert Turcan⁵ ha aggiunto un elemento specifico che deve avere contribuito alla definizione del rito come "orfico": secondo Atenagora⁶ gli Orfici narravano che Zeus si era unito con Persefone in forma di serpente, mito che assomiglia a quello di Fauno, unitosi a Bona Dea-Fauna in forma di serpente. Euripide,⁷ d'altra parte, afferma che Persefone era detta "fanciulla non nominabile" (*arrhetos*), ciò che permette di identificarla come la madre di Dioniso. Il Dionisismo è dunque la chiave che spiega la natura orfica del rito romano.

L'iconografia di Bona Dea,⁸ la testimonianza di Plutarco e quella di Macrobio⁹ attestano che nei suoi riti erano presenti dei serpenti, esattamente come nei riti femminili dionisiaci, resi famosi soprattutto da Olimpiade, la madre di Alessandro.¹⁰ Altri elementi dionisiaci importanti sono il vino usato nei riti, i rami di vite con cui si coprivano le tende allestite dalle donne per la festa¹¹ e la vite che si trovava sopra la statua della dea. Come si è visto, Plutarco afferma che questa dea era identificata dai Greci con una delle madri di Dioniso e Macrobio¹² dice che era identificata con Proserpina oppure, dagli abitanti della Beozia, con Semele, la madre di Dioniso, e aggiunge:

La dicono pure figlia di Fauno e narrano che resistette alle voglie del padre innamorato di lei, che giunse perfino a sferzarla con una verga di mirto per non aver ceduto ai suoi desideri neppure quando egli l'aveva ubriacata. Però si crede che il padre si trasformò in serpente e si unì alla figlia. A conferma di ciò si adducono i seguenti indizi: è sacrilego tenere nel suo tempio una verga di mirto; sopra la sua

2 Egli scrive: ἄνδρα δὲ προσελθεῖν οὐ θέμις οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὀργιζομένων, αὐταὶ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὰς αἱ γυναῖκες πολλὰ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ὁμολογοῦντα δρᾶν λέγονται περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν.

3 Plu. *Cons. ad ux.* 10 (602A-D).

4 Per valutare come l'Orfismo poteva innestarsi nella ritualità e nella teologia dionisiache si legga, ad esempio, Hippol. *Haer.* 5.15, secondo cui l'Orfismo aveva dato una interpretazione all'ombelico, come armonia, all'interno dei Baccanali dionisiaci.

5 Turcan (1988: 428-440); cf. Bernabé (1996: 80).

6 Athenag. *Leg.* 20.

7 *Alex. fr.* 63 Kannicht.

8 Statuetta bronzea ai Musei Civici di Trieste: Brouwer (1989: tav. XXXVIII, 121); statuetta marmorea dal Museo Universitario di Bonn: Brouwer (1989: tav. XLII-XLIII, 126); disegno di statua da Nîmes: Brouwer (1989: tav. LII, 136).

9 Macrobi. (da Varrone) 1.12.25.

10 Cf. in particolare Plu. *Alex.* 2.

11 Plu. *Caes.* 9.

12 Macrobi. (da Varrone) 1.12.21-25.

testa si ramifica una vite, con cui il padre specialmente tentò di sedurla; nel suo tempio è usanza introdurre il vino sotto altro nome, in quanto il recipiente è chiamato vaso da miele ed il vino latte; i serpenti nel suo tempio appaiono indifferenti, senza atterrire né essere atterriti.

Alcuni particolari di questo racconto sono presenti anche nelle *Aetia Romanae* di Plutarco.¹³ In altra sede¹⁴ ho sottolineato come i sarcofagi dionisiaci di età imperiale¹⁵ siano una rappresentazione di riti femminili per questa dea, o per le sue omologhe greche (Semele, Arianna), riti che si rivelano consistere nella hierogamia di Dioniso e Arianna. Due elementi specifici provano il legame fra l'*imagerie* dionisiaca dei sarcofagi e il ciclo mitico-rituale di Bona Dea: la presenza di Fauno-Pan, padre o marito di Fauna, e la presenza di Ercole e Omphale. Nei cortei di Menadi e Satiri, che accompagnano Dioniso, è infatti sempre presente Fauno, che scopre Arianna; in genere egli si trova sopra o presso il cesto, o setaccio, dionisiaco dal quale fuoriesce un serpente. Questo particolare non pare avere molto senso secondo la mitologia dionisiaca greca, mentre trovava un senso nelle cerimonie notturne per Fauna-Bona Dea. Anche la presenza di Ercole nel tiaso dionisiaco non ha molto senso, se teniamo conto di quanto sappiamo della mitologia greca, mentre Ercole, a Roma, svolgeva un ruolo importante nelle cerimonie di Bona Dea, visto che Properzio¹⁶ narra il suo arrivo presso il bosco sacro della dea, dove egli non fu fatto entrare dalle donne, anche se chiedeva solo di bere dell'acqua, motivo per cui egli escluse le donne dai riti all'Ara Massima.

Per altro verso, Fauno è al centro di un mito narrato da Ovidio,¹⁷ secondo cui Omphale stava per celebrare un rito dionisiaco, vestita con la pelle di leone, mentre Eracle era vestito con i gioielli di lei. Pan, credendo di unirsi a lei, ebbe un approccio con Ercole, il quale lo fece cadere per terra con una gomitata. Questa scena, che Ovidio descrive per spiegare la nudità dei Luperci, sacerdoti di Fauno-Luperco, è ripetuta più volte sui sarcofagi dionisiaci, nei quali l'eroe compare spesso in atto di suonare la lira o di tenere la torcia nuziale. Un sarcofago dionisiaco dei Musei Vaticani¹⁸ mostra anche la regina di Lidia, nuda ma con la *leontè*; e inoltre si può notare che l'atteggiamento poco maschile di Ercole sui sarcofagi dionisiaci presuppone

13 Plu. *Aet. Gr. Rom.* 268D–E.

14 Convegno della Società Europea di Storia delle Religioni, Messina, 13–17 settembre 2009; Convegno *Politiche religiose nel mondo antico e tardoantico*, Firenze 24–26 settembre 2009, entrambi in corso di pubblicazione.

15 Sui quali vedano soprattutto Turcan (1966), Matz (1968–1969 = *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* IV.1–3).

16 Prop. 4.9.

17 Ou. *Fast.* 4.313–330.

18 Un tempo era conservato nel Cortile della pigna: Matz (1968–1969: I, no. 41, pl. 40), Turcan (1962: 595–606).

necessariamente la sua subordinazione ad Omphale. In effetti, egli poteva prender parte a quelle cerimonie femminili perché non aveva un aspetto e un comportamento maschile. Anche Clodio, peraltro, come l'Ercole dei sarcofagi dionisiaci, era vestito da donna e suonava la cetra durante la festa di Bona Dea.

Dunque possiamo tornare alla testimonianza di Plutarco, secondo cui "I Frigi credono Bona Dea una loro dea e dicono che era la madre del re Mida". Il ruolo di Omphale e dell'Ercole effeminato si pone entro quella che gli antichi chiamavano la "religione dei Frigi", e questo chiarisce l'identificazione di Bona Dea con la madre di Mida, re dei Frigi, ed insieme apre la strada ad un'interpretazione specifica dell'Orfismo di Bona Dea. I caratteri dionisiaci dei riti di Bona Dea potrebbero infatti bastare per spiegare l'analogia fra quei riti e quelli orfici, vista l'importanza del Dionisismo all'interno delle dottrine orfiche, ma c'era probabilmente qualche elemento specifico del culto romano che rinviava all'Orfismo.

I sarcofagi dionisiaci mostrano spesso Ercole che suona la cetra, nel medesimo atteggiamento dell'Ercole Musagete, la cui statua era stata dedicata a Roma da Fulvio Nobiliore, dopo le vittorie conseguite in Etolia nel 189 e dopo che aveva appreso dai Greci questo peculiare aspetto di Ercole.¹⁹ Quello delle Muse che insegnarono la musica ai Lidi²⁰ è un tema mitico lidio, o attribuito ai Lidii, i quali, insieme ai Frigi, erano famosi per l'introduzione della musica e degli strumenti musicali, usati nei cortei della Magna Madre.²¹ Lo stesso Mida era ritenuto un esperto di musica.²²

La madre di Mida, secondo una tradizione, sarebbe stata la stessa Madre degli Dei.²³ Quando Plutarco dice che i Frigi ritengono Bona Dea una loro dea, probabilmente fa riferimento alla Magna Mater. Esichio²⁴ afferma che Mida (al femminile) era una dea, venerata da coloro su cui aveva regnato, ma secondo altri ella era la madre di Mida.

Omphale era considerata anche una contemporanea di Mida, il quale venne giudicato come un rammollito e un effeminato,²⁵ al pari di Ercole.

19 Eumen. *pro rest. schol.* 7.8; Cic. *pro Arch.* 27; Plu. *Aet. Gr. Rom.* 59; sulla statua di Ercole con la lira: Plin. *HN* 35.66; Ou. *Fast.* 6.812; cf. Ou. *AA* 3.168 e i denarii di Pomponio Musa.

20 Nic. Dam. *FGH* 90, F 15.

21 Sui primi inventori della musica cf. per es. Plin. *HN* 7.204: "*musicam Amphion, fistulam et monaulum Pan Mercuri, obliquam tibiam Midas in Phrygia, geminas tibias Marsyas in eadem gente, Lydios modulos Amphion, Dorios Thamyras Thrax, Phrygios Marsyas Phryx, citharam Amphion, ut alii, Orpheus, ut alii, Linus*".

22 Ou. *Met.* 11.174; Hyg. *Fab.* 191 (circa il famoso concorso musicale fra Marsia e Apollo, in cui egli fu giudice); Eust. *ad Il.* 24.721, p. 1372.31-32.

23 Hyg. *Fab.* 191; 274. Secondo Amm. Marc. 22.9.7 (da Teopompo) Mida portò l'idolo di culto della Magna Mater.

24 Hsch, s. v. *Mida theós*.

25 Athen. 2.2, 76; Clearch. fr. 43a Wehrli, *ap.* Athen. 14.515E-516C.

I rapporti fra Mida, Dioniso e il vino sono notissimi, specie per il mito della cattura del Satiro o del Sileno da parte del re, grazie al vino versato nella fonte dove il seguace di Dioniso andava a bere.²⁶

La tradizione sulla sapienza divina di Mida è una premessa interessante per capire la natura orfica dei riti di *Bona Dea*, la divinità che veniva identificata con la madre di Mida. Si diceva infatti che il Sileno che Mida aveva catturato venisse da lui interrogato su questioni riguardanti la vita, la felicità, la natura e le sue origini.²⁷ Le rivelazioni fatte dal Sileno frigio sarebbero state messe per iscritto e usate dai filosofi.²⁸ Si disse anche che Mida chiese al Sileno, e non a Dioniso, di togliergli la facoltà di trasformare in oro tutto ciò che toccava, facendolo tornare povero.²⁹

Il Sileno era un personaggio particolarmente legato alla regione costiera della Tracia, visto che campeggia sulla monetazione di Mende. Siamo vicini alla patria di Orfeo, del quale Mida fu considerato allievo. Ovidio infatti scrive:

Li (presso il fiume Pattolo) si radunò il suo solito séguito di Satiri e Baccanti; mancava solo Sileno. Barcollante per gli anni e il vino, l'avevano sorpreso i contadini della Frigia e inghirlandato l'avevano condotto dal re Mida, che dal tracio Orfeo insieme all'ateniese Eumolpo era stato iniziato ai riti sacri.³⁰

Parimenti scrive Clemente Alessandrino:

Possa andare in rovina colui che dette origine a questo inganno per gli uomini, sia lui Dardano, che insegnò i misteri della Madre degli dei, sia Eezione, che fondò i riti sacri e le iniziazioni di Samotraccia, sia quel Mida di Frigia, che apprese dall'Ordiso e poi trasmise ai suoi sudditi quell'imbroglio.³¹

26 X. An. 1.2.13; Alex. Polyh. in Plu. *De fluv.* 10; Ou. *Met.* 11.85ss.; Paus. 1.4.5; Suid. s. v. *Midas* ecc.

27 Seru. *Buc.* 6.13 (= Theopompus, FGH 115, F 75b): *is enim apprehensum Silenum a Midae regis pastoribus dicit, crapula madentem et ex ea soporatum; illos dolo adgressos dormientem vinxisse; postea vinculis sponte labentibus liberatum de rebus naturalibus et antiquis Midae interroganti disputavisse.* Cic. *Tusc.* 1.114: *docuisset regem non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori.* Cf. anche; Ps.-Plu. *Cons. ad Apoll.* 115B-D = Arist. fr. 44 Rose; Ael. *VH* 3.18 = Theopomp. *Hist.*, FGH 115, F 75c; Tert. *Adv. Hermog.* 25 = Theopomp. *Hist.* FGH 115, F 75e: *nisi si et Sileno illi apud Midam regem adseveranti de alio orbe credendum est auctore Theopompo.*

28 Tert. *An.* 2.3.

29 Max. Tyr. 5.1D. Mida era ritenuto anche esperto di mantica e presagi: Cic. *Diu.* 1.78; 2.66; Val. Max. 1.6(ext).2-3; Arr. *An.* 2.3; Callisth. *Olynth.* FGH 124, F, 56; Philostr. *VA* 6.27, secondo il quale Mida partecipò della natura dei Satiri e pronunciò vaticini. Il fatto che Apollo avesse fatto crescere le orecchie d'asino a Mida spiega la sua natura in parte satiresca.

30 Ou. *Met.* 11.89-93.

31 Clem. Al. *Prot.* 2.13.3.

Eusebio di Cesarea riprende da lui la medesima notizia,³² mentre in Fozio si legge:

Per primo quanto riguarda Mida e i Frigi: costui ottenne casualmente un tesoro e in genere arrivò a una grande ricchezza, fu ascoltatore di Orfeo in Pieria e con vari sistemi regnò sui Frigi.³³

Uno scolio a Clemente Alessandrino ci spiega quali misteri egli apprese da Orfeo:

Mida, re dei Galati, si dice che dall'Odriso, re dei Traci, apprese i misteri di Rea e li trasmise ai suoi sudditi.³⁴

Probabilmente lo scoliasta non aveva capito che l'Odriso era Orfeo. Anche un brano di Polieno parla di Mida come promotore delle iniziazioni:

Mida voleva celebrare un rito iniziatico notturno per i Grandi Dei e condusse fuori i Frigi con flauti, timpani e cimbali ma con dei pugnali nascosti. I cittadini uscirono fuori di casa per vedere e i suonatori di timpani e cimbali ammazzarono gli spettatori, si impadronirono delle case aperte e proclamarono Mida tiranno.³⁵

I misteri in questione erano quelli che molti autori di età imperiale chiamano i "misteri dei Frigi". Ippolito³⁶ asserisce che quelli dei Frigi precedettero i misteri eleusini e conoscevano il mistero della spiga di grano tagliata. In un altro brano³⁷ lo stesso autore asserisce che i Frigi invocavano Attis come identico a Pan e Bacco.

In questa sede non è il caso di definire ulteriormente la natura dei misteri dei Frigi, perché è chiaro a sufficienza che si tratta dei riti per la Magna Mater, per i Grandi Dei (o Cabiri) e per Bacco.

Ora cerchiamo di vedere perché un culto romano, legato a un dio antichissimo del Lazio come Fauno, fosse stato influenzato dai misteri orfici frigi. La natura orfica delle cerimonie frigie e di Bona Dea si spiega col fatto che i misteri più famosi venivano attribuiti al cantore ispirato.³⁸ Non è neppure chiaro se Plutarco, definendo come orfiche le cerimonie segrete di Bona Dea, facesse riferimento a dottrine religiose romane oppure se stesse riconoscendo in quelle cerimonie le medesime caratteristiche orfiche presenti in analoghe cerimonie greche.

I riti nella casa del sommo magistrato erano di carattere orgiastico e musicale. Lo stesso Clodio vi prese parte suonando la cetra in abiti femminili, come Ercole presso Omphale. Questo, per altro, era lo strumento musicale di Orfeo.

32 Eus. *PE* 3.11.

33 Cod. 186, Bekker p. 130b.

34 Sch. Clem. Al. *Prot.* 3.12 (p. 301 Stählin – Treu = 190 Marcovich).

35 Polyaen. 7.5.1.

36 Hyppol. *Haer.* 5.8.39–40.

37 Hyppol. *Haer.* 5.9.8.

38 Per Eleusi cf. Graf (1974).

La ragione per cui un culto autenticamente romano poté assumere dei tratti anatolici si spiega attraverso il mito troiano, che aveva reso i Romani parenti dei popoli anatolici. In altra sede³⁹ ho sottolineato come i Romani avessero dimostrato uno scarso fervore nei confronti dei misteri eleusini, cui erano stati ammessi, perché essi non si consideravano greci, mentre avessero accettato con maggiore entusiasmo di essere iniziati ai misteri di Samotracia⁴⁰ ed avessero reinterpretato alcune loro divinità per farne la versione romana dei Grandi Dei di Samotracia perché quei misteri erano stati fondati dai capostipiti dei Troiani. La cultualità di Cibele accomunò Romani e popoli anatolici, anche in nome delle origini troiane dei Romani. Quando la cittadinanza romana fu estesa a tutti gli Italici (nel 90 e nel 49 a. C.), le parentele anatoliche assunsero un nuovo significato per popoli come gli Etruschi e i Veneti, che potevano trovare opportuno enfatizzare i rispettivi legami con i Lidii e con i Paflagoni, parenti e alleati dei Troiani. Fu così che fu elaborata, ad esempio, la leggenda etrusca di Dardano.⁴¹ All'epoca dell'imperatore Tiberio a Sardi si mostrava un decreto degli Etruschi che celebrava le comuni origini e il mito di Lido e Tirreno,⁴² di erodotea memoria. In età augustea si credeva che Atys e Tirreno fossero figli di Eracle e Omphale.⁴³ Si diceva anche che gli Etruschi avevano come Penati Cerere, Pales e Fortuna, e che ciò derivasse da Mida, re dei Dardani, re di Frigia.⁴⁴ Pertanto l'identificazione di Bona Dea con la madre di Mida dev'essere considerata il risultato di una visione condivisa fra Romani e genti anatoliche in epoca tardo-repubblicana, volta a ribadire l'origine troiana dei Romani, la parentela con i popoli anatolici e le buone relazioni intercorrenti fra loro. Da tutto ciò derivava la natura orfica del culto segreto di Bona Dea, che sarebbe stata tramandata fin dal tempo del re Mida, allievo di Orfeo e contemporaneo di Omphale ed Ercole.

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39 Mastrocinque (2009: 32–38).

40 Cf. Cole (1984). Sul santuario dei misteri degli dei di Samotracia nella stessa Ilio: Lawall (2003).

41 Colonna (1980: 2–5); cf. anche Sordi (1964).

42 Tac. *Ann.* 4.55.

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43. Note to OF 586: κρανιάρχης

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In chapter V of A. Bernabé's *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, in section *de Orphei sectatoribus*, we take interest in, under OF 586, one of several inscriptions that illustrate the flourishing of associations of mystic type and some Orphic heritage¹ during the imperial period, especially in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Thrace and Moesia. As it has been observed² as opposed to the *Orpheotelestai* of previous periods, which acted independently, this kind of associations are characterized more for their dependence from the State, their sedentary condition, meaning their bond with a sacred place, and especially for the wider range of posts, functions and internal hierarchies.

The case we are going to discuss³ is a list of members of an association (σπειρά), created by the chief of the association, the σπειράρχης, at his own expense, ἱερωσύνης χάριν, with the purpose of “dar lostro al proprio officio sacro” (Guarducci 1978: 189). Next to the names of some of the members are the posts that they hold in the association. Some of them have previously appeared in other texts, or are relatively easy to analyze, as the σπειράρχης, the ἀρχιμύστης, the ἀρχιβουκόλος the ναρθηκοφόρος, the κισταφόρος, the λυχνοάπτρια, etc.⁴ On the contrary, the interpretation of some is more open to discussion and problematic. This is particularly the case with the presence of three κουρής (ll. 21–23), one σειστημάρχης (l. 23) and one κρανιάρχης (l. 26).⁵

1 A quite complete catalogue of these inscriptions can be found in the second volume of Jaccottet's documented monograph (2003). The most famous for the wealth of information it contains is Torre Nova's, in Latium, from mid-II century AD: *IUrb. Rom.* 160, cf. Guarducci (1978: 183–189), Jaccottet (2003: 302–311, n. 188).

2 A good summary of these texts can be found in Jiménez (2008: 1469–1481). Also see Nilsson (1957: 45–66).

3 *IGBulg.* 3(1).1517 comes from Cillae, in Thrace, close to Philippopolis, and can be dated with precision between 241 and 244 AD. Guarducci (1978: 189), Moretti (1986: 247–249), Morand (2001: 265–266), Slavova (2002) and Jaccottet (2003: II, 95–97, n. 47) have studied this inscription among others.

4 See Slavova (2002: 141–143, 148), Turcan (2003: 49 ff.).

5 Both συστημάρχης and κρανιάρχης are not present in *LSJ*'s dictionary and *LSJ Revised Supplement*.

Before we analyze the latter, we will study the first two because their interpretation is related. Regarding the first, Moretti (1986: 248) simply describes them as “danzatori”. For Merkelbach (1988: 84) and Slavova (2002: 142) they are related with the Orphic myth of the child Dionysus and the Titans. Their function would be to reproduce the dances, which in the myth was performed by the Curetes who watched over Dionysus, cf. Bernabé (2008a: 319; 2008b: 600). Slavova insists also on their condition as “armed mystai” (cf. *infra*).⁶ Regarding the second, authors seem to agree on considering it, following Mihailov’s suggestion, a latter spelling of συστημάρχης. For Slavova, it means the “chief of a σύστημα”, that is, of a lower subdivision of the σπεῖρα. The word σύστημα may refer to a body, a group or a contingent of persons with political, ethnic or military interests, to a professional corporation, and finally to a religious⁷ group, club or association. Moretti simply considers him the chief of the Curetes “danzatori”, what in my opinion is quite plausible if we take into account its place in the inscription, lined up next to the names of the three Curetes. Slavova, on the contrary, thinks that the chief of the “armed Curetes” is no other than the κρανιάρχης, a term which has puzzled some of the researchers previously quoted⁸ and which she links with κράνεια ‘cornel, cherry’, a word which we also find substantivated in two Hellenistic epigrams with the meaning of ‘spear of cornel-wood’.⁹ The κρανιάρχης would be for Slavova the chief of the Curetes, armed with a spear made of cornel-wood, something like the “lancer chief”, the “chief of the spears”.¹⁰

- 6 Surprisingly, Slavova does not mention the fact that the upper side of the stele is decorated with a triangular seal “in qua scutum et lancea ficta sunt”, cf. Morand (2001: 265). The shield and the spear are traditional attributes of the Curetes, cf. Bernabé (2008a: 315). There is another example of κουρῆς in singular form, in a non-Dionysiac context, in an inscription from Odessos from the imperial period: Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀπολλοδώρου κ. εὐποσιάρχης (*IGBulg.* 1².167). However, in *IG-Bulg.* 1².23 (Dionysopolis III AD) κουρῆς is clearly a proper name. Jaccottet (2003: vol. II, 100) is mistaken when she considers that in our inscription κουρῆς is also a proper name in the three cases, arguing that in another case the third one would also hold the post of σειστημάρχης. This is not the case because, as Mihailov already observed, this name is written in three separate lines, in parallel with the names of the three Curetes. It is a fourth person.
- 7 Cf. *LSJ Rev. Suppl.* s. v. 2. For this last use, besides Slavova’s quote which links the term to the cult of Dionysus (D.S. 4.3.3 τὰς δε γυναῖκας κατὰ συστήματα θυσιάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν), see other references in Turcan (2003: 87), especially a fragmentary inscription from Argos (*IG IV* 659) in which σύστημα (l. 22) could be the name of an association of μύσται of the Mother of the Gods.
- 8 Cf. Guarducci (1978: 189): “not easy to explain”; Moretti (1986: 248): “new and mysterious”, Jaccottet (2003: 100); Jiménez (2008: 1480): “in charge of the skull, of the cherry tree?”.
- 9 μαινὰς Ἐνναλίου πολεμαδόκε, θοῦρι κράνεια *AP* 6.122 (Nicias), ἔσταθι τᾷδε, κράνεια βροτοκτόνε *AP* 6.123 (Anyt.). Cf. also κρανία· τόξον Hsch.
- 10 A. Bernabé takes note of these interpretations in the critical apparatus of his edition *OF* 586.

At this point it is relevant to recall an inscription from Thessalonika, also from the middle of century III AD, already published in 1999, and which has tended to be overlooked. It is a new catalogue of members of a Dionysiac σπείρα, in many cases accompanied by the name of the post or function they performed in the association (ἀρχιγάλλαρος, [ναρθη]κοφόρος, νεβριαφόρος, παλεομύστης, etc.) just as in Cillae. For its characteristics, it could well have been included in A. Bernabé's *Orphicorum Fragmenta*.¹¹

Among the many novelties it presents, it is interesting to notice the fact that two of the posts which we could consider 'directors' are repeated several times. One of them is the ἀρχιμύστης, which is mentioned four times (ll. 2, 14, 15, 16), probably five (cf. l. 3 μύστης). The other one is the ἀρχικραν(ε)άρχης, which is mentioned three times (ll. 3, 7 y 17), but probably five as well.¹² This fact, together with other indications from other inscriptions that Nigdelis quotes, proves that in this type of associations there might be internal subdivisions, especially when their size was large. It is clear that some posts performed their activities in the frame of the σπείρα (the ἱερεύς, the ναρθηκοφόρος, etc.) and others in the frame of lower units, if there were any. In Cillae there were none and we only find one ἀρχιμύστης and one κρανιάρχης, while in Thessalonika we probably find five ἀρχιμύσται and five ἀρχικραν(ε)άρχαι, one of which apparently occupied both positions at the same time (cf. l. 3 μύστης ἀρχικραν(ε)άρχης). Each of the latter probably performed their function in one of the five groups commanded by the ἀρχιμύσται. But, what was their responsibility? Chaniotis, in both publications quoted in note 11, succinctly refers to one obscure gloss by Hesychius: κραναοίκον· μοῖρά τις τοῦ ἱερείου.¹³ Nigdelis (2006: 117) tentatively accepts this connection: the ἀρχικρανάρχης would be in charge of distributing the sacrificed victims among the members of the association.

Apart from this, it is convenient to make a couple of brief considerations. First, we must take into account that the association not only had, as is usual, one ἱερεύς (l. 10), but also one ἀρχιμαγαρεὺς ἀθύτου (l. 5), assisted by a μαγαρεὺς (l. 18 and two μαγάρισσαι (ll. 13 and 15). This presumes the

11 Archaeologists Lioutas and Mandaki (1977 [1999]: 371–374) were in charge of the first edition; they presented a provisional text, with some reading errors. It was reviewed in *BE* 2000.471 and also by Chaniotis (1999, n. 144), before it was included in *SEG* 49: 814 (2002), where Chaniotis contributed with some improvements to the text. Finally, a revised edition with an extensive commentary by Nigdelis (2006: 101–128) was published. This final version has now been reproduced in *SEG* 56: 754 (2010).

12 It appears as ἀρχικρανεάρχης in the ll. 3 and 17 and as ἀρχικρανάρχης in l. 7. In the two other passages the word is broken: l. 8 κρ]ανεάρχης, l. 13 κ]ρανάρχης.

13 Latte edits the gloss previously adding a *crux*, and writes in a note “latet compos. in -χοριον”, that is, the placenta and the intestines, the guts in general. Latte surely had in mind fragments with cooking topics like Eub. 109.4: μήτραν, χόρια, πύον, λάβρακος κρανίον.

presence of a μάγαρον, a term which we know from other inscriptions and which probably designated an artificial underground space where the sacrifices of the association were made. According to Nigdelis (2006: 115–117), the ἀρχιμαγαρεὺς αὐτοῦ would be in charge of choosing the suitable victims and of preparing the food together with his assistants for the members of the association. The presence of five people, with a title as high-blown as ἀρχικρανάρχης,¹⁴ in charge of a function as secondary as distributing food, sounds unlikely.

On the other hand, both Slavova's aforementioned hypothesis and Chaniotis' presume a quite unusual compound in -άρχης, because it is formed from the name of a thing. Effectively, this kind of compounds in -άρχης usually stem of the name of a group or from of the name of a place or space which refers directly or indirectly to a group of people, especially in the religious (σπειράρχης, βεννάρχης, etc.), military (δεκατάρχης, ἱλάρχης, etc.), political-administrative sphere (ἐμποριάρχης, νομάρχης, etc.), or from the field of professions and trades (ἐργαστηριάρχης, μυλωνάρχης, etc.). Also from the name of an activity in which a group is involved (οἰνοποισιάρχης, πανηγυριάρχης, etc.). Occasionally they may come out of an abstract name (εἰρηνάρχης, εὐθηνιάρχης, etc.). The compounds in -άρχης formed from the name of a thing are rare and in all cases assume a degree of responsibility in the activity of a group related with the object in question. Thus, the ἱστωνάρχης is the 'master weaver' or the κεραμάρχης the 'master potter'. Therefore, the root that stands at the base of the κρανιάρχης should refer to a group of persons or to a space or an activity associated with a human group and not a concrete object.

Another possible interpretation can be made out of A. Bernabé's ingenious conjecture about an old Orphic poetic fragment reconstructed out of different sources in prose, *OF* 121: (ἐκ δὲ) σχισθέντος κρανίου πολυχανδέος ὠιοῦ / ἐξέθορε πρῶτιστος (Φάνης). Bernabé speculates on the existence of a diminutive κρανίον, of κράνος 'helmet', a derivative with the meaning of 'shell' (of the egg from which Phanes came out).¹⁵ We could find a possible link with this root assuming κράνος or κρανίον bear the meaning of 'vault' or '(subterranean) vaulted camera'. This type of space is documented, in Torre Nova, where we find two ἀντροφύλακες, in three inscriptions of Cal-

14 In my opinion, this double compound was redundant, equivalent to Cillae's simple κρανιάρχης. Other compounds which present the same phenomenon are ἀρχιμεταλλάρχης (*Pan* 51.6), a person, which in another inscriptions is simply called μεταλάρχης (*Koptos* 41), and probably the ἀρχιγερουσιάρχης quoted in *JWEur*.2.521 (Roma III/IV AD), cf. Horsley (1982: 18).

15 "κρανίου mea sententia diminutivum (cf. κράνος 'galea') 'οὐι putaminis' metaphorice significans". Also see Bernabé's own translation (2003: 112): "y, una vez rota la descomunal cáscara del huevo, saltó el primerísimo (Fanes)". Cf. also Bernabé (2008a: 312).

latis. One of them (*ICallatis* 61.3, I AD) commemorates the consecration of one ἄντρον to Dionysos and to the members of the thiasus. Another (*ICallatis* 44.42, I AD) calls this space μυχός. A third one (*ICallatis* 35.39–40, III BC), which refers to the same association and apparently to the same space as the previous, mentions the construction of ἀλέαν εἰς τὸ θύρωμα κοίλαν καὶ ψαλίδας among the maintenance works of Dionysus temple. The last researchers who have studied this inscription agree on seeing these ψαλίδες as vaulted subterranean chambers where Bacchic ceremonies were performed.¹⁶ In our case, the κρανιάρχης or ἀρχικραν(ε)άρχης would be the chief of each κρίνος, the vaulted rooms where the μύσται groups met, each commanded by their corresponding ἀρχιμύστης.

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16 Cf. Avram (1999: 298–300), Jaccottet (2003: I, 152–154; II, 114).

44. Theophrastus, *Characters* 16.12: Orphism or Rhetoric? (OF 654)

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In the whole of Greek extant literature the word Ὀρφεοτελεστής appears in just three instances,¹ the earliest of which is Theophrastus, *Characters* 16.12, regarding the superstitious' behaviour, which I will be dealing with in this paper:

καὶ τελεσθισόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστὰς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικός (ἐὰν δὲ μὴ σχολάζῃ ἡ γυνή, μετὰ τῆς τίτθης) καὶ τῶν παιδίων.² He makes a monthly visit to the Orphic ritualists to take the sacrament, accompanied by his wife (or if she is busy, the nurse) and his children.

In this passage, it is precisely the compound Ὀρφεοτελεστὰς that relates the superstitious man's practices with Orphism as such, since both τελεστής and τελέω may in principle be referred to any other type of mystic rites, as can be seen from another passage in Theophrastus' work itself, namely 27.8, regarding the late learner: τελούμενος τῷ Σαβαζίῳ.³ In 16.12, as in 27.8, the passive participle (τελεσθισόμενος) refers to the person on whom the rites are performed, the construction thus being absolutely normal. It is the rest of the elements in the sentence that are problematic; in the first place, the phrase κατὰ μῆνα, implying the repetition of the rites every month, and, in the second place, the superstitious man's company: his wife (or the nurse, if the former is otherwise engaged) and the children.

The first one of the two difficulties is connected with a certain ambiguity in the semantics of the verb: as it is defined in *LSJ* s. ν. τελέω, in a religious

1 Apart from Theophrastus' text, quoted below, a passage from Philodemus' *De Poem.* in *P.Herc.* 1074, fr. 30 and another one from Plutarchus, *Apophth. Lac.* 224E. In Bernabé's edition (OF 2005) they have been assigned OF 654, 655 and 653, respectively.

2 When quoting from the *Characters*' text or referring to its textual tradition, I will be following Diggle's edition (2004). I will also quote from his translation.

3 Cf. Burkert (1987: 9) "Such a term (τελεῖν) becomes specific, however, when used with a personal object and with a god's name in the dative: to perform a ritual on a person for a specific god is the same as to 'initiate' this person". In this case, because the verb is a middle-passive form (τελούμενος), its subject (the late learner) is the equivalent to the personal object, and we only have the dative.

sense, means ‘initiate in the mysteries’. This meaning has a rather punctual value which seems to contradict the distributive meaning of κατά. Regardless of this passage, however, we know that initiates repeated certain rites as part of the Ὀρφικὸς βίος in order to preserve the purity that was required from them in their lives.⁴ A different question would be that concerning how often an initiate would be expected to perform these rites.⁵ In my view, whether we take the verb in the middle voice to mean ‘to have oneself initiated’, as in *LSJ*, s. v., or to have a more general meaning, as of being the object of the rites or τελεταί in a broader sense, and not only in that of the first initiation,⁶ the choice of the future in the participial form is certainly significant in the understanding of the text. As opposed to the present form (τελούμενος), or even the perfect one (τετελεσμένος),⁷ presenting the individual as the mere object of the actions of the Ὀρφεοτελεστής, the future participle adds a strong component of intentionality on the part of the individual, longing to be the object of those rites (whether of initiation or purification), which makes him being actively involved in the process. It is in this sense that κατά μῆνα is coherent with the verbal form: it effectively portrays the superstitious man’s obsession with his “salvation”.⁸ This is by no means an unusual device in the *Characters*; repetition, both in a general sense and in the more restricted one of particular actions, as is the case here,⁹ is widely used in Theophrastus’ work to caricature his characters. Notice how the following passages parallel ours:

4 Cf. Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 786–787).

5 References to frequency of mystic rites seem to point to annual, rather than monthly, celebrations; cf. Hdt. 2.171, on Thesmophoria. Annual celebrations, on the other hand, are typical of well established mysteries such as those in Eleusis; in the case of the Orpheotelestes, however, rites would be performed by request of his own clients, since these were personalised mysteries.

6 Thus Diggle (2004: 369), who sees a peculiar use of the verb in this case: “here, since the visits are monthly, not ‘to be initiated’ but (something like) ‘to be consecrated’, ‘to be a participant in the rites’”.

7 Indeed, this would be the form to expect if we assume the usual meaning for the verb in its middle voice, ‘to have oneself initiated’; i. e. once the superstitious had been initiated, he would go back to the priests every month. Nonetheless, it is true that the perfect participle in Plato, *Phd.* 69c, associated with κεκαθαρμένος, could be understood as expressing the result of having been performed on and accomplished all the due rites in the initiate’s life: ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκεῖσε (to Hades) ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει. We seem to be dealing here with the same apparent double meaning of the verb: to have oneself initiated, in particular, or to be the object of the mystic rites, in general.

8 Cf. Guthrie (1952: 202), who recognises “a humorous exaggeration in the words ‘every month’”.

9 On the use of repetition and exaggeration with a comical effect in the *Characters*, see my commentary to the work in Nodar (2010: 168–171).

καὶ τοὺς ὄρους δ' ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι ὁσημέραι εἰ διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί. (10.9)

(said of the penny-pincher): He inspects his boundaries every day to see if they have been altered.

καὶ φέρειν αὐτὸς τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ κατὰ στάδιον καθίζων ἀριθμεῖν πόσον ἐστί· (18.3)

(of the distrustful man): He carries his own money with him and sits down every two hundred yards to count it.

Καὶ ἀναθεῖς δάκτυλον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖ τούτον ἐκτρίβειν στεφανοῦν ἀλείφειν ὁσημέραι. (21.10)

(of the man of petty ambition): He dedicates a bronze finger in the sanctuary of Asclepius and does not let a day pass without polishing, garlanding, and oiling it.

Thus, it might well be that, rather than specifying the exact frequency with which the superstitious man repeats his rites, the prepositional phrase is meant to convey the obsessive character of the man's superstition.

Another – longer – prepositional phrase expressing company follows that expressing time. In principle, nothing is against the participation of the superstitious man's wife in the Orphic rites,¹⁰ but it is certainly strange that she should be replaced by the nurse in case her many occupations prevented her from attending the rites in the company of her husband,¹¹ unless her only role in this context were precisely that of carrying the children. At this point, the text is open to two possible interpretations, reflected in two different ways of punctuating it: as it appears above, where the conditional sentence finishes after the genitive τῆς τίτθης, and another one where the conditional sentence would reach the end of the period: ... ἐὰν δὲ μὴ σχολάζῃ ἡ γυνή, μετὰ τῆς τίτθης καὶ τῶν παιδίων. It seems more likely that the wife should be replaced with just the nurse, and not with both the nurse and the children.¹²

10 Women could even conduct such rites; cf., among others, the famous passage in Demosthenes about Aeschines' mother: D. 18.259, or Pl. *Men.* 81a, where the author speaks of "wise men and women who told of things divine", "priests and priestesses", in connection with metempsychosis, who therefore are very probably Orphic. On women following and conducting Orphic rites, see Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 782).

11 Some authors, presuming women led a rather inactive life in ancient Greece, have wanted to see an irony here on the part of the author, which has in its place provoked the irony of others; thus Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, in his edition and commentary to the *Characters*, and Paul Millet, as Diggle registers it (2004: 370).

12 Some editors (Navarre, Steinmetz) have interpreted παιδ^δ in V (the oldest and most reliable manuscript among those transmitting this passage) as an abbreviation of παιδίων, the word usually used by Theophrastus to designate the slaves. In this case, a group of slaves (and the nurse among them) would replace the wife, thus avoiding the association of the children with the nurse, and not with the mother. However, the manuscripts grouped under *c* and *d* (*recentiores*) present παιδίων, Theophrastus' word for children. Cf. Diggle (2004: 370).

In any case, the text rises the question of the presence of entire families in the Orphic rites (including, as it seems, domestic servants, who would very probably be slaves or, at any rate, not citizens). Apart from this passage, that of Demosthenes about Eschines' childhood, who helped his mother conduct her rites,¹³ is cited as evidence of the presence of children in the Orphic rites. In this latter case, however, we have a priestess' child learning the trade of the mother, as was customary, on the other hand, for children in the ancient world to learn the job of their parents, but we do not have children being initiated together with their parents (or nurses). West supposes that, if the myths of the Kouretes and Dionysus are to be related to ritual initiation practices, there should have existed corresponding children initiation practices,¹⁴ and it seems that it is possible to find some evidence of this.¹⁵ In no way, however, are we allowed to assume that this was an extended practice: to put it in Nilsson's words: "the admission of children to the Bacchic mysteries was exceptional".¹⁶ On the other and, apart from this passage in the *Characters*, we cannot find anywhere else the image of entire families attending Orphic rites (whether of initiation or otherwise), unless we take Plato's notice regarding Orpheotelestai "convincing" entire cities¹⁷ to imply so. Certainly, initiation of entire families might have been possible in the context of the wandering activity of the Orpheotelestai. Nevertheless, we cannot help suspecting a certain exaggeration in Plato's words in order to condemn these tricksters, just the same as we do in the description of the superstitious man, in order to draw most effectively the caricature of the character, along the lines of his obsessive superstition. It is not enough to visit the priest every month, but, in order to ensure the absence of any impurity in the household, he must take all the family with him: children and

13 D. 19.199 (cf. also 18.259, already cited).

14 West (1983: 168–169): "If both the Kouretic and the Bacchic myths reflect initiatory ritual, the implication would seem to be that the societies in question made a practice of initiating young children".

15 Thus Nilsson (1975: 106) mentions the speech by Himerius (IV CE) on the death of his child, who would soon have been initiated in the mysteries of Dionysus (8.57, 61 and 161). Nilsson (1975: 107) also adduces a relief found in Bologna, seemingly coming from Alexandria and dated to III CE, where a child can be seen with a thyrsus and a kantharos, accompanied by a funerary inscription where it is stated that the boy was three years and two months old when he died. It does not seem, however, that from Plutarch *Consolatio ad uxorem* 611D 6–10, we may safely infer that little Timoxena, the author's daughter, had been initiated in the mysteries. Nilsson himself declares in the same place (1975: 109): "In Asia Minor and the Greek countries we hear nothing of the initiation of children, except for Himerius in the fourth century".

16 Nilsson (1975: 115).

17 Pl. R. 364e5: πείθοντες οὐ μόνον ιδιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις. Cf. also Lg. 909b5–6: ιδιώτας τε καὶ ὅλας οἰκίας καὶ πόλεις χρημάτων χάριν ἐπιχειρῶσιν κατ' ἄκρας ἐξαιρεῖν, said of the same kind of tricksters.

wife or, should she not be able to attend the rites, the nurse in her place.¹⁸ The same amplification technique of the action by means of adding up elements progressively removed from the reasonable can be seen in other passages from the *Characters* with the same caricaturing effect:

Thus the shameless man in 9.5:

καὶ ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀγοράσασι μὴ δοῦς τὸ μέρος (συν)θεωρεῖν, ἄγειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν.

When his guests from abroad have bought theatre seats he joins them at the performance but does not pay his part of the cost, and next day he even brings his sons and the slave who looks after them.

Similarly in 10.6 the penny-pincher:

καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκβαλοῦσης τρίχαλκον, [οἶος] μεταφέρειν τὰ σκεύη καὶ τὰς κλῖνας καὶ τὰς κιβωτοὺς καὶ διφᾶν τὰ καλλύμματα.

When his wife drops a penny he shifts the kitchenware and the couches and the chests and rummages through the rubbish.

And in 13.10, describing the overzealous man:

καὶ γυναικὸς δὲ τελευτησάσης ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ αὐτῆς (τῆς γυναικὸς) τοῦνομα καὶ ποδαπὴ ἔστι, καὶ προσεπιγράψαι ὅτι πάντες οὗτοι χρηστοὶ ἦσαν.

He inscribes on a dead woman's tombstone the names of her husband, her father, her mother, her own name and where she comes from, and adds "They are estimable, one and all".

In all these situations, as in the one described for superstitious man, exaggeration verges on absurdity, with the consequent comical effect.

In conclusion, without denying the value of the passage in question as a testimony to the Orpheotelestes and the Orphic rites practiced in IV BC Athens, I have tried to show in this paper how rhetorical and literary devices have been used to construct this particular passage. Those devices are meant to cause a comical effect, which is noticeable in the whole of the *Characters* and in this particular chapter. It portrays the meticulous-

18 Herrero (2008: 1614–1616) rightly relates the aristocratic γένος to the expansion of Orphism, inasmuch as the aristocratic clans, progressively removed from power by democratic reforms, would ensure their superiority through Orphism as an "eschatological elitism". But testimonies to the actual initiation of entire families (2008: 1613), much more modest and not so politically relevant units, as it appears in this passage by Theophrastus, where no connection is made with the aristocratic γένος, continue to be scarce (they seem to be restricted to the instances discussed here) and suspect of exaggeration. Herrero (2008: 1616) himself recognises the exaggeration and its comical effect in the passage: "los nuevos ricos que quisieran obtener cierto estatus de nobleza seguirían con entusiasmo esta moda neoconservadora, con la exageración y comicidad propia del esnobismo que Teofrasto caricaturiza en su retrato del Supersticioso".

ness and multiplicity of the superstitious man's little rituals; those performed in private and those performed in the company of others, where we would place the visits to the Orpheotelestes. In fact, we find rituals and prescriptions belonging to the Ὀρφικὸς βίος disseminated through the whole chapter, even if they are not precisely identified as such. Thus, purifying aspersions (2, 7, 12, 13), avoidance of birth and death (9) or bloodless offerings (10).¹⁹

Not without reason does Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal warn against the risks of taking our passage too literally when it seems to present a distribution of different ritual functions among different kinds of professionals, for it might all be due to rhetorical reasons: “es posible que la distinción gremial deba mucho a la ironía de Teofrasto, que ha ridiculizado la proliferación de estos profesionales recurriendo a juegos léxicos”.²⁰ Moreover, she points out that three of those profession names are compound and begin with ο: οἱ ὄνειροκρίται, οἱ ὀρνιθοσκόποι, οἱ Ὀρφεοτελεσταί.²¹ Likewise, Alberto Bernabé, to whom this volume and paper are dedicated, expresses his doubts about the provenance of the word Ὀρφεοτελεστής itself, which, according to him, would have been coined by philosophers and intellectuals alien to Orphism.²² In this respect, ancient comedy offers parallels of compound nouns where the rather general meaning of the second element is determined – comically – by a first element which is a proper name, as is the case in Ὀρφεοτελεστής. Thus Διομειαλάζων *Acharnenses* 605 ‘a braggart of the deme Diomea’ (*LSJ*, s. v.), Θουριόμαντις *Nubes* 332 ‘a Thurian prophet’ (*LSJ*, s. v.), Μαραθωνομάχης *Acharnenses* 181 ‘one who fought at Marathon’, or the title of Antiphanes’ comedy itself *Μητραγύρης* ‘begging priest of Cybele’ (*LSJ*, s. v.). Theophrastus, who in the *Characters* shows an unequivocal intention to make us smile, seems to have used the word Ὀρφεοτελεστής with that very same comic air.

19 Cf. Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 785–796).

20 Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 777).

21 On Theophrastus’ stylistic preference for tricola in rhetorical clauses, see my commentary, Nodar (2010: 154–159).

22 Bernabé (*OF* 2004, 224).

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45. Synesius, *Dio* 7 (OF 674)*

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OF 674 is a passage by Synesius of Cyrene that includes an Orphic *sententia* also edited by Alberto Bernabé as OF 576.

The saying in question is the hexameter: πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δὲ τε Βάκχοι, “For there are many that carry the thyrsus, but few are the Bacchi”. In Dionysian rituals, the thyrsus is the staff carried by the followers of Bacchus, and is one of their main attributes. But Orphism is known to go further in its interpretation of Dionysism, as this verse seems to point out. The *sententia* first appears in Plato’s *Phaedo* (69c):

Εἰσὶν γὰρ δὴ, [ὥς] φασιν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετάς, “ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί, βάκχοι δὲ τε παῦροι”. οὗτοι δ’ εἰσὶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἄλλοι ἢ οἱ πεφίλοσοφκότες ὀρθῶς.

There are indeed, as those concerned with the mysteries say, many who carry the thyrsus, but the Bacchantes are few. These latter are, in my opinion, no other than those who have practised philosophy in the right way.

In this passage, Plato establishes a comparison between initiation into the Dionysian mysteries and initiation into true wisdom. As initiation into Dionysism, philosophy is not within the grasp of everyone, but only of those few that have practised philosophy correctly, who can be equated with purified Bacchantes of the Dionysian cults.¹

This *sententia*, ennobled by the prestige of having been quoted by Plato,² developed into an entity of its own, forming part of paremiographical literature.³ For example, it is found with a slight variation in word order in the collection by Zenobius (5.77), and probably already appeared in the anthology by Didymos, to warn of those who may dazzle with unmerited reputation: Πολλοὶ τοι ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δὲ τε Βάκχοι. Zenobius also provides another hexameter offering similar advice (5.75): Πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι, παῦροι δὲ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες; “there may be many who cast pebbles, but few prophets”.

* I would like to thank my colleague Miguel Herrero from the Complutense University for his pertinent observations.

1 Merino Rodríguez (2004).

2 Bernabé (1998).

3 Leutsch – Schneidewin (1839: 150–151).

The collection by Diogenianus includes a further variation, which is also hexametric (7.86): πολλοὶ βουκένται, παῦροι δὲ τε γῆς ἀροτῆρες; “many goad the oxen, but few plough the land”.

The structure of the sententia is usual in Greek literature of all ages and genres. It presents an antithetical parallelism found in Homer (*Od.* 2.276–277), and is also found in prose, as Herodotus (7.210.2) repeats a stylistic expression of this kind: πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες, “there were many men, but few of them true”, and Demosthenes (19.113) writes: πολλοὺς ἔφη τοὺς θορυβοῦντας εἶναι, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους, “plenty of shouters, but very few fighters”, together with other authors included in the apparatus of parallels to *OF* 576.

However, the most well-known version of this formula is found in the *Gospel of Matthew*: Πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι “So the last shall be first, and the first last” (Matth. 20.16), and more particularly, πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν κλητοὶ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί; “For many are called, but few chosen” (Matth. 22.14). Christian authors such as Theoderetus and Clement of Alexandria explicitly compare this last passage with Plato’s Orphic quote.⁴

Returning to Synesius, the sententia belongs to one of his more interesting treatises: *Dio, or, on Living by his Example*.⁵ *Dio* is a rich and complex text, a reflection on education, culture, literature and philosophy that is difficult to classify, and which has even been called an “examination of conscience”.⁶ In this opuscle, Synesius defends a holistic conception of knowledge. Rather than the excessive specialisation of the τεχνῖται, he prefers the breadth of views and the knowledge of the ἐμπειροί. Synesius himself is an erudite whose literary references occur naturally throughout his works, an example of which is the fragment chosen. The figure of Dio of Prusa, a model philosopher, intellectual and learned scholar, is used by Synesius to reflect more widely on the understanding that should preside over the relationships between Philosophy and Rhetoric. Synesius quotes Dio on various occasions, together with other authors such as Homer, and Plato in particular.⁷

In the context in which the fragment exists (*Dio* 6–8), Synesius urges us to assume our condition, our humanity. We cannot and should not equate ourselves to the gods, as to do so would be frivolous and boastful: εἰ δὲ

4 Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.19.92.3, 5.3.17.4; Thdt. *Affect.* 12.35.

5 Worthy of note among the available bibliography are the edition by Terzaghi (1944: 233–278), revised in certain aspects by Latte 1956. Also of interest are: Garzya (1989), Greek text with translation into Italian, Lamoureux – Aujoulat (2004: 91–140) Greek text with translation into French, the translation into Spanish by García Moreno (1993: 348–397), the commentary by Treu (1958) and the study of the era in which Synesius lived, by Cameron – Long – Sherry (1993), of which pages 62–69 refer specifically to the *Dio*, among other reference works.

6 Lacombrade (1978: XXXI).

7 On the literary references of the *Dio*, Piñero (1975).

λέγοιεν, ἴστων ἀντὶ θεῶν ἢ σοφῶν τε καὶ θείων ἀνδρῶν χαῦνοι καὶ ἀλαζόνες πόρρω γενόμενοι (6.38–40). We are not imperturbable, as this quality only resides in God: ἀπάθεια μὲν γὰρ ἐν θεῷ φύσει (6.40). Synesius also discusses the matter of pleasure, one of the greatest concerns of Greek thought. In his understanding, it is most realistic for us as human beings to aspire to moderation in our enjoyment of pleasure. We are not pure intellect, and each pleasure and pain nails our soul to our body and makes it physical. We must accept that we are not gods, but men. Our own nature, therefore, tends to drag us towards the material. It is precisely culture, and more specifically literature, which can reconcile us with our own humanity.

This is the context of the fragment to which this work is devoted and where Synesius describes the desert life led by anchorite monks who themselves, isolated from the world and imitating the forty days and nights that Jesus spent in the desert, withdrew to live the experience of contemplation,⁸ θεωρίαν μὲν ὑπεσχημένους (7.2: “Who professed a contemplative existence”). These monks lived in the monasteries of Nitria and Scetis, where some gathered in communities and others lived as recluses in their cells: ἀπολιτεύτους τε καὶ ἀκοινωνήτους ἀνθρώποις (7.3: “They took no part in public life, and became unsociable”). Leading a very austere existence, they devoted themselves to manual work, prayer and charity. They also ignored bodily hygiene, wore rough black clothing and ate a frugal diet of water, bread, a little oil and wild plants, thus identifying themselves with the most humble sectors of the population, which was the vast majority. They were suspicious of pleasure, worked in a communal room and sold the results of their manual labour. The most typical items were wickerwork and palm leaf baskets. Naturally, they also prayed and sang psalms. On Saturday and/or Sunday they attended church, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς σεμναὶ τε ᾠδαὶ καὶ ἱερὰ σύμβολα καὶ τακταὶ τινες πρόσοδοι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον (7.5: “They had sacred songs, holy symbols, and certain ordered approaches to the Divinity”). They refused to hold positions of power and enjoyed considerable independence from any civil authorities. However, they were seriously concerned with the problems of those most in need, and one of their chief aims was charity and to help the poor with the resources they obtained from alms and the exchange of the items they produced.

Most of these ascetics were Egyptian and could neither read nor write. They therefore learnt the Bible by memory, and were able to recite parts of it, particularly from the Old and New Testaments. They spoke no Greek or Latin, and showed no interest in it either. They spoke only Coptic, their native language, which was not one of culture. This illiteracy is indicative of their social isolation, and explains their disdain of education and pagan culture. It is sig-

8 Blázquez Martínez (1996, 1998). Also Mazzarino (1974), among many other publications.

nificant that Anthony, the monks' founder, did not even wish to attend classes, lest he be contaminated by his companions' knowledge of pagan culture. If he wished to communicate with an Alexandrian, he had to resort to another monk to act as interpreter. However, in this early era learned monks did exist, such as Ammonius and monks from high social ranks. The rejection was mutual. Pagan intellectualism, meanwhile, hated and scorned these monks. Libanius and Julian made explicit attacks on them, accusing them of being uncultured, fanatical, violent and worse. Specifically, the historian Eunapius (*Vitae Soph.* 6.11.6) describes them as men by their appearance, but pigs for their style of life, ἀνθρώπους μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, ὁ δὲ βίος αὐτοῖς συώδης.

In the *Dio*, Synesius seems to empathise with these monks who have withdrawn to the Nitria desert. By referring to them as βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους (7.1), this is not a sign of aggressiveness, but rather an allusion to the objective fact that they are Coptic, and (subtly) to their rejection of literary culture.

The fragment, as it appears in Bernabé, is as follows (7.23–32):

πολλοὶ μὲν – γὰρ – ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δὲ τε βάκχοι·
οὐδ' οὔτοι μέντοι διαρκῶς ἀνέχονται τῆς βακχείας, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἐν τῷ θεῷ
κεῖνται, νῦν δὲ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ ἴσασι ὄντες ἄνθρωποι, μικραὶ
μερίδες τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἔχοντες ἀποκειμένας ζωὰς ἐλάττους, ἃς ὑποπτεύουσι
καὶ προκαταλαμβάνουσιν, ὥς μὴ κινοῖντό τε καὶ κατεξανίσταντο. ἢ τί αὐτοῖς οἱ
κάλαθοι βούλονται; καὶ τὸ πλεγμάτια ἅττα μεταχειρίζεσθαι, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν
τῷ τότε ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπιστροφὴν πρὸς τὰ τῇδε πεποιημένοι;

For there are many that carry the thyrsus, but few are the Bacchi.

But even these men do not bear the Bacchic frenzy with sufficient patience, but at one moment they rest in the god, at another in the universe, and again in their bodies. They know that they are but men, small fragments of the universe at that, having lesser lives lying beneath them, and suspicious of these to the point of frustrating them, lest they should bestir themselves and rise against them. What, after all, is the meaning of their baskets and of the wickerwork objects which they handle, if not to signify first of all that they were human beings at a given moment; in other words, were paying attention to matters here below?

Synesius does not criticise their devotion to their manual work, nor does he consider the rigour or the austerity that presides over their lives to be useless, but he finds all the effort excessive, in the idea that we are human beings and that, however hard we may try to cancel out our physical component, this will win out in the end, as something inherent to us. What Synesius reproaches them for is their lack of a rational method to achieve the experience of contemplation. For a πεπαιδευμένος such as Synesius, the objective of virtue is not achieved all at once, or through a vertiginous and orgiastic lifestyle; it is a long road to be taken methodically and in stages throughout one's life.

In his opinion, it is precisely good literature that can help us to redirect this tendency of ours to slide towards the physical world: because human

nature tends towards pleasure, the study of the sciences and the arts provides us with a far superior enjoyment to that experienced as a result of any other kind of purely physical satisfaction. Synesius opens an intermediate way to achieve contemplation. The mind cannot be in higher matters all the time, as even those most familiarised with intellectual beauty can have their fill of it (7.15–17): καὶ οὐ δήπου πάντα ἐξῆς τὸν χρόνον ἐπιπολῆς ἔχουσι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἐμποροῦνται τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους οἷς ποτε καὶ γέγονε προστυχές.

Synesius also establishes a curious distinction between barbarians and Greeks: the former are more stubborn in maintaining an enterprise than the Greeks, whereas the Greeks make a great show of their superior intellectual curiosity.⁹

After all, philosophers and monks pursue the same objective. However, whereas philosophers strengthen their spirit after years of meticulous preparation, to achieve the same objective, monks rely on perseverance and routine rather than reason.

In other works Synesius is more visceral in expressing his opinions about these basket-weaving monks. In correspondence with his loved ones, he expresses himself more freely. In some of these letters (*Ep.* 143 and 154), Synesius criticises the monks and calls them ignorant. In the year 405, Synesius writes to Hypatia and includes with his letter a copy of the *Dio*, so that his teacher may read the opuscle and cast judgement on the work before its publication.¹⁰ “After me, you are the first of the Greeks that shall read them” (*Ep.* 154.112–114). Synesius confesses that he feels attacked from two sides, by “those who wear white mantles and those who wear black mantles”: the first are philosophers; the second are monks. He criticises those who think that one must hate literature to be a philosopher, and justifies his own effort to express his ideas with beauty.

It is worth noting in this fragment that Synesius does not include the quote with the word order presented by Plato, but rather in the order in which it appears in the collection produced by Zenobius in Alexandria. This word order is exactly the same as the wording used in the maxim by Olympiodorus, another celebrated representative of Neo-Platonism, the philosophical school of thought that includes Synesius.¹¹ It seems, therefore,

9 7.46. For Synesius, “Hellenism” is an exclusively cultural concept referring to a common civilised world, with no religious connotation.

10 Even when he was bishop, Synesius continues to call her μήτηρ καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ διδάσκαλε (*Ep.* 16). References for the figure of Hypatia include the study by Dzielska (1996) and the article by Blázquez Martínez (2004), among others. In 2009, and with wide media coverage, the film *Agora* was released, a Spanish superproduction by Alejandro Amenábar, with Hypatia of Alexandria as the protagonist, played by Rachel Weisz, and with the appearance of Synesius of Cyrene, portrayed by Rupert Evans.

11 Much has been written and discussed about the paganism of Synesius, his conversion to Christianity and his Platonism and/or Neo-Platonism. This is a complex

that Synesius quotes an already proverbial expression from memory, or perhaps following a scholarly edition rather than the original text by Plato, in the same tradition as the subsequent Alexandrian Neo-Platonism. However, in the late second century, Clement of Alexandria, the maximum exponent of Christian integration with Greek philosophy, quotes the verse with the same word order as Plato, who he cites as a direct source.¹² Like Clement, Synesius adapts his interpretation to his ideology and to the situation of Alexandrian Christianity, although two centuries of distance imply large differences in that context, and consequently in the Christian interpretation of the Orphic *sententia*.

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issue that remains open, and on which the 1993 study by Cameron includes various opinions and bibliographic references to the subject.

12 Cf. n. 4.

46. Critical Notes to OF 683

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The fragment OF 683 consists of two quotations from *Treatise* I attributed to rhetor Menander: 333.12.6 ff. and 337.24.14 ff., respectively, of the edition by Russell-Wilson:¹

(I) φυσικοὶ δὲ ὁποῖους οἱ περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἐποίησαν, τίς ἢ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος φύσις, τίς ἢ τοῦ Διός, παρατιθέμενοι. καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ὀρφέως τούτου τοῦ τρόπου.

(II) καὶ οἱ φυσικώτεροι ποιηταί, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, πραγματείας ὅλας κατέθεντο. εὐχῆς δὲ οὐδέν τι πάνυ χρῆ ἐπὶ τούτων. ἐπιτηρεῖν δὲ χρῆ καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ δῆμον ἐκφέρειν τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὕμνους ἀπιθανώτεροι γὰρ καὶ καταγελαστικώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς φαίνονται.

(I) Naturalist are those (hymns) made by those of the school of Parmenides and Empedocles, that present which is the nature of Apollo and which of Zeus. The majority of Orpheus' are of this type.

(II) And the most naturalist poets, of whom mention has been made (cf. I), have composed whole works. There is no need for any plea whatsoever in them and it should be sought that such hymns are spread neither among the public nor among the populace, since the majority considers them to be too incredible and ridiculous.

Nevertheless, the text quoted by Russell-Wilson poses some problems (in italics in the fragments' quotations at the beginning):

- In (I) the text transmitted almost unanimously by the codices and by the Aldine edition is ὅσοι παρὰ πᾶν μέρος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἐτίμησαν.
- In (II) there are also some transmission variants: κατέθετο (*pro* κατέθεντο), εὐχαῖς (*pro* εὐχῆς) and τὸ (*pro* τὸν).

Heeren (1785: 30, *ad n.*) was the first one to realise that, behind the wording πᾶν μέρος in the quoted text from fragment I, lay the name of the philosopher Parmenides (*legitur apud Aldum πᾶν μέρος, nullo sensu. Quod ad emendationem meam attinet (Παρμενίδη), ipsa sibi fidem faciat. Empedoclem et Parmenidem iungit quoque noster cap. V, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΣΙΚΩΝ*). Most certainly, within the same *Treatise* and very close to the two above-mentioned passages, in 337.12, both philosophers are mentioned together once again:

1 The name of the author refers to full titles included in the final bibliography of the present article.

καὶ χρῶνται δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ Παρμενίδης τε καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀκριβῶς. It is, therefore, quite likely that it should be thus interpreted in the present passage, because Παρμενίδην (rather than Παρμενίδη) could have been corrupted in any stage of the work's textual transmission, due to ignorance of the name and a wrong separation of words, to become πᾶν μέρος, a mistake facilitated by phonetic similarity to the preceding preposition: παρὰ Παρμενίδην > παρὰ πᾶν μέρος. It should only be added that Heeren was apparently outstripped by a *recentior*, the codex *Riccardianus* 68, dated to the sixteenth century: according to Walz, one of the hands of this manuscript had the same thought and wrote Παρμενίδην in the corrupted passage. Regarding the preposition preceding the name of the philosophers, while Heeren and Jacobs² opted for παρά (followed by accusative in Heeren's case and by dative in Jacobs'), the majority of later editors preferred to read περί, which could have been also easily dropped before the first syllable of the philosopher's name, Παρ-, which also provides a better meaning ('the circle', 'the school' of Parmenides and Empedocles); Walz, for his part, decided not to edit any of them, reading the names as direct objects of the verb ἐτίμησαν, implying a peculiar factitive sense to ἐνδόξους ποιεῖν: "all those who *made* Parmenides and Empedocles *famous*".

As regards the verb unanimously transmitted by manuscripts, ἐτίμησαν, Heeren also left evidence of his misgivings, maybe less tenable: ἐτίμησαν *stare nequit. Expectabam κείνται, sed rescribendum videtur εὐρέθησαν*. Following this train of thought, Lobeck also avoided the verb ἐτίμησαν. Walz, as we have just seen, kept it in his 1836 edition, giving it such forced factitive sense ("they made [them] famous"), but in note he does not completely disregard Jacobs' corrections ἐτιμήθησαν and ἐν τιμῇ ἦσαν: the supposedly original reading ἐν τιμῇ ἦσαν, 'were held in esteem' (sc. the hymns), would have ended up, again due to an incorrect separation of words, encouraged by the weak pronunciation of the final -v of ἐν, in ἐτίμησαν. Although later editors, such as Spengel and Bursian also kept ἐτίμησαν, Russell-Wilson were the first to accept a correction from Bernhardt, ἐποίησαν (about which Bursian already showed his reservations), which is also reflected by Bernabé in his quotation of the fragment. Nevertheless, this correction is quite removed from the reading attested in the manuscripts, ἐτίμησαν, whose sense seems to be too general. We prefer to keep the verb as it has been transmitted,³ because the sense of 'hold in esteem', even with nuances of

2 The original manuscript of his notes, more comprehensive than the one that was originally published, seems to have been recently found, and it has been published by Hernández Muñoz (2007: 282–297).

3 Hernández Muñoz (1993: 213–215): if an alternative had to be found to the transmitted reading, ἐτίμησαν, we expressed our preference then for something closer to the verb transmitted, for example, verbs such as ἡτοίμασαν ο ἐτύπωσαν, which can also refer to literary creation.

certain type of veneration, seems to us quite acceptable in a passage mentioning certain religious hymns, some of them particularly ancient, which could have been almost ‘venerated’ by certain philosophical schools, such as Parmenides’ or Empedocles’ (cf. Parmenides A 20, Empedocles A 23 DK).

The beginning of the fragment does pose as well some textual problems. The reading transmitted (τοι, ὅσοι, ‘certainly, all those who’), was only kept by Walz: τοι is only documented twice in Menander and both within *Treatise* II, in the sequence καὶ γάρ τοι. Spengel accepted the correction made by Bernhardt, οὗς οἱ, (‘those who’), modified with a slight palaeographic change in οἷους οἱ (‘as those who’) by Bursian and Russell-Wilson. We do not know whether the text edited by Bernabé, ὁποῖους οἱ, of analogous meaning, is the result of his own conjecture or of the presence of various ὁποῖοι recorded immediately before in Menander’s passage. In any case, from all documented possibilities, it is the one best documented in the rest of the text – fifteen times – and from the palaeographic point of view, it also seems quite plausible, because the original sequence ΟΠΟΙΟΥΣ ΟΙ could have been easily corrupted into ΤΟΙ ΟΣΟΙ. A possible original reading τοιοῦτοι οἷους οἱ could neither be disregarded in the transmitted reading: ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙΟΙΟΥΣΟΙ (confusion ΥΤ-Π) > ΤΟΙΟΠΟΙΟΥΣΟΙ > τοι οσοι (‘jump’ from ΤΟΙ to ΠΟΙ, with later false word-separation).

Textual problems posed by fragment II are fewer. The dative εὐχαῖς, transmitted by manuscript tradition, was corrected by the expected genitive εὐχῆς (depending from χρῆ) by Heeren and, since then, all editors have accepted it. Heeren also corrected the singular κατέθετο with the plural κατέθεντο (the subject being οἱ φυσικώτεροι ποιηταί). We should now add that such correction had also been made in some *recentiores* that Heeren did not contrast and that could constitute the core of a new textual family in the transmission of the rhetor Menander: *Bodleian*. T.3.13, *Ambros.* B 164 [158], *Marc.* VIII.10 [1349], *Gudian.* 14, *Palat.* 277, *Ambros.* I 81 [465], *Matritensis* BN 4738, *Rossian.* 981, *Scorial.* E.III.15 [114] and *Marc.* 429 [861], as well as the Aldine edition (Venice, 1508–1509).⁴ Finally, another *recentior*, *Ricard.* 15, transmits the neuter τό instead of the masculineτόν, which is a clear mistake because it goes with ὄχλον, also masculine.

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47. The Etymology of Gk. Ἔμπουσα (OF 713–716)

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In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Dionysus sets off on a comic katabasis to hell aimed at bringing back Euripides to the world of the living, in order to put an end to the crisis of contemporary literary panorama in Athens. All the encounters Dionysus has in his journey through the Netherworld have a humoristic touch. One of the monsters he comes across, Empousa, has a polymorphic aspect, as Xanthias, Dionysus' quick-witted slave, relates in the play: she first adopts the aspect of an oxen, next a mule, then an extraordinarily beautiful woman and, finally, a dog (*Ra.* 290–296).

Religious references in this section of Aristophanes' play were clear to a contemporary Athenian audience. Graf (1974: 40 ff.) has pointed out that there are a significant number of details that would lead the audience to realise that the chorus was composed of initiates in the Eleusinian mysteries. Furthermore, in the culmination of the katabasis, Aeschylus expressly declares that true poets are Orpheus, who taught Athenians the *teletai* and the avoidance of blood spilling, and Musaeus, who transmitted oracular practices and the healing of illnesses (*OF* 547 = *Ra.* 1032–1033). Bernabé (2008) has used this text, among others, to demonstrate that the Greeks, and Athenians in particular, considered Orpheus to be the transmitter of all the *teletai*, among which the Eleusinian mysteries were included.

The appearance of an infernal female being of terrific impression must have been also present in an epic work on Heracles katabasis, now lost, of which Aristophanes made a comic version (Lloyd-Jones 1967). The model would have been undoubtedly composed in an Eleusinian environment (Brown 1991: 49). Since it was probably attributed to Orpheus or to Musaeus, it was, in any case, Orphic *lato sensu*, and Bernabé has edited its fragments in *OF* 713–716.

Aristophanes' reference and the lost work on Heracles katabasis would be corroborated by a fragment from a late fourth century historian, Idomeneus of Lampsacus (*FGH* 338 F 2). It is a lexicographical note on the well-known quote by Demosthenes 18.130 in which Ἔμπουσα is used as an insult to Aeschines' mother.¹ The Ἔμπουσα is defined as φάσμα παντόμορφον, which

1 χθῆς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶν ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονεν, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς τὸν μὲν πατέρ' ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς

coincides with the plurality of forms that Xanthias, the slave, reports to Dionysus in Aristophanes' comedy; moreover, Idomeneus adds an important piece of data: the Ἔμπουσα reveals herself to the initiates coming out from dark places (ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ σκοτεινῶν τόπων ἀνεφαίνετο τοῖς μινυμένοις). Graf (1974: 29, n. 36) has shown that, within an Attic context, a generic reference to the initiates has to be always understood as a reference to Eleusinian mysteries. If this is so, we could infer that Empousa is a character present in the unfolding of the Eleusinian mysteries² and that, at some point during the ceremony, presented herself before the initiates emerging from a dark place (Brown 1991: 46).

The comic reference of Aristophanes to Empousa's transformations presents an interesting parallel in another figure of the Netherworld in Iranian tradition, as I have already shown elsewhere (Álvarez-Pedrosa 2008: 1008). Indeed, the Iranian *daēnā*, who acts as a sort of reflection of the soul of the faithful Zoroastrian in the Netherworld is represented either as a beautiful maiden or a terrible old woman, depending on whether the soul of the deceased is blessed or wrongful (*Hadōxt Nask* 2.9–14, *Vidēvdāt* 19.30). In the Iranian *Bundahišn* 30.5–6, however, the *daēnā* is successively transformed in cow, maiden and garden (beautiful or hideous, according to the condition of the soul that makes the transit to the Netherworld). The parallel with Aristophanes' transformations, cow, ass, beautiful woman, is self-evident. A fourth metamorphosis, in dog, seems to be in relation with the dogs that accompany the *daēnā* in *Vidēvdāt* 19.30. The *daēnā*, moreover, has the task of answering the questions of the souls of the appointed.

Independently of the relation between both characters, the Empousa of the Eleusinian mysteries and the *daēnā* of the Iranian tradition, whether it might be a cultural borrowing or the result of a common origin, they both share a very relevant function: they come up to the initiates,³ either in the transforming experience of the *teletē*, or in the definitive transit to life in the Netherworld. Such relevant function is what allows us to formulate a new hypothesis on the etymology of the given name of the Greek Ἔμπουσα.

πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἦν Ἔμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν, "Since yesterday or the day before he became at the same time Athenian and orator, and, adding two syllables, he transformed his father from Tromes into Atrometus and his mother with large solemnity into Glaukothea, who everybody knows was nicknamed Empousa, because she did and endured everything".

2 Clark (2009: 195) concludes, categorically, that Empousa is one of the variants of the terrifying female beings in the Netherworld deeply connected to the Eleusinian mysteries.

3 We understand that Zoroastrian believers are equivalent to Eleusinian initiates, since eschatological experiences, as described in the mentioned texts, whether they are from the Avestic or the Pahlavi traditions, are solely reserved to them.

The etymologies advanced so far are the following: the oldest, proposed by Solmsen (1897–1898: 552–554), reflected in Frisk's etymological dictionary (1960: 508), related the given name of Ἔμπουσα to the verb κατεμπάζω 'take', which would be reflecting the original meaning of the verb ἐμπάζομαι 'bear in mind, pay attention to'; it would be, therefore, a participle form **emp-ont-ya* related to the root of an alleged verb *ἔμπω 'take, grasp', which would apply to the terrifying function of Empousa. Following the same line of reasoning, Dumézil (1938: 100) related Ἔμπουσα to Arm. *ambewt* 'mole', a participle form in *-ent-* from the above-mentioned verbal root **emp-*.⁴ The on-line etymological dictionary of Beekes suggests that it is probably a pre-Greek character and associates it with other names of similar suffix: αἰθουσα, ἄγχουσα, κάδουσα, νήθουσα, Ἀκίδουσα, Κηλοῦσα = Κήλωσσα. González Terriza (1996: 289) gives evidence of an etymology, which he qualifies as 'popular' (cf. Waser 1905: 2540–2543) that would explain the name of Ἔμπουσα as *ἐνίπουσα 'of a single foot': in Aristophanes' *The Assembly-women*, the youth accosted by the Third Lascivious Hag (identified, according to the author, with Empousa), asks to be punished by being coated alive in tar and having molten lead poured over her feet, to transform both feet into a single one (*Ec.* 1108–1111). Andrisano (2007) also considers Empousa to be a talking name related the above-mentioned popular etymology.

On the other hand, I have myself echoed the other possibility (Álvarez-Pedrosa 2008: 1008), suggested by Alberto Bernabé, according to which the name of Ἔμπουσα would be related to the δαίμονες ἐμποδών, the daemons hindering the transit of souls to the Netherworld, as mentioned in the *Der-veni Papyrus*.

Nonetheless, as we have seen, neither the Eleusinian Ἔμπουσα nor the Iranian *daēnā* 'take' or 'hinder the path', but rather come up to the soul or the initiate. The function of the *daēnā* is rather clearer than that of the Eleusinian Ἔμπουσα: in the Iranian texts consulted, the *daēnā* answers the questions of the souls, foresees their destinies in the Netherworld and acts as their psychopomp. The Eleusinian Ἔμπουσα would have been used rather to instil terror in the initiates and foretell them terrors of Hades. In any case, the function of 'coming up' seems relevant to me. Therefore, the etymology I propose for the Ἔμπουσα is **en-pont-ya*, understanding **pont-* as 'path',⁵ cf. the well-known Indo-European root attested in Skt. *pánthās*,

4 The participle explanation is deemed improbable by Chantraine (1933: 269), who, commenting on the origin of Ἔμπουσα, defends that not all stems in *-nt-* are easily explained as old participles.

5 In fact, as analysed by Bernabé and Jiménez (2001: 80) the 'sacred way' that appears in the Hipponion lamella can be interpreted as "an iteration of the initiation path in this world or maybe as the projection of one or more earthly models, such as the royal path in Eleusis or Athens, through which the procession of initiates transited".

pathí, Av. *paθā-*, Lat. *pons*, *pontis* (with the meaning of ‘bridge’), Gk. *πάτος*, OCS *pъntь*, OPruss. *pintis* ‘path’.

Consequently, the Ἐμπουσα is “the one who is in the path (of the soul in the Netherworld)”. This proposal has the advantage of posing no difficulties from the phonetic point of view and of being directly supported by the function of the Eleusinian Ἐμπουσα and the Iranian *daēnā*, understood as comparable figures in their activities in the Netherworld.

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48. OF 750: Frost or Snow?

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πολλαὶ δ' οὐρανόθεν καὶ ἐπαρτέες ἐκ νεφελῶν
τῆμος ἐπόρννυνται φηγοῖς καὶ δένδρεσιν ἄλλοις
οὖρεσί τε σκοπέλοις τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐριθύμοις
πηγυλίδες, καὶ ἔσσονται ἀμειδέες· αἶδε γὰρ ὄντως
τρύουσιν καὶ θήρας ἐν οὖρεσιν, οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν
προβλάσκειν μεγάρων δύναται κατὰ γυῖα δαμασθεῖς
ψύχει λευγαλέω· πάχνη δ' ὑπὸ γαῖα μέμυκε.

5

The adjective ἐπαρτέες (line 1) was our starting point to analyze this fragment, an extract from the *Dodecaeterides*, when we prepared the entry for ἐπαρτής for the *Greek-Spanish Dictionary*. To determine what ἐπαρτέες means in this context (a matter we will discuss somewhere else), we must establish first what its distant referent πηγυλίδες (v. 4) means. Liddell-Scott-Jones (*LSJ*) translated it into English as ‘frosts’, a somewhat ambiguous term that may be translated either ‘escarchas’ or ‘hielos’ in Spanish. As we will see, this question is more complex than it could seem at first sight.

This fragment is transmitted by Tzetzes to prove that in a passage about winter from the *Erga* (*ad Hes. Op.* 504 ff.), Hesiod gets his inspiration from Orpheus’ verses. Therefore, it is convenient to recall first the beginning of this passage by Hesiod (*Op.* 504–512):

Μῆνα δὲ Ληναίωνα, κάκ' ἥματα, βουδόρα πάντα,
τοῦτον ἀλεύασθαι καὶ πηγάδας, αἶ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
πνεύσαντος Βορέαο δυσηλεγέες τελέθουσιν,
ὅς τε διὰ Θρήκης ἵπποτρόφου εὐρέι πόντῳ
ἐμπνεύσας ὥρινε, μέμυκε δὲ γαῖα καὶ ὕλη·
πολλὰς δὲ δρῦς ὑψικόμους ἐλάτας τε παχεΐας
οὖρεος ἐν βήσσης πιλνᾷ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἐμπίπτων, καὶ πᾶσα βοᾷ τότε νήριτος ὕλη·
θήρες δὲ φρίσσουσ', οὐρὰς δ' ὑπὸ μέξε' ἔθεντο·

505

510

The month of Lenaion, evil days, ox-flayers all of them- avoid it, and the frosts that are deadly upon the earth when Boreas blows, which stirs up the broad sea through horse-raising Thrace when it blows upon it, and the earth and the forest bellow. It falls upon many lofty-leaved oaks and sturdy firs in the mountain's dales and bends them down to the bounteous earth, and the whole immense forest groans aloud. The wild animals shiver and stick their tails under their genitals (transl. by G. W. Most, Cambridge MA – London 1996, p. 129).

The similarity between both texts is evident, even if we may be quite certain that the process of influence was the other way around because the author of the *Dodecaeterides*, a work with astrological content attributed to Orpheus, is from a later¹ period. The influence of Hesiod's text over the Orphic passage is clear, although we may point out some changes in content and vocabulary. The main difference in content is that Hesiod focuses on the action of the North wind, the Boreas, and extends the description of its effects for many lines; in fact, until line 527. On the contrary, our fragment ascribes to the *πηγυλίδες* very similar effects. They fall in from the skies upon the trees, forests, rocks and men, and they are the ones who exhaust (if we accept *τρύουσιν*) the beasts, and they are also the reason why "no man can come out of his home, his limbs worn out by the deadly cold, because the whole Earth is covered by frost" (verses 5–7).

It seems quite clear that the *πηγυλίδες* recall the *πηγάδας*, which according to Hesiod, must be avoided in winter. Apparently this helps to understand what the *πηγυλίδες* are. In fact, they are usually thought to be 'frosts' (Spanish 'heladas' or 'hielos') for two reasons: first, for two authors the singular form seems to bear that meaning, and second, these Hesiodic *πηγάδας* are usually translated as 'frosts'. Both terms would be poetic synonyms of *πάχνη* or *πάγος*. The question is that the term *πηγάδας* is practically a hapax,² and its meaning is not completely clear. In fact, ancient commentators and lexicographers offer three alternatives: 1) frosts; 2) frosty days; 3) snowflakes. Thus, Proclus shows his doubts in his commentary to the *Erga* (Procl. *ad Hes. Op.* 502, p. 308 G.): αἱ δὲ *πηγάδες* *χαλεπαί* εἰσι *πνέοντος τοῦ Βορέου· ἢ τὰς παγερὰς ποιοῦσας ἡμέρας, ἢ τὰς πάχνας αὐτῆς τῆς χιόνος* "either (they are) the days that produce frost, or snow's own *πάχνας*" (v. *infra*). Some lexicons express themselves in similar words, adding meaning 1), the most prevalent in modern times. For example Et. Gen. A 97.13 ff.: *παγάδας (sic) δὲ τὰ πάγη, ἢ τὰς πακτοποιοὺς ἡμέρας, ἢ τὰς πάχνας αὐτάς. Ἡσίοδος, cf. Zonaras.*³

The largest part of modern translations and commentaries to Hesiod repeat translation 1 'frosts'.⁴ Only Stephanus' *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (volume VII, col. 1032 accepts meaning 2 "a day with frost" and he extends

1 The bibliography on this work is scarce (see critical apparatus by Bernabé), given the few fragments that remain. Martín Hernández (2007: 277 ff.) has written an excellent overview of what is known about it.

2 Leaving aside the use of *πηγάς* as a kind of plot of land (Hero *Geom.* 23.68, *Lib. Geop.* 102, cf. Hsch.).

3 Others only mention 'frosts': Sch. *Hes. Op.* 504–506, Tz. *ad Hes. Op.* 503 ff. (p. 310G), and Moschop. *ibid.*

4 Only a small number of modern authors, for text-internal reasons, have understood otherwise: Wilamowitz (1928: 103) 'frosty puddles'; Vianello (1979: 17 and n. on p. cccxxxix) 'icicles'.

it to πηγυλῖς, inferring in both cases ἡμέρα, as is the case, as we will see later on in the *Iliad*, where a νύξ πηγυλῖς is mentioned), a meaning which only Verdenius (1980) thinks appropriate for Hesiod.

With respect to πηγυλῖς, it is a derivative of the root πήγνυμι, a verb which, together with other meanings, is used to name the process of solidification of liquids, among them water turning into ice (Alc. fr. 338 Voigt, etc.). Πηγυλῖς is not a very frequent term, which presents moreover interesting variations of use – and of meaning – in the few instances where it appears. *LSJ* differentiates its uses as an adjective (I. *frozen, icy-cold*, νύξ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ-ῆλθε κακὴ Βορέας πεσόντος π. *Od.* 14.476, ἀϋτμή A. R. 2.737) from its uses as substantive (II. as subst, *hoar-frost, rime*, AP 9.384.24, Alciph. 1.23; pl., *frosts*, OF 270.4). The fact that the first times πηγυλῖς appears is as an adjective makes us think of other feminine derivatives in -λῖς, which stem from verb-roots, which were originally adjectives, a type of verbal adjective. The two oldest and almost the only ones derive from thematic presents: μαινόλῖς 'maddened', 'which μαίνεται' (Archil. fr. 300.20 West, B. fr. 20a.43, A. *Supp.* 109), and φαινολῖς 'bright', that is to say, 'which φαίνεται', an epithet of the Dawn since *h.Cer.* 51 and Sapph. fr. 104 Voigt.

Thus, the νύξ ... πηγυλῖς which Odysseus describes in *Od.* 14.476 would not be a 'frosty', 'cold as ice' night, but a night 'which freezes', that is 'icy', 'glacial' with an active meaning:

ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες
κείμεθα, νύξ δ' ἄρ' ἐπῆλθε κακὴ Βορέας πεσόντος, 475
πηγυλῖς· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε χιὼν γένετ' ἥντε πάχνη,
ψυχρὴ, καὶ σακέεσσι περιτρέφετο κρύσταλλος.

We lay, crouching beneath our arms, and night came on, foul, when the North Wind had fallen, and frosty, and snow came down on us from above, covering us like frost, bitter cold, and ice formed upon our shields (transl. by A. T. Murray, Cambridge MA – London 1995², 71).

The immediate consequence of the fact that the night, borrowing this feature from the Boreas, is πηγυλῖς, is that snow starts falling. And this snow is "in form of πάχνη", that is, with the consistence typical of πάχνη, another derivative from the same root that usually designates frost. Already the scholiasts and Eusthatius observed that Homer establishes a gradation in the density of frozen elements: Sch. *Od.* 14.476: ἡ γὰρ χιὼν λεπτὴ, ἡ πάχνη παχυτέρα, ἡ κρύσταλλος παχυτάτη, cf. Eusth. *ad Od.* 14.476, p. 1770.21 ff. Without a doubt, Apollonius of Rhodes (2.735 ff.) is inspired by the *Odyssey* when he describes the entry to the Acheron; although here the Boreas is transformed into a αὐτμή / πηγυλῖς which blows from inside a cave, and which "continuously feeds a gleaming frost" (συνεχῆς ἀργινόεσσαν ἀεὶ περιτρέφε πάχνην).

In the next two passages – of a much posterior date – where we find the term, the singular ἡ πηγυλῖς is usually understood as 'frost', without being

completely clear if it is a process or a result, that is to say, as *nomen actionis* or as a concrete substantive (= ‘ice’). In a letter by Alciphron (3.40.3), a parasite narrates the hardships he suffered during a winter storm, and how he took refuge in some baths where ἐθερόμην ἄχρις οὗ τὸν νιφετὸν ἢ πηγυλὶς διεδέξατο, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους τοῦ μεταξὺ διεροῦ παγέντος πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐδέδεντο οἱ λίθοι “and (I) proceeded to warm myself until the snow was followed by a frost and the stones were frozen together by the moisture congealed in their interstices” (transl. by A. R. Benner & F. H. Fobes, London 1962, 245). Finally, we have a later anonymous epigram about the works which correspond to each month of the Roman calendar (*AP* 9.384), whose author must have been inspired partly in Hesiod. For the month of December (lines 23–24) the advice is: παύσασθαι νειοῦ κέλομαι· γλαγώντι γὰρ ἤδη / σπέρματι ῥιγεδανὴ πηγυλὶς ἀντιάσει “I bid thee cease from ploughing the fallow land, for the frosts will injure the milky seeds” (transl. by W. R. Paton, London 1948, 213), “cesse les travaux des champs, je t’y engage, car à la semence déjà en lait le gel qui donne les frisson ferait tort” (trans. by G. Soury, Paris 1974, 18).

In our fragment, it is difficult to understand how some ‘frosts’ can swoop down (ἐπὶ ὀρνυνται) from the sky (οὐρανόθεν) and apparently from the clouds (ἐκ νεφελῶν), on trees, mountains and men. The verb and its determinants imply a violent vertical movement from above which does not match the process of the freezing humidity on the earth’s surface. For that reason, we think we must look back to the Hesiodic model, and take into account the fact that almost certainly the meaning of Hes. πηγᾶδας was not unequivocal for an author of the late imperial period. And we also have reasons to suspect that, independently from its original meaning, the author of the *Dodecaeterides* took for valid meaning 3: τὰς πάχνας αὐτῆς τῆς χιόνος, and substituted it for πηγυλίδες.

It is precisely in the use of the plural where the biggest difference lies between this quote and the other two texts in which πηγυλὶς is a substantive. We think that this plural has a concrete meaning, a meaning supported both by the interpretation of the suffix -υλιδ- as a diminutive (cf. ἀκανθυλὶς, ἀτρακτυλὶς, etc.) and for the existence of diminutives in -υλιδ- of derivatives in -υλη/-υλος, of the type γογγυλὶς). And if we have to think of something concrete, small and abundant (πολλαί), which is frosted and which descends upon trees, mountains, rocks and men, we can only think of two things: snow or hail. Hail seems an attractive choice because it can be a violent phenomenon, able to produce great damages, but sounds inadequate because, as scientific texts repeat since Aristotle, hail is not common in the coldest period of winter, which is what the text refers to, but usually falls in other seasons (Arist. *Mete.* 347b 37 ff., etc.).

Because of its tiny size, the use of the plural πηγυλίδες was adequate to designate snowflakes, in a context that suggests a snowstorm or a blizzard,

where the wind (Hesiod's Boreas) blows violently making snow 'fall' or 'come in' with force, as the use of ἐπόρνυμαι indicates. We could also think, based on Homer's gradation χιών / πάχνη / κρύσταλλος, that this snow that falls with force is more compact than usual, exactly Homer's χιών ἢ τε πάχνη. A proof is that πάχνη also clearly names one type of precipitation in some contexts, both in singular (Thphr. *CP* 5.13.6, Nonn. *D.* 2.528) and in plural (Arist. *Mu.* 392b 8 ff., Alex. Eph. 21.23, Posidon. in *D. L.* 7.153 and the aforementioned passage by Procl. *ad Hes.* 502).⁵

Beyond this fact, the clearest proof is the fact that the plural πηγυλίδες is used, we think with the same meaning, by two Bizantine authors from centuries AD XII–XIII, which helps to confirm that these Orphic *Dodecaeterides* are very late. Nicetas Choniates (2.37, ed. J. Van Dieten, Berlin 1975) tells how at the end of 1141 Emperor John comes back to Byzantium with his army before winter arrives τῷ ψυχρινῷ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπενδύς ὥσει καὶ χερμάδια τὰς νιφάδας καὶ δοράτια τὰς πηγυλίδας προβαλλομένῳ, "giving in to the cold weather that threw snowflakes like stones and πηγυλίδας like darts". The use of προβαλλομένῳ and δοράτια indicates that the πηγυλίδες is something that falls from the sky down onto the ground, exactly like the νιφάδας, something which falls with more force and is more damaging. Finally, George Acropolites in *Funeral Oration on John Ducas* 2.9 ff.,⁶ crying over the emperor's death, says: "A high and wide-topped tree, where everything found consolation and felt protected, without being burned by the sun's heat nor being cooled by the πηγυλίδες of the snow" (οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐκ χιόνων πηγυλίσιν ἀποψυχόμενα). The meaning is also clear here: snow does not reach those who find shelter under a large and dense tree during the snowstorm, the same way the sun does not burn those who take refuge under its shade.

Finally, and once we have seen the cases in which the plural πηγυλίδες designates hard snowflakes typical from snowstorms, we could look back on the examples we have seen in the singular πηγυλὶς as substantive, in Alciphron and the *Anthology*. The same way the plural αἱ χιόνες designates individual elements 'snowflakes' from what, as a whole, is named by the singular ἡ χιών 'snow', 'snowfall', we could consider that the same relation exists between αἱ πηγυλίδες and ἡ πηγυλὶς. That is, the singular refers to strong or violent 'snow' or 'snowfall', with hard snowflakes, which follows a regular snowfall, which is normally slower and with lighter flakes (τὸν νιφετόν), after a snowstorm such as the one that Alciphron's parasite is caught in.

5 Although it is more commonly translated as 'frosts'. This meaning 'hard snow' could easily extend to other prose texts in which the πάχνη go together with the χιόνες or the χάλαζαι, even if the contexts are less unequivocal: Pl. *Smp.* 188a–b, X. *Oec.* 5.18, Ph. 2.643 (*Prou.* fr. 2.43), LXX, *Od.* 8.70, etc., *D. S.* 26.3, Artem. 2.8, Ephr. Syr. 1.99A, etc.

6 A. Heisenberg's edition (Leipzig 1903), p. 12 pertinently corrects the text of the mss. πηγυλλίσιν.

The case of πηγυλίδες and πάχναι helps us confirm once more how different languages make different interpretations of reality, which is not surprising because meteorological vocabulary is a specially clear example of this phenomenon.⁷ Our modern languages usually distinguish snow from hail and rain, and occasionally also between the intermediate state between water and snow (for ex. 'sleet', Spanish 'aguanieve'), but do not possess specific terms to describe the various degrees of hardness of snow. Both our Orphic fragment and other latter authors with πηγυλίδες (perhaps also with the sg. πηγυλίδας) as other authors with πάχνη / πάχναι, perhaps even Hesiod with πηγάδες, are describing a type of hard snow capable of doing harm when it falls, because it usually falls with strong wind during a snowstorm. A snow which, once it has fallen, and with the help of cold temperatures, can form a frosty layer over the ground, and which harms animals and harvests. This is what Homer calls χιών ἢ τε πάχνη. We cannot affirm that "frost is falling" from heaven, because we reserve this substantive for the layer of ice that forms over ice, but the Greek could use the term πάχνη for both concepts, because the notion that seems to predominate is the consistency of the ice that forms it.

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7 See Casevitz (2003: 33).

49. Greek ἐπητανός and Other Possible Compounds of ἔτος ‘year’ in Ancient Greek (OF 773)*

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OF 773 is a fragment of ten verses corresponding presumably to the Orphic Γεωργία or Ἔργαι καὶ Ἡμέραι.¹ These verses, mentioned by Tz. *ad Hes. Op.* p. 18 (Gaisford) as the beginning of the work, appear in the poem Περὶ καταρχῶν of Maximus Astrologus (Max. 456–465 Ludwig), which has given rise to diverse speculations on the source of Tzetzes, the use or interpretation that he gave to it and the real attribution to the Orphic tradition.² In l. 10 appears the term ἐπητανός, in the phrase ἐπητανὸν ὄλβον ὀπάξειν. The choice of this reading by Bernabé in his edition, coincident with the one present in Tzetzes’ text, against the ἐπητανόν variant of codices (selected by Ludwig in his edition of Maximus Astrologus), seems totally correct. The synizesis ηε, that permits a quadrasyllabic scansion, is documented already in Hes. *Op.* 607 and *h.Merc.* 113, alternating with ἐπητανός without metric synyzeis elsewhere in other passages.³

This compound ἐπητανός, which appears already in Homer, not in the *Iliad* but in several passages of the *Odyssey*, has raised doubts about its semantic analysis, especially concerning its original meaning. Although this problem is not evident when reading the *LSJ* entry – where we can simply find the translation ‘abundant, ample, sufficient’ –, it can be verified for example when consulting the etymological dictionaries: “ep. Adj. unbestimmbarer Bedeutung, etwa ‘ausreichend, reichlich, immerwährend’” (Frisk *GEW* s. v.); “adjective épique de sens apparemment vague ‘abondant’

* Besides his works on critical edition and his studies of Greek religion – for which he has received important international recognition –, Alberto Bernabé has also devoted himself to other research fields, like Greek and Indo-European linguistics, etymology, lexicography or Mycenology. This paper, in which these fields are mentioned, tries to pay a humble tribute to his contributions to them.

1 Cf. Martín Hernández (2008: 451).

2 Cf. Martín Hernández (2008: 451).

3 For this reason it is unnecessary, incorrect and can bring about confusion to identify a variant ἐπητανός in these verses of Hes. and *h.Merc.*, as Beekes (2010: 439) has pointed out. Cf. on this particular point West (1978: 311).

souvent dit, semble-t-il, de provisions” (Chantraine *DELG* s. v.); “probably ‘sufficient, rich, everlasting’” (Beekes 2010 s. v.). In fact, it can be observed, comparing the three mentioned dictionaries, that both Chantraine and Beekes largely pick up Frisk’s arguments, not only on the semantic interpretation, but also on the etymological analysis, including the possible original meaning of the compound:

Wohl eig. ‘das ganze Jahr dauernd’ (wie ἐπ-έτ-ειος, ἐπ-ετ-ήσιος) mit -η- wie in ἐπ-ήβολος u. a. und suffixalem -ανος wie in σιητ-άν-ιος (s. d.). Die Annahme einer Haplogologie *-φετι-τανος oder *-φετο-τανος (wie *diūtīnus* [...]) erübrigt sich. Nach Benveniste (...) alter Stammwechsel mit ἔταλον, s. d. Abzulehnen Pisani (...) (zu αἰών). (Frisk *l. c.*)

Le rapprochement qui a été proposé avec αἰεῖ, αἰών est impossible, mais on peut penser que le mot signifiait d’abord ‘qui dure toute l’année’, cf. (φ)έτος, ἐπ-έτειος, etc. L’η- peut être analogique comme dans ἐπήβολος, ou recouvrir un -ι- métriquement allongé. Quant au suffixe -ανος, il se trouve en alternance avec -αλ- dans ἔταλον, cf. Benveniste ... (Chantraine *l. c.*)

(...) <IE? *uet-os- ‘year’> (...) Properly ‘lasting the whole year’ (like ἐπ-έτ-ειος, ἐπ-ετ-ήσιος), with -η- as in ἐπήβολος, etc., and suffixal -ανος as in σιητάνιος. It is unnecessary to suppose haplogology from *-φετι-τανος or *-φετο-τανος. Acc. to Benveniste (...) an old suffixal interchange with ἔταλον ... (Beekes *l. c.*)

If we pay attention to these entries, we can verify⁴ that, in spite of the doubts that exist about the semantic analysis of the term occurrences, some ideas about its etymology have been consolidated: 1) the original sense of ἐπηετανός would have been something like ‘lasting the whole year, lasting all the year’;⁵ 2) there seems to be agreement – against other hypotheses – that we are before a compound made up of the preverb ἐπι- and the IE root *uet-os ‘year’ (cf. Gk. ἔτος); 3) there is also, between the preverb and the root, an -η- element that requires explanation; 4) a suffix -ανος has been added to the root, maybe related to other terms both within Greek and outside of it.

In this small contribution I want to focus only on points 1) and 3), since I believe that there could be a connection between both of them, not pointed out until now. Besides, there can be new approaches to these matters, and not only to clarify more the interpretation of ἐπηετανός, but also of other possible derived compounds of IE *uet-os ‘year’ in Ancient Greek.

First of all, I believe it is interesting that the doubts on the lexical-semantic analysis of ἐπηετανός do not occur in the case of formations like ἐπέτειος or ἐπετήσιος. For ἐπέτειος *LSJ* gives three basic meanings: 1) ‘annual, yearly’,

4 We can verify also to what extent the reflections presented in Frisk’s dictionary are reprised in later dictionaries, especially in that of Beekes – certainly in accordance with the methodological procedure exposed by the author in the preface of the work (p. vii) –.

5 This interpretation is mentioned by several scholars. Cf. e.g. West (1978: 149), who proposed an original meaning ‘for the year, lasting all through the year’.

documented in Hdt., A., Ar., Pl., etc.; 2) ‘lasting for a year’, documented later than 1) in Arist., Thphr., D. or Plb.; 3) ‘this year’s’, which was documented even later (Dsc. and Hsch.). Regarding ἐπετήσιος, although there are no different sections, we can find in *LSJ*, in an item that has been revised in Glare’s supplement, two basic meanings which we have already seen attributed to ἐπέτειος. In *Od.* 7.118 it has the meaning ‘from year to year, yearly’ (καρπός, but in later quotations it also refers to different realities such as those which mean a legal or ritual periodicity: προστατεία Th. 2.80, θυσίαι Iul. Or. 4.131d), and later it has also the meaning ‘lasting the whole year’ (τελεσφορή Call. Ap. 78, etc.). Thus, as we can see in the semantic evolution of these terms, the meaning ‘lasting the whole year, lasting one year’ could be more recent than a more general meaning ‘annual, in this (just passed) year, from year to year’. In fact, West (1978: 149), regarding the meaning of ἐπηετανός in Hesiod’s text, cites another expression which appears in the same work: ἐπ’ ἡματι, ‘in a single day’ i. e. ‘in the day (passed), in only one day’. We should not lose sight either of the third section of ἐπέτειος, where the term has evolved to a mere ‘in/of the/this year’. This convergence of meanings, like its chronological stratification, could be interesting for the analysis of ἐπηετανός, as we see in the following.

With respect to point 3) of the coincidences between the etymological dictionaries, which I pointed out previously, we can see there is no certainty about the origin of the -η- of ἐπηετανός. It is true that in the three dictionaries the possibility that this -η- could be like the one in ἐπήβολος, and therefore analogical, is suggested. But it is also true that Chantraine puts forth another alternative (i. e., that it stands for a metrically lengthened -ι-). If we take into account that Beekes practically limits himself to copying Frisk’s corresponding entry, Chantraine’s doubt can constitute support for the possible calling into question of the analogical explanation of that -η-. Despite its inherent difficulty and interest, I cannot enter into details of the analysis of ἐπήβολος.⁶ It is enough to say that habitually⁷ scholars follow the interpretation that the -η- of words like ἐπήβολος and κατηβολή could have been introduced analogically from terms like ἐπ-ήκοος, κατ-ήκοος, ἐπ-ημοιβός, where an old initial ᾱ- of the second member of the compound (cf. *-ᾱκοος ~ ἀκούω, *-ᾱμοιβος ~ ἀμοιβέω) would have been lengthened according to the famous “law of lengthening of compounds” in old Greek, also known as “Wackernagel’s law” or “Wackernagel’s second law”.⁸ There-

6 For this analysis, the possible relation with a term ἀβολέω could suggest the same origin as that of ἐπ-ήκοος, κατ-ήκοος, ἐπ-ημοιβός, which I show below.

7 Frisk *GEW* s. v., Chantraine *DELG* s. v., Beekes (2010 s. v.).

8 Wackernagel (1889). It is known as “Wackernagel’s second law” to distinguish it from the other law, formulated by the great Swiss linguist, which has been recognized as one of the most known and incontestable linguistic laws: it establishes the tendency of enclitic particles to occupy the second position in the Indo-European sentence (cf. Collinge 1985: 238). Frisk and Beekes – once more, following Frisk’s

fore, starting from a form like *ἐπί-βολος, analogically remade, the same interpretation for ἐπηετανός would be proposed. But, putting aside that this analogical interpretation for ἐπήβολος is doubtful, the truth is that in the case of ἐπηετανός, it would be necessary to start from an etymon *ἐπι-ετανός, as well as to assume that the analogical inclusion of -η- would have occurred probably later than the Mycenaean period and prior to the moment of the fall of ɣ. Otherwise, it would be possible to think of a form **ἐπ-ετανός, equivalent to those mentioned ἐπ-έτ-ειος, ἐπ-ετ-ήσιος, or of a form ἐπηετανός, which, for different reasons, we have seen that it appears as a throw-away variant in some codices.

Obviously, the hypothesis of analogical reconstruction supplies, lacking others, a possible explanation of that -η- in a compound *ἐπ(ι)-(ɣ)ετ-ανός, but it raises questions, which are usual when recurring to the analogical explanation as a last resort. Why would an analogy have been applied in this case? We should take into consideration that the number of compounds with ἐπ- before the consonant is much higher than those with the sequence ἐπ-η-, both in a global computation of examples in old Greek and in a partial one in the most ancient texts, which is the case of Homer. Besides, in which context or specific situation would this analogical influx have been favoured? Is the possibility of a different origin for this -η- admissible?

Considering the lack of agreement and the uncertainty that this state of affairs offers, in a relatively recent work A. Blanc (2005) has opted to make a completely different proposal about the etymology and the semantic analysis of the term.⁹ Actually, one implies the other. This means Blanc has had the ability to find another possible morphological explanation for the genesis of the term and has tried to fit the semantic analysis that such a reconstruction implied into the existent contexts. In his opinion, ἐπηετανός should receive in all the old occurrences a translation of the type 'qui aide, utile = that helps, useful', which would allow to see in the

example – refer not to Wackernagel's work, but to a later one by Brugmann about this subject. Actually, Wackernagel started from a study of a critique to a previous analysis by Brugmann. With his usual mastery, Wackernagel carried out an exhaustive analysis and description of such a phenomenon, and, although sometimes he has been criticized for not providing a clear interpretation of its origin, his precise and detailed description deserved to be named after him. Recently, Blanc (2005: 131, n. 5) has indeed acknowledged the importance of Wackernagel's work for the description of the phenomenon.

- 9 Blanc (2005: 131) bases his critique to the interpretation of the etymological dictionaries on Chantraine's analysis (*l.c.*): "... cette notice expose parfaitement toutes les incertitudes qui entourent ἐπηετανός: incertitude sur son sens d'abord, la notion d'abondance n'étant pas plus qu'une simple supposition; incertitude sur son étymologie, le rapprochement avec (ɣ)έτος ne reposant sur aucun indice positif et se heurtant au problème du -η- qui serait un substitut du ι de ἐπ; incertitude sur la suffixation ...".

compound the union of **epi* to an adjective derived, with a suffix **-e-t(o)-*, from the root **Hew(H)-*, which would be documented in Skt. *āvati* and OPers. *auuāmi* ‘favoriser, aider’. This proposal is very attractive, although it also contains some weak points. On the one hand, there is no agreement about the verbal root that might be reconstructed for the Indian and Persian forms, as recognized by Blanc himself (2005: 132), to the extent that even the quality of its initial laryngeal is doubted – from there the notation to which Blanc has recourse –. On the other hand, which appears most important to me, Blanc’s approach tends to force the translations and semantic interpretations to make them fit into his analysis, even if the author tries to fairly transmit the contrary, namely, the idea that the habitually recognized meanings do not adequately satisfy the translation of these passages. The fact that the adjective usually appears with a positive value, never pejorative, would favour that if the original meaning were ‘lasting the whole year’, when deriving in semantic nuances of the type ‘perennial, constant, inexhaustible, abundant’, it could be notionally close to the meaning of ‘beneficial, useful, helpful’.¹⁰ Thus, we could wonder to what extent the basic meaning attributed to the term, which is the fundamental base of Blanc’s proposal, is not contextually determined by the use it receives, with the semantic value that is traditionally attributed to it in those passages.

Nevertheless, Blanc’s interpretation deserves to be taken into account, even though, because of the aforementioned objections, I believe that we cannot definitively reject the traditional semantic interpretation. I think that we would need some other hint to favour one possibility or another.

In this sense, as support to the etymology which recognizes in ἐπιετανός a compound with the scheme **preverb + -η- + derived form of *wet-* ‘year’, it would be important to establish the existence of a possible parallel which would also fit into this scheme. This could be the case of the adverb τῆτες ‘this year’, which appears in comedy. As variants of Att. τῆτες, we know Ion. σῆτες, Dor. Hell. σᾶτες, and, what is especially interesting, Myc. *za-we-te*. All of these are usually derived from a protoform **ki- + *wet-es* ‘year’. As can be observed, again there is a segmentation between the adverbial form and the stem for ‘year’, and for the long vowel, which the Doric and the Mycenaean show us must refer back to an old *ā*, the analogy is used again. Truly enough, in this case it has been suggested that there possibly exists an influence of a term which would form a semantic subsystem with τῆτες, etc.: the adverb τήμερον ‘today’, Epic, Ion. Hell. σήμερον, Dor. σάμερον, which

10 No doubt, from a cognitive point of view, this meaning would be related to Lakoff & Johnson’s famous metaphor TIME IS MONEY, which entails that TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, and that TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (cf. Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 8–9).

is derived from *κυᾱμερον¹¹ < *κι-ᾱμερον “perhaps via an adjective *κι-ᾱμερος ‘belonging to this day’”.¹² Therefore, the etymon of τῆμερον would have provoked the replacement of the ancient *ki-wetes with a *ki-āwetes > *ky-āwetes, that would have given as a result Myc. *zawete*. But the analysis of both constructions as the result of a compositive scheme *preverb + *ā + form derived from *-wet- ‘year’ could allow us to avoid the *ad hoc* analogical explanations and look for a common origin for this *ā.

Furthermore, there is more important data to be considered. In my opinion, the possible parallels of this type of construction do not end here. For reasons of space, in this contribution I cannot address the possible relationship with two other compounds, in which it is possible to recognize forms of the theme *wet- ‘year’ in ancient Greek: ἐνιαυτός ‘anniversary; year’ and the adverb. νέωτα ‘the next year’ (which always tends to appear in the syntagm εἰς νέωτα). In the case of these compounds, the identification of the employed form of the theme *wet- is much more problematic, to the extent that until now it has not been taken into account in any form for the etymological analysis of ἐνιαυτός. Nevertheless, we could have before us parallel constructions to those of ἐπηετανός and τῆτες, as I hope I will prove in another work. In other words, we could have before us sequences of *preverb + root forms of *wet- ‘year’, between which a vowel *a would have been encrusted, the concrete quantity of which also deserves further consideration. Although ἐπηετανός and τῆτες seem to point towards an ancient *ā, actually there is room for another alternative. If we were faced with a vowel *ā, both in ἐπηετανός and in τῆτες, there would have existed the possibility that it would be lengthened when entering into composition with the preceding preverb, in accordance with the already mentioned “second law of Wackernagel.” Which is to say, in the sequences *epi-ā-wet- > *epāwet- > ἐπηετ- and *ki-ā-wet- > *kyāwet- > τῆτ- there would have been, in an equivalent phonic context – a sequence of two vowels in hiatus as result of the composition –, a resolution of this unstable sequence through the consonantization, or conversion in consonantic glide, of the first vowel *i, and through the compensatory lengthening of the second vowel.¹³ Actually, we have already seen that the same process would be attested in ancient Greek in sequences like *ἐπι-ακο- > ἐπ-ήκοος, *ἐπι-αμο- > ἐπ-ημοιβός.¹⁴ Therefore, it is possible to begin from a sequence *preverb + *ā + *-wet-. But if this *ā were short, and thus not analogical, how could this element be explained?

11 Lejeune (1972: 110).

12 Beekes (2010 s. v.).

13 Actually, this phenomenon is not exclusive to the Greek language, on the contrary, it has been described for several languages which are typologically very different (cf. Cassali 1996, 1997).

14 Blanc (2005: 131) also recognizes such a phenomenon in his etymological hypothesis.

In accordance with the stratification of the semantic values that we have seen in ἐπέτειος and ἐπετήσιος – which due to their characteristics clearly appear to be posterior formations, dating to a time in which the law of lengthening in composition would no longer be operative –, from a first meaning (1) ‘annual, yearly’, which we can qualify as ‘punctual’, another could be derived (2) ‘lasting all the year’ with a ‘durative’ nuance. Actually (in the case of ἐπέτειος), there could be another derivation with the meaning (3) ‘of/in this year’. This leads me to consider whether in this **a* a primitive preverb might not be hidden, which, attached to **wet-*, would have formed a compound with this value of ‘annual, yearly’ (1), from where two elements would have been derived: on the one hand the second member of ἐπ-ηετανός, with a meaning now of ‘lasting all the year’ (2), and on the other hand the second member of τ-ήτες, Myc. *z-awetes* with the connotation ‘of/in this year’. Owing to the lexical weakening of this possible preverb **a-*, at some time the strengthening through the attachment of a new preverb would have been necessary, **epi-* in ἐπ-ηετανός and **ki-* in τήτες, *zawetes*. This new preverb would serve to reinforce the concrete semantic nuance into which each one of these forms would have evolved. A morphological deterioration can also have contributed to this lexical weakening, in the case that **a* had come from an etymon **h₂e-*, which seems credible. With respect to this, it is interesting to recall that, on separate occasions, the reconstruction of preverbs and particles with a base **h₂* and with semantic values very close to those of **epi*¹⁵ has been proposed, so it is possible to think of the existence of primitive compounds in **h₂(e)-wet-* with similar values to those which much later are found in ἐπέτειος and ἐπετήσιος. However this is a question which deserves more precise research.

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15 Cf., for instance, the proposals of reconstructing a preverb **h₂o* “indicating that one object is brought up against other” (Melchert 1988: 223–224), ‘up against, next to, by’ (Dunkel 1994: 33). Personally, I believe that this same element, but with **h₂e*-quality, would appear as the first member of prepositions such as IE **h₂e-po* > Lat. *ab*, Gk. *ἀπό* (cf. the reconstruction with laryngeal Vaan 2008: 19, Beekes 2010: 117), IE **h₂e-d(e/o)* > Lat. *ad* (cf. Vaan 2008: 24), IE **h₂e-u(e/o)* ‘far from’ > Lat. *a-u-t*, Gk. *α-ῦ*, *α-ῦ-τε* (grammaticalized), Skt. *áv-a* ‘from, down(wards)’, Av. *auu-ā* ‘towards’ (cf. Vaan 2008: 64, Beekes 2010: 167), etc.

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50. Τύχα in Two Lead Tablets from Selinous (OF 830)*

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The edition of two new lead tablets from Selinous, both dated in the fifth century BC, opens again the discussion about the origin and significance of these cryptic texts in which the famous *ephesia grammata* are written.¹ I offer the *editio princeps* carried out by Professor Giovanna Rocca.² My contribution will be focused in a peculiarity of these lead tablets, hitherto unparalleled: the mention of Τύχα, the goddess of Fortune.³

Tablet N recto/verso: Private Collection, mid-fifth century BC

N recto

→

1. τύχα
2.]υσσκι κατὰ σκιερὸν ἐν δ' ἀμ[ο]λγῶ[ι
3. αἶγ]α βίαι ἐ(κ) κάπου ἐλαύνει ταιδ'
ὄνομα τετ[ρα]γος

4.]δαμνυμενα δάμασον δὲ κακὸς ἀ(ἐ)κοντας[
5. ὅ]ι κε τοδε σκεδαθεῖ κατασικονιαος καὶ
φρασ[iv
6. ἔ]χῃ μακάρων ἀποκεδεαιδος

N verso

←

1. σ]κιρὸν ἐν δ' ἀμο[λγ]ῶ[ι
2. ἐ]λαύνει τ[α?]ιδ' ὄνομα τετρ[α]γος
3. δάμ]ασον [δ]ὲ κακὸς ἀ(ἐ)κοντα[ς
4. σκεδαθεῖ]ι κατα[σι]κονιαος καὶ
φρασ[iv
5. ἀ]ποκεδε[αε]ιδος

Tablet A recto/verse: Private Collection, mid-fifth century BC

A recto

←

1. τύχα
2.]υσσκι κατ[ὰ σκιερὸν
3.]βίαι ἐ(κ) κάπου
4. δ]αμνυμενα[
5.]τοδε σκεδα[θεῖ]
6. ἔ]χῃ μακάρων[

A verso

→

1.]σεφ[
2. ασσκι[
3. αἶξ αἶγ]α
4. τετρα[γος
5. δλβιος ὅ]ι
6. αὐτὸς ε[

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1 The analogous texts are edited in *OF* 830.

2 Rocca (2009: 23–43 and 74–77) and Rocca (forthcoming).

3 Doric dialect.

The relation between this kind of *epodai*, on which the *ephesia grammata* are written, and Orphism has been indicated, among others, by D. Jordan, A. Bernabé, G. Rocca and myself.⁴ For this reason I will not go in depth into that topic; instead, I will focus my attention on the word that entitled the two new lead tablets.

According to the *editio princeps*, these two documents start in the recto side with the invocation or title Τύχα and follow a text very close to the rest of lead tablets edited by Bernabé in *OF* 830.⁵ In tablet N the noun Τύχα appears indented from the left margin of the tablet and it has been engraved in bigger characters, as if it were a kind of title or heading.⁶ The edition of tablet A asserts that the noun Τύχα is also emphasized by the size of the letters, but I could not confirm it because this line is not visible enough in the photograph I had access to.⁷

The invocation to the goddess of Fortune in this kind of texts is unusual – at least for the moment –,⁸ so the question of what it means in the global context presents itself logically. We may discuss whether this invocation has a relation with the Orphic environment or, on the contrary, its appearance indicates a different use of these particular documents. In order to answer this question it is necessary, first of all, to study the role of the goddess Τύχη in mystic texts, especially in Orphic sources, and secondly, to contextualize these new texts with other similar inscriptions from the same geographical area.

Τύχη does not seem to be alien to the mysteries and the world of the Beyond in literary and documentary sources.⁹ In the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*,¹⁰ whose relation to Eleusis is well-known,¹¹ Τύχη is one of the goddesses who accompanied Persephone when she was raped by Hades. She is

4 Jordan (2000), Bernabé (2003), Martín Hernández (2006: 359–385; 2010: 144–163), Rocca (2009: 31–48) and Rocca (forthcoming).

5 It is especially remarkable the relation between these texts from Selinous with the lead tablet from Phalassarna, Crete (*OF* 830c). This tablet shows an exhortation to the faithful, like in the tablets we are analyzing. This *makarismos* is one of the main grounds to link these lead tablets and Orphism.

6 One may compare the position of *Tyche* in these tablets with that of Dionysus in the bone tablets from Olbia (*OF* 464 and 465). In these tablets the name of the god is also emphasized by its size and position in respect of the rest of the text. About the Olbian tablets (*OF* 463–465, 537, 564) see, among many others, Dubois (1996) and Bernabé (2008: 537–546).

7 I am very grateful to Professor Giovanna Rocca for giving me a photograph of this lead tablet.

8 I must say “for the moment” because we are waiting for the edition of another lead tablet with *ephesia grammata* conserved in the Paul Getty Museum. The edition will be carried out by Jordan and several references have been pointed out in Jordan (2000).

9 See Edwards (1990).

10 *h.Cer.* 420.

11 Vid. Richardson (1974: 12–30).

also associated to Demeter and Persephone in several Greek cities, and her divine role is also linked with fertility as the world of the Beyond.¹² Τύχη is also connected with Nemesis,¹³ the personification of revenge, and with the Erinyes, whose relation with the Underworld leaves no room for doubt. All of these goddesses appear in the same context in the vase paintings from the South of Italy.¹⁴ On the other hand, the goddess of Fortune shares sanctuary with Agathodaimon, the Good *Daimon*, in the *nekromanteion* of Trophonius in Lebadea. Those who consulted the oracle stayed at the temple for one whole day before actually going into the oracle. The relation between the rituals performed in this oracle and the ones performed in different mysteries and, specially, in the Orphic *teletai*, has often been pointed out.¹⁵

The goddess of Fortune appears sometimes in association with divinities of destiny. She is connected to Ananke, ‘inevitability’, since both deities rule the vicissitudes of life and it is convenient to gain their favours,¹⁶ and she has been related in Orphic sources to Moira.

Τύχη is not a very popular divinity in Orphic texts. However she is not completely excluded. *Orphic Hymn* 72 (2nd century AD) is dedicated to Τύχη, also named Artemis.¹⁷ According to the hymn, the goddess is the daughter of Eubuleus, a god invoked in several Orphic gold tablets from Thurii dated to the fourth century B. C.¹⁸ Moira and other divinities responsible of the subjugation of the dead are also invoked in these gold tablets.¹⁹

It is also interesting the apparition of the noun Τύχη in the cryptic Orphic tablet from Thurii OF 492. Her name, written in Doric dialect too, could be isolated from the *mare magnum* of letters without sense which compose the complete document. The invocation to the goddess appears before the names of Phanes and Moirai.

12 In the Athenian Thesmophoria people offered a male suckling pig and bread to Τύχη, Demeter, Despoina, and Pluto (*IG* V (1) 364 = Sokolowski [1969: nr. 63]). In the temple of Demeter in Heraclea, a city in the Lucanian coast, a piece of metal was found with a portrait of the offerer and a dedication to Demeter, Kore and Agathe Tyche. The piece has been dated around 4th–3rd century BC. See Sfameni (1997: 85).

13 There is a dedication to Nemesis and Τύχη in Epidaurus (*IG* IV 1326, 5th–4th century BC). They appear together in pottery paintings: vid. *LIMC* IV, pl. 280 s. v. Heilmarmene 1. At a later period they appear assimilated. Vid. *CIL* III 1125 and Hesych s. v. Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη: ἡ Νέμεσις καὶ Θέμις.

14 See Smith (1972) and Aellen (1994).

15 See Bonnechere (1998) and (2002) and Martín Hernández (2005).

16 Gorgias relates *Tyche* to *Ananke* in 82 B 11.6 DK.

17 Vid. Morand (2001: 72 and commentaries).

18 OF 488.2; 489.2 and 490.2. Eubuleus in Orphic sources is an epithet of Hades, Zeus Chthonios or Dionysus. For discussion vid. Graf (1974) and Bernabé – Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008: 102–104).

19 In the Orphic tablets the verbal form used for “subjugate” is δαμάζω, the same verb used in the lead tablets to bring the goat from the garden.

Following our analysis we must pay attention to the literature and the documents written in the same geographical area of the find. There are not many literary passages that reveal the mythical role of Τύχη in Sicily. Empedocles, a Sicilian author, in his poem *On Nature*, states that all creatures will obtain the complete knowledge by the power of Fortune, and Pindar, strongly linked to Sicily, says that Τύχη is one of the Moirai.

In epigraphic sources Fortune appears invoked in public and private documents found in cities nearby Selinous.²⁰ It is worth comparing these private inscriptions, especially the curses, *defixiones*, and the lead tablets we are analyzing here. It has been noted that *defixiones* were usually manufactured following a conservative tradition, and they make use of the terminology and conventionality of the legal public texts.²¹ The *sinistrorsum* and the *boustrophedon* writing in a date in which the *dextrorsum* scripture has been implanted could be seen as clear signs of conservatism, and we have many examples of that particularity.²² In the case of our lead tablets the text appears written from left to right on one side, although the other side is written from right to left.

The invocation to Fortune in magical texts, which can be related to the aforementioned connection between magical and legal texts, often appears in Greece²³ and sometimes in Sicily.²⁴

I would like to point out that our lead tablets are not only parallel to *defixiones* in their material dimension – made out of lead and rolled up – but also in the textual dimension, since the epodes in these lead tablets contain the six words which would become the famous *ephesia grammata*. Although the magical value conferred to these six magical words out of context seems to be subsequent, and these lead tablets have probably nothing to do with magic but with a mystic cult, the magical use of them out of context has to be taken into account.

In conclusion, the name of the goddess of Fortune at the beginning of the texts from Selinous can be compared to other inscriptions in which the

20 There are several inscriptions in Sicily and Magna Graecia. See e.g. Herakleia SEG 30: 1164; Krimisos SEG 4: 75 and Petelia IG XIV 636. It is possible that the role of Τύχη as protector goddess of the city, one of her more known and exploited functions, underlies this invocation. The association between Τύχη and Eleusis is very interesting, as also is the personification of the city in an Apulian vase conserved in Malibu (86.AE.680). Eleusis is represented on this vase wearing a *polos*, and in the company of Ἐνιαυτός, who carries a *cornucopia*. The *cornucopia* and the *polos* are also attributes of Τύχη. On this regard see Paus. 4.30.6, a description of the statue of Τύχη in Smyrne, dated in 536 BC. See Aellen (1994: 100).

21 See Martín Hernández (2010).

22 See Curbera (1999: 163).

23 E.g. a *defixio* from Attic dated in the 4th century BC, AE 1903: 58, 5. In this curse the gods and the good fortune are invoked.

24 See Rocca (2008: 26) who quote Jordan ap. West (1997: 71).

goddess is invoked in order to obtain her favour. Appealing to Fortune favours the wishes expressed in the text and ratifies the agreements. In the case of the documents from Selinous this agreement, the desire yearned for and that the goddess is going to protect is, probably, the *makarismos* written at the end of both inscriptions: “happy he who ...”.²⁵

On the other hand the noun Τύχη written along with Moira in the text of the Orphic gold tablet from Thurii links Fortune with the human destiny and connect her with the Orphic sphere. But in these cases it is not the destiny of all human beings, but the destiny of the *mystai*, according to the nature of the texts and the *makarismos* of the lead tablets. The gold tablet from Thurii is not a normal Orphic tablet. Its cryptic structure and the fact that it was the envelope of another gold tablet makes this document a special one, sometimes connected to the world of magic as the lead tablets from Selinous which, we must not forget, contain extremely famous magical words as the *ephesia grammata*.

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25 The variations of this formula are compiled in Rocca (forthcoming).

51. Música y Palabra en Orfeo (sobre OF 960)

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1.

La reciente realización de un extenso trabajo sobre la música y la palabra en la mitología griega (Martínez 2010) me va a permitir elaborar este pequeño trabajo del mismo tema en Orfeo y contribuir así al merecido homenaje al Profesor A. Bernabé, compañero de estudios desde el año 1966 y amigable colega posteriormente.

En el siglo V a. C. en la Grecia antigua la *mousiké (téchnē)*, ‘el arte de las Musas’, definía no sólo el arte de los sonidos, sino también la poesía y la danza, que eran los medios de transmisión de una cultura eminentemente oral, difundida a través de ejecuciones públicas, en las que la palabra, la melodía y el gesto tenían una función relevante (Comotti 1986: 5). Los poetas-músicos profesionales, desde Terpandro en adelante (Arquíloco, Alcmán, Estesícoro, Alceo, Safo, etc.), componían ellos mismos las palabras y la música y representaban sus propias composiciones o dirigían su representación (Kemp 1966: 5). Según algunas últimas investigaciones, la humanidad lleva más de cuarenta mil años de música (cf. J. Corbella, *La Vanguardia*, 20/09/2009), pero en lo que se refiere al canto la cosa no está tan clara. En un artículo titulado “La invención del canto” (*ABC Cultural*, 30/06/2001) Stefano Rusomanno se preguntaba “cuándo nació el canto y quién lo inventó”, y al no poder contestar, ya que su origen se pierde en la más remota antigüedad, propone que su génesis se deba a la mítica intervención de los dioses, empezando por Apolo y siguiendo por Orfeo. Precisamente esta pareja la citaba ya en el s. II d. C. Ateneo de Náucratis, cuando en su *Banquete de los eruditos* (14.632 e) expresamente decía: “En general, la antigua sabiduría de los griegos se concedía sobre todo a la música. Y por esto pensaban que de los dioses, Apolo, y de los semidioses, Orfeo, eran el más musical y el más sabio”. En consecuencia, Orfeo es el poeta y músico más sobresaliente de la cultura griega, que cumple como nadie la relación música-palabra de la que vamos a decir algo en esta pequeña colaboración.

2.

En el caso de Orfeo estamos ante “uno de los personajes más difíciles y complejos de la mitología griega y los mitos relacionados con él están cargados frecuentemente de episodios oscuros muy difíciles de interpretar” (Souvirón 2008: 46), por lo que, como muy bien señala A. Bernabé (2008a), no es de extrañar que nos encontremos “ante una biografía compleja” por varias razones: la atribución de diversas creaciones a un personaje mítico con nombre de gran antigüedad; la prodigiosidad de su música; su mítica participación en el famoso viaje de los Argonautas; el episodio con su esposa Eurídice (para el cual véase ahora R. González Delgado 2008); su prodigiosa mente y los episodios que le siguen, así como los cultos que recibe. En todo caso, no hay que olvidar que estamos ante un nombre con prodigioso dominio de la poesía, entendida como una íntima unión entre palabra y música. El debate de la música y la palabra es constante a lo largo de toda nuestra historia cultural europea. De los numerosos intelectuales de todos los tiempos y de todas las naciones que se han pronunciado sobre él citaremos aquí el testimonio del Premio Nobel portugués José Saramago, quien en una relativamente reciente disertación en la Universidad madrileña Carlos III sobre la similitud entre la palabra y la música afirmaba que antes de escribir escuchaba la música que hay en las palabras, dado que música y palabra se parecen “porque hablar es hacer música”. En la cultura griega la palabra es el instrumento por excelencia en la vida intelectual, espiritual y política, donde desempeñaba sus funciones en el plano político, jurídico y educativo (Martino 2004). Ya lo decía el sofista Gorgias (483–385 a. C.) en su célebre *Encomio de Helena*: “La palabra es un poderoso soberano que, con un cuerpo pequeñísimo y completamente invisible, lleva a cabo obras sumamente divinas”.

3.

La unión de la palabra y la música en un solo arte es bien visible, como hemos apuntado ya, en el caso de Orfeo. Es esto una virtud o un don que destacan muchísimos testimonios antiguos (recogidos en la edición de A. Bernabé, 2004 y 2005), entre los que destacamos aquí el de Píndaro (518–446 a. C.), quien cita “al muy célebre Orfeo” como “el tañedor de la lira y el padre de los cantos” (*P.* 4.176) y quien mejor cumple con el deber creado por los dioses: “mezclar la lira de varios acentos, el clamor de las flautas y el puesto de las palabras” (*O.* 3.8). Posteriormente Platón (427–347 a. C.) en su celeberrimo diálogo *Protágoras*, describe al ilustre sofista del mismo nombre como el orador que, al igual que Orfeo, encanta a la gente con su voz y ésta le sigue hechizada por su son (*Prt.* 315a). En la obra de Eurípides

(485–406 a. C.) tenemos, al menos, otras dos referencias que abundan en el tópico que estamos tratando. Las dos son muy similares en su contenido. En la primera, Admeto, el marido de Alceste, una vez muerta ésta, llega a exclamar: “Si tuviera la lengua y el canto de Orfeo para conmovier con mis canciones a la hija de Deméter o a su esposo y poder sacarte del Hades, descendería allí” (*Alc.* 356–360). La misma idea profesa Ifigenia dirigiéndose a su padre Agamenón antes de ser sacrificada: “Si yo tuviera la elocuencia de Orfeo, padre, para persuadir con mis cánticos de modo que se conmovieran las peñas, y para hechizar a quienes quisiera, a esto acudiría” (*IA*, 1211–1214). Después de estos testimonios no nos extraña nada que el famoso humanista catalán B. Metge (1340–1413) encabezara su *Fábula de Orfeo* diciendo: “Apolo fue mi padre y Calíope mi madre, y nací en la comarca de Tracia. El mayor tiempo de mi vida lo empleé en Retórica y Música” (la cita en Segal 1995: 289).

4.

La relación de Orfeo con la *música* reviste infinidad de episodios, circunstancias y detalles que han sido muy bien recogidos y descritos, entre otros, por F. Molina (1997: 290–291) y Graf (1987), entre los que cabe destacar los medios de su arte (canto, instrumentos, poesía), su influjo sobre la naturaleza inanimada (animales, árboles, rocas, mares, tormentas, etc.), su acción sobre la colectividad humana (especialmente su participación en el viaje de los Argonautas y la iniciación de una cultura musical), así como su capacidad de persuadir a los dioses (Hades, Perséfone, Hespérides, Sirenas, etc.), la historia de cómo Orfeo perdió a su esposa e intentó rescatarla, cómo murió en manos de unas mujeres tracias o ménades y lo que pasó con su cabeza. Entre los numerosos *episodios musicales* relacionados con la vida de nuestro héroe señalaremos aquí los siguientes:

- Aumentar el número de cuerdas de la cítara-lira de siete a nueve en honor de las Musas.
- Hermes le regala y le enseña a Orfeo cómo tocar la lira, quien, a su vez, instruye en este instrumento a otros poetas-músicos míticos como Támiris y Lino (otras veces es éste el maestro de Orfeo).
- Otros poetas-músicos míticos muy relacionados con Orfeo son Museo (cuyo significado sería “cantor inspirado por las Musas”, una de ellas, Calíope, pasa por ser su madre), quien aparece como su amigo, discípulo, maestro e incluso hijo, y Neanto, de quien se dice que hereda la lira después del episodio de su trágica muerte a manos de unas mujeres tracias.
- Según Luciano (115–180 d. C.), en su tratadito *Sobre la astrología*, Orfeo es el primero en instruir a los griegos en astrología, para lo cual se consuyó una lira y celebraba misterios y ritos con cánticos poéticos. Su lira

- expresaba la armonía de las estrellas errantes y los griegos la pusieron en el cielo con el nombre de Lira de Orfeo (*Astr.* 10).
- En las *Argonáuticas* de Apolonio de Rodas (A.R. 295–215 a.C.) y de Valerio Flaco (V.F., ca. 70 d.C.) hay varias referencias o *actuaciones musicales* de Orfeo que debemos citar aquí, entre las que cabe mencionar las siguientes: presentación de Orfeo como argonauta y cómo hechizaba a las duras peñas de los montes, al curso de los ríos y a las encinas silvestres “con la armonía de sus cantos” (A.R. 1.26–31); al son de la cítara de Orfeo los remeros de la Argo batían con los remos el agua impetuosa de la mar (A.R. 1.536–541); a indicación de Orfeo, los jóvenes daban vueltas saltando en una danza armada golpeando los escudos (A.R. 1.1135–1137); a los acordes de la lira de Orfeo, los argonautas cantan armoniosamente un himno (A.R. 2.161–162); Orfeo ofrenda su lira en el altar de Apolo Salvanaves y por ello el lugar se llamará Lira (A.R. 2.927–929); al ritmo de la armoniosa lira de Orfeo Jasón y Medea cantan el himeneo ante la cámara nupcial (A.R. 4.1159–1160); al ritmo de su armoniosa lira y de su canto Orfeo golpea el suelo reiteradamente con su adornada sandalia (A.R. 4.1194–1195); el tracio Orfeo marca el ritmo con su canto para que no compitan entre sí sobre la superficie del agua los hermanos Calais y Zetes (V.F. 1.471–473); en lo alto de la popa, Orfeo entona un canto reconfortante que hace olvidar las preocupaciones, con lo que con su ritmo y su lira desaparece la tristeza, el cansancio, los resquemores y nostalgia de los hijos de los argonautas (V.F. 4.85–90).

5.

Si de la música pasamos a la *palabra* son igualmente numerosísimos los testimonios antiguos (todos ellos recogidos en la edición de A. Bernabé 2004 y 2005) que nos citan a Orfeo en múltiples situaciones que tienen que ver con sus palabras, como, por ejemplo, dando instrucciones (A.R. 1.916–917 para atracar en la isla de Electra), exhortando a la tripulación a exponer fuera de la nave Argo un gran trípode de Apolo (A.R. 4.1548–1549), aplacando a las Hespérides con súplicas (A.R. 4.1411–1422), pronunciando un discurso ante los argonautas para bautizar como isla de Apolo Matinal a la desierta isla de Tinia a la que habían llegado y donde se les aparece el dios de dorados bucles y arco plateado (A.R. 2.686–694) o mencionando y recordando algunos de sus cantos cosmogónicos y de otra índole al comienzo (versos 12–33) de las *Argonáuticas Órficas* (en adelante AO). Pero lo verdaderamente interesante desde el punto de vista de la *palabra* de Orfeo es la referencia a aquellos testimonios que nos transmiten algo del contenido de sus supuestas obras. Desde muy antiguo Orfeo pasó por ser el autor de una amplia serie de obras literarias cuyos avatares han sido bien estudiados por A. Bernabé

(2008b). En este sentido hay que reseñar el espléndido análisis que hace F. Molina (2003: 106–112) del contenido y temas de la poesía de Orfeo: cantos teogónicos y cosmogónicos, himnos en honor de varios dioses, cantos de tipo amoroso, cantos a diversos dioses, etc. Basándonos especialmente en el trabajo citado de F. Molina (2003) y en el de E. Schwartz (1984) ofrecemos a continuación una lista de los principales testimonios, griegos y latinos, en los que se hace mención expresa al contenido de la palabra de Orfeo:

- A. R. 1.496–511: Canto cosmogónico-teogónico improvisado por Orfeo sobre el origen del mundo y el mito de Ofión y Eurínome. Texto muy bien estudiado por G. Iacobacci (1993), R. B. Martínez Nieto (2000: 247–255) y B. Souvirón (2008: 35–46).
- A. R. 1.570–571: Canto de celebración en honor de Ártemis Salvanaves.
- A. R. 2.700–714: En honor de Apolo Matinal y al son de su lira Bistonía Orfeo entona un armonioso canto sobre cómo Apolo una vez mató con sus flechas al monstruo Delfine (el dragón de Delfos llamado Pitón).
- A. R. 4.905–910: Gracias a su lira Bistonía el tracio Orfeo entona una vivaz melodía de canto ligero con la que supera a las armoniosas Sirenas que estaban a punto de hacer perecer a la tripulación de la Argo con sus dulces cantos. En AO 1268–1291, encontramos otra canción de Orfeo, quien con su forminge en la mano entona un maravilloso canto de su madre (Calíope) sobre cómo en una ocasión disputaron por unos caballos Zeus y Posidón, con el que logró asombrar a las Sirenas que cesaron en su seductora melodía.
- AO 252–265: Tensando su lira con las manos, Orfeo entona un canto alegre y rítmico haciendo salir de su pecho una voz dulce como el lirio.
- AO 406–440: Orfeo rivaliza con el centauro Quirón, quien con su arpa cantó la lucha de los Centauros. A este canto responde Orfeo con su forminge, quien emite un himno de dulce acento sobre el Caos, Eros, Crono, Brimo, Baco y los Gigantes, con el que logra asombrar al centauro, quien da gruesas palmadas y golpea el suelo con sus pezuñas.
- Virgilio (70–19 a. C.), *Geórgicas* 4.464–467: Orfeo con su cóncava cítara canta a la esposa de Aristeo para consolarla de su desgraciado amor.
- Ovidio (43 a. C.–17 d. C.), *Metamorfosis* 10.15–39: Orfeo ante Perséfone y Plutón, moviendo las cuerdas al son de sus palabras, entona un canto con el que convence a los dioses del Averno a dejar salir a su amada Eurídice.
- Ovidio, *Metamorfosis* 10.147–739: La canción más larga de Orfeo que nos transmiten los testimonios antiguos. Aquí empieza recordando el vate tracio, en una especie de proemio, que ya en otra ocasión había cantado el poder de Júpiter, a los Gigantes y a los campos de Flegra. Ahora, con “una lira más ligera” va cantar a los jóvenes amados por los dioses y a las chicas embrujadas por fuegos prohibidos: Ganimedes, Jacinto, Pigmalión, Adonis, las Propétides, Mirra y Atalanta.

- V.F. 1.287–293: El vate tracio canta dulcemente cómo Frixo logró escapar de Atamante llevándose consigo a Hele.
- V.F. 4.349–422: Inspirado por su madre Calíope canta la historia del exilio de la novilla hija de Ínaco (Io).
- V.F. 5.438–439: Las focas se alegran con el canto de Orfeo.
- Nemesiano (s. III d. C.), *Bucólicas* 1.24–29: Relación de cantores que celebraron y cantaron las numerosas y gloriosas acciones de Melibeeo: Febo Apolo, Pan, Lino y Orfeo, con su lira.
- Claudiano (s. IV–V d. C.), *Rapto de Prosérpina* 2.29–48: El poeta de Tracia canta los trabajos de Hércules y la persecución de su madrastra.
- Claudiano, *Carmina Minora* 31.23–32: Orfeo canta a varios dioses, entre ellos a Juno.
- Sidonio Apolinar (430–480 d. C.), *Poemas* 6.1–30: El bardo ismario (Orfeo) con su laúd tracio canta el feliz nacimiento de Palas Atenea y a su madre Calíope.

A la vista de semejante listado, nada tiene de extraño que Orígenes (185–254 d. C.), en su apología cristiana titulada *Contra Celso* (1.16–17), dijera que Orfeo había puesto por escrito el mito de los dioses supuestos y las pasiones humanas.

6.

Hasta aquí hemos intentado condensar, dentro de los límites exigidos en este homenaje, lo esencial en relación con la música y la palabra en la complicada biografía del mítico Orfeo, tal como se nos presenta en los numerosos testimonios grecolatinos, tan sabiamente editados por el homenajeado (A. Bernabé 2004 y 2005). Para terminar, y como colofón a este pequeño trabajo, me gustaría cerrarlo con la cita de un epigrama de Nearco, poeta del s. I d. C., referido al famoso auleta samio llamado Teléfanos, en el que aparecen citados los dos personajes míticos más representativos de la música y la palabra: Orfeo y el anciano gerenio Néstor:

Orfeo a su cítara debe el honor de que goza,
Néstor a la elocuencia de su palabra dulce,
Homero el divino a sus versos con arte ensamblados;
Teléfanos, aquí sepultado, a sus flautas (AP 7.159).

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52. Heracles y Orfeo. Una relación de por vida (sobre OF 1018 I)

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Geropso, la Vejestorio, desdentada, blanca la cabellera lacia, curvada por la edad y sobre un báculo no menos recurvado por los años, con la mueca irremediable de un rostro surcado por las arrugas, avanza renqueante llevando de mal grado la liviana lira – la *chelys* – en su mano (fig. 1). El instrumento no le corresponde, desdice de una vieja como ésta. Es una sierva que marcha a trompicones detrás del adolescente Heracles a quien en este momento lo que menos le apetece es tener que asistir a la aburrida clase de música. Impertinente y bien peinado camina erguido, con decidido desdén, bajo el elegante envoltorio del *himation*, al caminar repetidamente se detiene. Orienta la punta de su lanza inseparable hacia el suelo, inactiva cuando bien que podría estar él ahora cazando. La esclava tracia, de brazos tatuados, le mira rezongando y alguna palabra de reproche surgirá por entre el incompleto cerco de sus labios. La pupila redonda del ojo de Heracles, especialmente resaltada, irradia un mal humor irreprimible. El joven estallará en cualquier momento. Pero aún no lo hace.

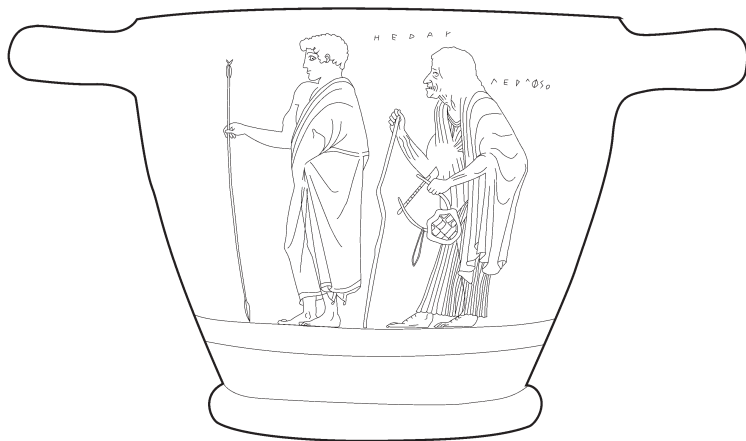


Fig. 1: La vieja Geropso acompaña, lira en mano, al joven Heracles a la clase de música.
Escifo del Pintor de Pistóxeno, del Museo de Schwerin. Dibujo de Sara Olmos.

El conocido escifo ático del Pintor de Pistóxeno, de hacia el 460 a. C., que conserva el Museo de Schwerin, contrapone en sus dos caras el *ethos* del irreprochable Ificles al reprochable *ethos* de su compañero de edad, que no de ánimos, Heracles.¹ Ificles está sentado en un sencillo *diphros*, con el cuerpo erguido y la mirada atenta hacia Lino, su maestro de música, quien está sentado en el *klismós* o asiento con respaldo como corresponde a su mayor autoridad en el recinto de la clase (fig. 2). El anciano canoso y barbado inclina su cuerpo atento, plenamente entregado al instrumento. Ificles le mira para imitar hasta en el más mínimo detalle la técnica del maestro, cuya derecha sostiene el plectro mientras que las yemas de los dedos de su izquierda detienen suavemente los sonidos sobre las cuerdas de la *chelys*, previamente pulsadas. Ambos están compenetrados, el discípulo aprende en silencio, desde la imitación, observando. De la pared de la clase cuelga una cítara; el habitual utensilio cruciforme que se supone sirve para tensar las cuerdas del instrumento; y, ya en un extremo, el premio que aguarda al buen Ificles: el *phormiscos* o bolsa de cuero, con el adorno de una roseta cosida, que contiene las tabas con las que jugará en sus horas de ocio.

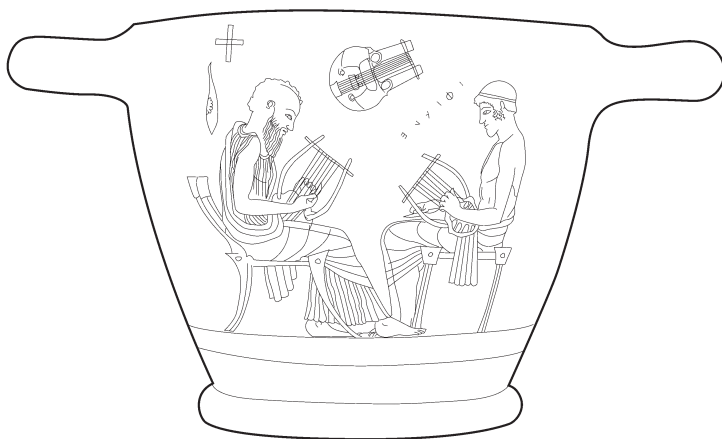


Fig. 2: Ificles aprende del maestro Lino la enseñanza de la lira. Escifo del Pintor de Pistóxeno, del Museo de Schwerin. Dibujo de Sara Olmos.

En estos años previos al momento clásico, cuando con variados mitos se está configurando en la pintura ática el motivo del aprendizaje musical de todo buen ciudadano, el joven Heracles no sale bien parado. Es el héroe *ámousos*, ajeno al regocijo de las Musas, al que más adelante se referirá el cómico ático Alexis en un fragmento que podría relacionarnos ya, indirectamente,

1 Simon (1976: 128, n° 180–181). Museo estatal de Schwerin, inv. 708; *LIMC* IV, s. v. 'Herakles' n° 1666.

la enseñanza de Orfeo y el desdén hacia la *paideia* de este jovencillo.² Los editores de estos estudios que le debemos a Alberto Bernabé por su magisterio y amistad me han brindado amablemente este guiño literario. En otros vasos áticos coetáneos la historia va más allá cuando, arrebatado por la ira, el desmedido adolescente golpea con el taburete de madera la desprotegida cabeza del venerable maestro en medio del revuelo de la clase.³ Estas vivas escenas de *hybris* y de mala educación pueden, como todo exceso, contener el germen de un discurso cómico sobre el escenario de un teatro.

La música suscita una diversidad de sentimientos, es portadora de contradicciones en el ánimo. Lo padeció bien el Orfeo que nos muestran los vasos áticos coetáneos: desde el ensimismamiento del público masculino para el que canta en Tracia sobre la cumbre del monte Pangeo cuando despuntan los primeros rayos del sol, a la violencia desenfrenada de las mujeres airadas, que en ese mismo lugar y ante idéntica música se arremolinan para atacar y despedazar el cuerpo del cantor mientras él se ofrece a sí mismo como víctima voluntaria al tiempo que trata de poner a salvo de los golpes su más preciosa posesión, el instrumento de su oficio sagrado.⁴ Pero el escifo de Schwerin nos muestra dos modelos de adolescentes en su respectiva tensión anímica, previa al desenlace. Atenas está remodelando sus ideales heroicos en un momento de aguda conciencia ciudadana: asoma una crítica a la inculta desmesura de algunos héroes griegos, que contrasta con la recompensa de la *paideia*, elogiada sobre el lado opuesto del vaso. Por lo demás, Heracles, poco dotado para el ejercicio de las Musas, deberá cumplir en otros contextos con sus obligaciones sagradas con la cítara, un instrumento mucho más complejo, dificultoso y refinado. Es el extraordinario Heracles *mousikós*, bien representado, ya como adulto, en la cerámica ática del tardoarcaísmo.⁵ Dejemos aquí de lado estos temas con sus maravillosas extrañezas y su escondida vis cómica. *Paulo maiora canamus*.

La biografía de Heracles resulta enormemente paradójica en su relación con las Musas. Repetidamente el héroe será testigo del inmenso poder de la música que detenta Orfeo, muy superior al vigor de las armas. La expedición de los Argonautas, cuyo primer convocado fue Orfeo,⁶ es excelente ocasión para esta experiencia. Por el hijo de Calíope conocerá Heracles la taumaturgia del canto cuando aquél hubo de poner orden en una encendida disputa entre los expedicionarios. Su canción recreó la funesta discordia primordial entre las cosas, a la que sigue el cosmos.⁷ El cosmos del tiempo remoto rees-

2 OF 1018 I, un fragmento del cómico Alexis (Alex. fr. 140 K.-A.): Heracles aparece en la escuela y le ofrecen varios libros (entre ellos de Orfeo) y él elige un libro de cocina. Cf. Fiorentino (2009: 23–29). Agradezco a los editores esta divertida pista.

3 LIMC IV, s. v. 'Herakles' n° 1667–1673.

4 Olmos (2008: 144–146).

5 Schauenburg (1979: 49–76); LIMC IV, s. v. 'Herakles' pp. 810–811.

6 A.R. 1.23.

7 A.R. 1.494 ff.

tablece el orden humano, la concordia renovada en la nave Argo. Concluida la cosmogonía, los compañeros permanecían inmóviles, con los cuellos aún estirados, sus oídos atentos, tal fascinación había dejado en ellos aquel canto.⁸ En este mismo viaje, más adelante, Orfeo aconseja acercarse a la isla de Electra, hija de Atlante, donde conocen las ceremonias y secretos de los misterios samotracios, que – exigencias de toda *euphemía* – no es concedido revelar fuera del recinto sagrado.⁹ Las plegarias ritmadas de Orfeo apaciguan el viento y dos estrellas caen sobre las cabezas de los Dioscuros, quedando todos fascinados.¹⁰ En medio de otra peligrosa tempestad del mar Pónico el poeta vuelve a dirigir sus súplicas a las divinidades samotracias.¹¹ Junto a la nave aparece el dios marino Glauco, quien durante dos noches y dos días viajó continuamente con la nave prediciendo a Heracles sus trabajos y su inmortalidad. El héroe *ámousos* conocía bien, por tanto, el poder taumatúrgico y profético de su igual en edad, el ‘isócrono’ Orfeo.¹² Reencontraremos esta experiencia pronto, buscada *ex professo* por Heracles.

Y en este punto llegamos al núcleo de nuestras contribuciones. Retomo para esta ocasión la pintura de una casa de la Regio IX de Pompeya,¹³ excavada por Fiorelli entre 1862 y 1865, que lleva el nombre de Elpidius Sabinus por la inscripción de este personaje en lengua osca.¹⁴ Hay que penetrar en ella cruzando las fauces del vestíbulo, rodeando el atrio y los recodos de algún que otro pasillo para acceder a un *viridarium* columnado.¹⁵ De allí se llega a una amplia exedra, espacio íntimo que invita al recogimiento, al *otium*. La cámara secreta deviene rincón de reposo cultivado que invita al reconocimiento y a la conversación en torno al mito griego: la pared oeste, a la izquierda de la entrada, se adorna con un cuadro que recoge dos episodios sucesivos del mito de Acteón.¹⁶ Pero la mirada última nos lleva al gran fresco que preside la pared Norte de la estancia, al fondo: Heracles, Orfeo y las Musas. La dimensión temporal cambia. Accedemos al tiempo arcaico y sumamente refinado de la cultura helénica: cada personaje, definido por atributos y gestos propios, muy matizados, lleva el nombre escrito en griego. El visitante es invitado al reposo culto, para reconocer literariamente, en clave griega, a cada personaje en su relación con los demás y con el espacio mítico en cuyo todo se integran.

8 A. R. 1.512–515.

9 A. R. 1.915–921.

10 D. S. 4.43.1.

11 D. S. 4.48.5–6.

12 D. S. 7.1.

13 Cf. Olmos (2008).

14 *Pompei Pitture e mosaici* (1998) Regio IX, casa 1.22.29, *in situ* (Valeria Sampaolo); Helbig (1868: n° 893, lám. X); *LMC IV*, s. v. ‘Herakles’ n° 1478 (= 927). En torno al año 30 a. C. La decoración se fecha en la fase IIA del estilo III.

15 *Pompei Pitture e mosaici* (1998: 956–957).

16 *Pompei Pitture e mosaici* (1998: 957).

La pintura, *in situ*, se conserva hoy muy deteriorada. Han desaparecido gran parte de las figuras, e íntegramente la parte superior de la escena.¹⁷ Hemos de basarnos, pues, en un detallado dibujo del siglo XIX, en la fotografía, en blanco y negro, de lo que de la pintura quedaba en 1979 y en las minuciosas descripciones de los estudiosos que nos preceden (fig. 3).¹⁸ El mito se integra en la ornamentación vegetal y arquitectónica del fondo – *horti conclusi*, pájaros, enredaderas... – que nos introduce en ese jardín intelectual del aristocrático *otium* romano.¹⁹



Fig. 3: Orfeo, Heracles y las Musas. Pintura de la casa 1.22.29 de la Regio IX, Pompeya. Dibujo de W. Helbig, 1868, lám. X (= *Pompei Pitture e mosaici*, VIII, Roma 1998, 1033).

17 *Pompei Pitture e mosaici* (1998): “quasi sparita” all’epoca dello scavo.

18 *Pompei Pitture e mosaici* (1998: fig. 135).

19 Bertelli – Malnati – Montecvecchi (2008).

Montañas y personajes: todo converge, al unísono, en la figura de Orfeo, que ocupa el centro visual y anímico del cuadro. La concordia de animales dispares que en otros ejemplos rodean al cantor, tan característica de la iconografía helenística cuando el mito órfico se convierte en *oxymoron* extremo de la naturaleza seducida,²⁰ está aquí ausente: silencio significativo que pretende subrayar la trascendencia de la historia humana. Destaca Orfeo por el atuendo sacerdotal que asume para la ocasión solemne de su cántico sagrado: una veste amarilla con mangas y bordes azules y, encima, un manto blanco atraen hacia él las miradas. Está actuando. Personajes y visitantes inevitablemente, al unísono, le miramos. Como las Musas que rodean al cantor, o el mismo Heracles, de vigoroso torso desnudo, lisipeo,²¹ que pronto tendrá que soportar la bóveda del cielo y cuya carnación oscura contrasta vivamente con la clara luz de Orfeo, también nosotros, los espectadores, nos sentimos implicados. Queda a los pies del cuadro, en reposo y resaltado en significativa vertical con Orfeo, el timón o remo de la nave con la que el héroe ha llegado al pie de estas montañas, posiblemente las de Pieria, la tierra de las Musas en donde el poeta acabará finalmente enterrado, o tal vez el *adyton* oracular de Lesbos, al que un día llegó su cabeza cantora y del que tanto pudo recelar el mismo Apolo.²² Heracles, y nosotros con él en este espacio, ha concluido el *ponos* de sus innumerables viajes. Sentado sobre la leontea y recién apoyado en la clava, se ha detenido para escuchar, en *aponía* ensimismada, la canción de Orfeo. El músico es el único personaje en movimiento. La naturaleza también calla, la playa y la montaña están en quietud, como los humanos. Unido a su adornada cítara Orfeo, ceñido de verde corona para la ocasión, agita su cuerpo en consonancia con el entusiasmo del canto.

Las Musas se disponen en su derredor. Establecen entre sí un sutil juego de relaciones anímicas que traslada el *otium* de los hombres al poético espejo del mito, lo que profundamente como espectadores nos implica: espacios intelectuales femeninos que construyen “l'altra metà del cielo”.²³ Euterpe y Talía, a la derecha, comparten la fascinación cogiéndose del hombro y mirándose en silencio. Detrás, Urania y su compañera sin nombre – protegida en el manto que la envuelve se supone que es Polimnia – miran recogidas en sí mismas, compenetradas como si fueran una sola Musa. A su lado Terpsícore, cubierta con velo, ni siquiera danza. Permanece sentada, absorta, y gira su cabeza hacia otro lado, de perfil, para mejor escuchar el canto. Más arriba, sentada sobre una roca elevada, Melpómene mira a lo alto, hacia otro

20 LIMC VII, s. v. ‘Orpheus’, 96, n° 162; cf. la estatuilla de Orfeo de Via Tiburtina, Roma, Musei Capitolini. Cf. la Rocca – Parisi (2010: IV.1, 324 Emilia Talamo).

21 Para el tipo iconográfico cf. el bronce colosal de Lisipo en Tarento, con Heracles sentado tras limpiar los establos de Augias (LIMC IV, s. v. ‘Herakles’ 773).

22 Philostr. VA 4.14.

23 Bertelli – Malnati – Montevecchi (2008, 107–109, V.2–4): escenas de coloquio entre mujeres o entre una citarista y un poeta en pinturas del área vesubiana.

personaje ya incompleto para indicarle, con gesto mostrativo, que en el fondo del valle el poeta-sacerdote ha iniciado un canto extraordinario. De este personaje el dibujo del siglo XIX nos transmite ya sólo el final de un nombre femenino: ... KH. Ninguna musa acaba con esta sílaba y se ha propuesto la conjetura de Eurídice, la amada esposa de Orfeo. Pero es poco verosímil que en este contexto, y en las alturas de una montaña, la heroína muerta reaparezca para escuchar – y atreverse a mirar una vez más – la voz y la figura de quien no consiguió recuperarla finalmente del Hades subterráneo. Propuse anteriormente para este personaje fragmentario una segunda conjetura, que se adaptaría mejor al paisaje. Podría ser Dike, personificación de la Justicia, Parthenos o Virgen entre los astros, que se hace presente a los hombres sobre los montes de manera excepcional en la edad o *genos* de plata, tras apartarse del linaje humano en la Edad de oro, según referían los *Phaenomena* de Arato.²⁴ ¿Desciende Dike en este instante y Melpómene, la Musa, le indica la virtud, la *areté* referida en el supremo canto? Tengo hoy mis dudas de que ésta sea la respuesta correcta y propongo una tercera, que de aceptarse exige la justificación de una *emendatio*. En este lugar hoy desaparecido, ya tan deteriorado cuando se dibujó en el XIX, pudo el nombre concluir en ΠΗ, no en KH, copiado erróneamente. De ser así, lo que no podremos ya probar ni comprobar, sería la musa Calíope, madre de Orfeo, “que a todas aventaja”,²⁵ situada por tanto en el espacio más alto de la montaña, desde cuya cumbre se asoma para escuchar, de lejos, a su propio hijo. Pues en esta composición en la que todas las miradas convergen hay que suponer que las otras dos musas que faltan en el cuadro estuvieran situadas en las faldas de la otra montaña, no conservada. Lo exige visualmente el conjunto. Debieron ser nueve, como en Hesíodo, las musas con sus nombres representadas.

Pero ¿cuál es el canto de Orfeo que tan poderosamente nos atrae a los espectadores, el que con tanto vigor mueve al poeta? No puede ser otro que la aretalogía de Heracles, quien de labios de su igual en edad escucha sus hazañas pasadas y, como suele ser privilegio de los héroes, el destino de las futuras aún no cumplidas, la que será su apoteosis última. Es precisamente lo que refiere, en detalle, el poeta tracio – mientras toda la naturaleza calla, vientos y olas en calma, las mismas rocas ávidas por escuchar el canto- en el prefacio del segundo libro del *Rapto de Proserpina* del tardío poeta Claudiano.²⁶ Allí, a tierras tracias con paso de paz llega el Alcida, de regreso del país de Ínaco, tras haber vaciado los establos de un rey cruel y haber ofrecido yerba verde como pasto a los caballos de Diomedes, y tantas hazañas juntas... La llegada de Heracles, que en nuestro cuadro acaba de dejar el remo abandonado en la playa y por fin se sienta para descansar, suscita en el vate

24 Arat. *Phaen.* 98–136. Cf. Rocchi (2003: 45–63).

25 Hes. *Th.* 77–79; D. S. 4.2.

26 Claud., *Pros. libri secundi praefatio* 1–52.

la lejana alegría de su patria en un día festivo y el renacido deseo del canto olvidado: retoma entonces las cuerdas de la desacostumbrada lira. Lo hace entusiasmado, revestido de profeta.²⁷

*Tum patriae festo laetatus tempore vates
Desuetae repetit fila canora lyrae*

La naturaleza, sorprendida, atiende al canto. Las musas lo comentan en silencio. La madre Calíope, incluso, puede asomar entre las montañas para escuchar a su hijo. Y Heracles, absorto, atenderá a su propio destino, como aquel lejano día cuando navegando sobre el mar pónico hubo de escucharlo, premonitoriamente, de labios del dios Glauco. Ahora Orfeo también podrá cantarle, si atendemos al testimonio de Clemente de Alejandría, aquellos versos que hablan de las manzanas de oro de las Hespérides de hermosa voz: es decir, de su último y definitivo viaje.²⁸ Muy bien el propietario de la casa pompeyana ha podido invitarnos en este espacio de refugio a que, implicados en el envolvente cuadro, dejemos también nosotros el remo abandonado de la nave del *negotium* cotidiano y en *otium* enriquecedor escuchemos nuestro propio destino, envidiosos de Heracles y en compañía de las musas. Lo haremos en griego, deletreando cada nombre escrito, y en un jardín poético, para alejarnos del día. Y descubrimos que el héroe queda finalmente convencido, ya sin Geropso que le regañe, del existencial valor del canto. Con la enseñanza del coetáneo Orfeo, cuyo libro despreciara de joven, se ha reencontrado al final, tras el paso de los días que nos maduran.

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27 Claud. *Pros. ibid.* 13–14.

28 Clem. Al. *Prot.* 2.17.2 y 18.1.

53. Extraordinary Orpheus.

The Image of Orpheus and Orphism in the Texts of the Paradoxographers (OF 1065, 787, 790, 793, and 794)

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Maybe it is because of the little attention that the school of Aristotle pays to Orpheus and the Orphic tradition¹ that also the paradoxographers, whose activity derives from the background of the work developed by the philosopher and his disciples, show a very limited interest towards the aspects regarding Orphism.

However, even if they are scarce, references to the figure of Orpheus in the paradoxographic texts do exist, offering us the vision of authors that see him from a distant point of view, focused on their interest in the extraordinary and surprising nature of some of his features. For this reason the aim of these pages is to examine which elements of Orpheus and of the traditions that surround him attracted the attention of the compilers of catalogues of rarities, and were object of the interest of the paradoxographic literature.

It is curious that the explicit references to traditions connected to Orpheus in the paradoxographic lists are found at the starting period of the development of the literary genre, in the first decades of the Hellenistic era. Such is the case of Antigonus, whose activity has been dated in the 3rd century BC. Through the work of Myrsilus of Methymna² he preserved a strange legend, according to which nightingales sing in a more harmonious way in the closeness of the tomb where Orpheus' head is said to be buried.³ It is discussed to what extent the work of Myrsilus corresponds to the features of the paradoxographic genre, but most probably Athenaeus' reference⁴ to a text entitled *Historikà parádoxa* refers to the historical work of

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- 1 The relationship between the school of Peripatus and Orphism is dealt with in Megino (2008) and Matelli (2010), who pays particular attention to the case of the Rhodian school, where the interest in Orphism seems to be higher than in other Peripatetic centres.
 - 2 Historian of the 3rd century B. C., contemporary, slightly older, of the paradoxographer Antigonus.
 - 3 OF 1065: Antig. *Mir.* 1.5 = Myrsil. F. 2 Giannini = FGH 447 F. 2; cf. Paus. 9.30.6.
 - 4 Ath. 13.610A = Myrsil. F. 1 Giannini = FGH 477 F. 4.

the author, generally known under the title of *Lesbiaká*. Antigonus probably obtained his information from this work, so that, in the context of a collection of astonishing stories about anomalies in the voice of some animals (the incapacity to sing among the cicadas of Rhegium, the presence of these insects on just one of the banks of the river of Cephalenia, the lack of voice of the frogs of Seriphos or the weakness of the song of the partridges in Attica or Boeotia),⁵ Antigonus includes the information about the lesbian nightingales, and the explanation of their extraordinary faculties as a product of the contact with the singing head of the famous mythic poet.

The text of Antigonus-Myrsilus testifies a tradition according to which the head of the superhuman bard, violently cut off from the body, conserved intact beyond death its capacity for poetry and music, and was able to “transmit” them to the nature of the place where it rests.⁶ But it is not the mythic tradition regarding Orpheus that claims the attention of the paradoxographer, who at the time is just interested in collecting examples of special behaviour of the voices of particular animals in certain places. The collected peculiarities are sometimes explained through a myth, but sometimes remain unjustified and unexplained.

On the other hand, the ancient sources, and particularly the *Natural History* of Pliny,⁷ testify the circulation of a work entitled *Idiophyé*, attributed to Orpheus, and whose main content was the description of remedies and philtres that could be elaborated with certain herbs or substances. If the references to this ancient text have been preserved in the corpus of known paradoxographers, it is only due to the fact that its title can be translated as “Beings of a particular nature”, which recalls the way the paradoxographers usually qualify the material they collect. However, the consideration of the text as an example of the paradoxographic genre is far from clear, given that its nature seems to be closer to other kinds of publications that circulated in Antiquity, intended to provide their reader with practical knowledge, connected to the medical and pharmacological science of the time, and strongly related to the field of magic.⁸

The use of Staphylinidae as a love philtre⁹ or the way calamine juice can be mixed with rose and white lead to elaborate an unguent against

5 Antig. *Mir.* 1.1–6.

6 On that point, see Santamaría Álvarez (2008: 127–128) and Martín Hernández (2010: 39–40).

7 See Giannini (1964: 113; 1965: 384–385).

8 This attribution to Orpheus is due to the magic features of this figure. For the same reason it is also attributed to him the so-called *Orphic Lithica*, on the magic properties of some kinds of stones. On this work, see Martín Hernández (2008a: 365–377). On the pseudoscientific literature attributed to Orpheus, including the *Idiophyé*, see Martín Hernández (2008b).

9 OF 787 = Plin. 22.32 = Orph. Par. F. 2 Giannini.

burns¹⁰ do not seem to be in line with a literature that seeks the collection of astonishing facts, selecting them exclusively because of their capacity to surprise, but probably they were more like ‘handbooks’ intended for practical uses.

However, in this set of preserved material there are two references attributed to “Orpheus and Archelaus”. The first one¹¹ talks about the effectiveness of one’s own blood as a remedy against angina and epilepsy, and the second,¹² in addition, informs about the value as a love philtre of the arrows extracted from one’s own body, provided they do not touch the ground, as well as the possibility of healing epilepsy by eating the meat of an animal that has been slaughtered using a sword that has previously killed a man. If the mention of Orpheus helps to connect both references to the aforementioned treatise of the *Idiophyé*, which does not correspond exactly to paradoxography, this is not the case of Archelaus, whose work has to be considered within the limits of paradoxographic literature.

Antigonus gives us a particular description of his work and activity, when he describes him as “an Egyptian of the ones who interpreted marvels for Ptolemy in epigrams”.¹³ Scholars¹⁴ consider that the most likely option is to identify the Ptolemy mentioned as Ptolemy II Philadelphus, famous among the Hellenistic kings because of his fondness for the natural curiosities. Archelaus is, therefore, presented, on the one hand, as a poet of the court of Philadelphus, who composed poems in order to entertain him, but the mention of the predominant content in his poems, extraordinary anecdotes and curiosities, allows us to consider his work within the limits of paradoxography, as well as making it possible to talk about paradoxography written in verse.

We know very little about Archelaus and his activity, but the coincidence of contents highlighted by Pliny with the work attributed to Orpheus allows us deduce that it could be one of the sources used by the Egyptian poet to compose his epigrams and amuse the king, to the extent that the hypothesis has been proposed that his work could be a poetic version of the paradoxographic text that circulated under the name of the divine bard. This opinion, however, has been rejected.¹⁵

10 *OF* 790 = Aet. *Libr. Medic.* 1.175 (I 80, 10 Olivieri) = Orph. Par. F. 3 Giannini.

11 *OF* 793 = Plin. 28.43 = Archel. Aeg. F. (13) Giannini = Orph. Par. F. 4 Giannini.

12 *OF* 794 = Plin. 28.34 = Archel. Aeg. F. (14) Giannini = Orph. Par. F. 5 Giannini.

13 Antig. *Mir.* 1.19: Αἰγύπτιος τῶν ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν ἐξηγουμένων τὰ παράδοξα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ.

14 Susemihl (1891: 465-467) and Giannini (1964: 111, n. 71); from informations like D.S. 3.36.3, where it is mentioned Philadelphus’ fondness for curiosities of nature.

15 Hypothesis of Meyer (1854, I: 271-272), followed by Susemihl (1891: 465); denied by Ziegler (1949: col. 1142) and Giannini (1964: 111, n. 74), who maintain that the works attributed to Orpheus are normally in verse.

Be that as it may, Archelaus once paid attention to the peculiar effect of one's own blood or arrowheads, and transformed them into material for his epigrams, in a context where the information does not matter with regard to the transmission of practical knowledge, but only as an anecdote able to arouse the curiosity of the audience at the poetic meetings at Philadelphus' court.

After these references to Orpheus and the surrounding traditions in the works of Antigonus and Archelaus the name of the extraordinary bard disappears completely from paradoxographic literature as we know it. Parallels can be appreciated, nonetheless, with the myths about Orpheus in the work of Phlegon of Tralles, author of a very special catalogue of rarities in the times of the emperor Hadrian.

Phlegon almost completely abandons the field of natural science, which occupied the attention of most of the former paradoxographers, to focus on fantastic tales and human deformities, which never before attracted the interest of the genre. Within the text of his work, all of it, as we said, contrary to what is usual in paradoxography, the first three entries stand out particularly, given that they are not brief and concise anecdotes, but extensive stories. In this context, it is also surprising that all three stories contain elements in common with the most famous traditions on Orpheus. Tales number 2 and number 3 contain curious references to heads that, after having been cut off their bodies, remain alive and sing oracles. The head of Polycritus' hermaphrodite son,¹⁶ after the body of the child has been devoured by the ghost of his father, advises his fellow citizens not to go to Delphi,¹⁷ having, as they have, blood on their hands. Besides, the head of general Publius,¹⁸ probably Publius Cornelius Scipio,¹⁹ predicts the forthcoming adversities that are awaiting Rome.

The first tale,²⁰ on the other hand, tells the story of Philinnion, a girl who died before she got married, and her clandestine meetings, after death, with the young man that her family is lodging. The text shows a clear parallel with the myth about the loss of Eurydice, who has to come back to Hades when Orpheus looks at her, thus breaking the conditions imposed by the subterranean deities to allow her to return from the Beyond. In the same way, it is also the curiosity²¹ of the girl's mother that makes the "divine

16 Phleg. *Mir.* 2. On the parallel with Orpheus, see Brisson (1978: 117–120). Other cases of prophetic talking heads can be seen in Arist. *PA* 673a 19–31 and Plin. 7.178–179.

17 Brisson (1978: 119) points to the opposition to Apollo as another parallel element between the myth of Orpheus and stories 2 and 3 of Phlegon.

18 Phleg. *Mir.* 3.

19 Although this identification has been put into question by Gauger (1980: 236).

20 Phleg. *Mir.* 1.

21 Πολυπραγμοσύνη. See Hansen (1996: 74–75) on other cases in which a human interruption means the possibility of obtaining a divine favour being lost. On the negative consideration of curiosity, see Stramaglia (1999: 246).

will”²² that made the miracle possible abandon her, so that Philinnion has to go back to the world of the dead.

Stories number 1 and 2 in Phlegon’s work reappear later, probably due to the use of a common source,²³ in the commentaries of Proclus to Plato’s *Republic*, specifically to the myth of Er.²⁴ They are used by the Neoplatonic philosopher as parallel examples to Plato’s tale, where the return to life of a dead person is also described.²⁵ Regarding this ancient source, Stramaglia²⁶ insists on the value of Phlegon’s text as a testimony to the circulation, since the Hellenistic period, of compilations of ghost stories.

We do not know the extent and the meaning that these parallels with the myth of Orpheus could have had in the original collection of tales, used by Phlegon. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the source of the paradoxographer was inspired by the traditions about the story of the miraculous singer.

In any case, Phlegon’s intentions, as Antigonos’ and Archelaus’ were before, are not connected to the transmission of a religious wisdom, but their interest is concentrated on entertainment, on the astonishment of the audience. The traditions regarding Orpheus, then, in the hands of the paradoxographers, have no relationship with the preservation of a legacy of scientific knowledge aimed at practical use, nor with the revelation of a wisdom that can guarantee salvation to those who have it, but are transformed into a source of anecdotes able to amuse the public, a source of *nugae*.

22 Θεία βούλησις, referring most probably to the will of the subterranean deities, who Orpheus also had to convince to give him back Eurydice’s soul. Further examples of the necessity to ask the inferior deities for permission to come back, see Stramaglia (1999: 240–241), who also highlights that these gods seem to be inclined to concede the desires of the souls that want to come back for love.

23 Proclus mentions Naumachius of Epirus as source of his information (4th century AD), who probably did not use the text of the paradoxographer, but a source common to both. Such is the position in force following Rohde (1877), quoted in Stramaglia (1995: 194). Regarding the probably fictitious nature of the Heron of (Alexandria or) Ephesus mentioned in Phleg. *Mir.* 2 and Procl. *In R.* II 115.14–15, see Brisson (1978: 88–90), which follows Rohde (1877: 338–339); with respect to the identifications proposed by those who defend his historical nature, see Stramaglia (1999: 366).

24 Procl. *In R.* II 115.7–116.18.

25 Regarding the collection of tales of Proclus and the Neoplatonic bias given by the author, see Stramaglia (2006: 303–304).

26 Stramaglia (1999: 55).

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54. ἀμουςότερος Λειβηθρίων (OF 1069)*

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The figure of Orpheus is linked in several ways to the ancient city of Leibethra, near the modern village of Litochoros, which is situated at the foot of Mount Olympus on its Macedonian slope. Fritz Graf has even said that Leibethra is “the central site for Orpheus”.¹ Several sources locate the birthplace of Orpheus in Leibethra (Orph. A. 50–53 and 1373–1376; Tze. *ad Lyc.* 409; *Suda s. v.* Ὀρφεύς = OF 937 I, II, IV, VII);² other sources mention his stay or visit to this village (Eust. *ad Il.* 1235.16 = OF 937 VI, etc.); others suggest that Orphic rituals took place in Leibethra (Iambl. VP 28.146 = OF 507 I; Procl. *in Ti.* III 168.11 Diehl = OF 507 II; Conon 26 F 1, 45 Jacoby = OF 1039; cf. also Plu. *Alex.* 14 = OF 1084); finally, other sources indicate that Leibethra was the place where Orpheus’ death happened or even the place where lay his dismembered remains, after having been piously gathered up by the Muses (αἱ δὲ Μοῦσαι συναγαγοῦσαι ἔθαψαν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις Λειβήθροις, Eratosth. *Cat.* 24 = OF 1070, probably from Aeschylus’ *Bassarai*; see also the quoted fragment of Conon).³ Pausanias (9.30.9–11 = OF 1055) reports in detail the vicissitudes of the mortal remains of Orpheus in relationship with Leibethra:

In Larissa I heard another story, how that on Olympus is a city Leibethra, where the mountain faces Macedonia, not far from which city is the tomb of Orpheus. The Leibethrans, it is said, received out of Thrace an oracle from Dionysus, stating that when the sun should see the bones of Orpheus, then the city of Leibethra would be destroyed by a boar. The citizens paid little regard to the oracle, thinking that no other beast was big or mighty enough to take their city, while a boar was bold rather than powerful. But when it seemed good to the god the following events

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1 Graf (1987: 87).

2 Cf. Bernabé (2008: 17).

3 See Ziegler (1939: 1284 and 1292), Guthrie (1952: 32 ff.), Graf (1987: 87 ff.), Freier (1991: 38–39), Gartzziou-Tatti (1999), Detienne (2003: 161), and Santamaría (2008: 121–122). Although Leibethra is not explicitly mentioned, the epigrammatic poet Damagetus (*AP* 7.9) also locates Orpheus’ tomb close to Mount Olympus.

befell the citizens. About midday a shepherd was asleep leaning against the grave of Orpheus, and even as he slept he began to sing poetry of Orpheus in a loud and sweet voice. Those who were pasturing or tilling nearest to him left their several tasks and gathered together to hear the shepherd sing in his sleep. And jostling one another and striving who could get nearest the shepherd they overturned the pillar, the urn fell from it and broke, and the sun saw whatever was left of the bones of Orpheus. Immediately when night came, the god sent heavy rain, and the river Sys (*Boar*), one of the torrents about Olympus, on this occasion threw down the walls of Leibethra, overturning sanctuaries of gods and houses of men, and drowning the inhabitants and all the animals in the city. When Leibethra was now a city in ruin, the Macedonians in Dium ... carried the bones of Orpheus to their own country [version by W. H. S. Jones].

Conon reports that Orpheus was dismembered by the women of Leibethra and that they threw his remains into the sea; as a result, a plague spread through the village and the oracle consulted by the Leibethrians answered that, in order to be saved from the plague, they had to find and bury Orpheus' head, which was later found in good condition by a fisherman.

Several authors mention another punishment suffered by the Leibethrians. The Leibethrians' behaviour towards the mythical singer had regrettable effects on their future reputation either because of the circumstances of his death in Leibethra, or, as Himerius states (*Or.* 46.18 ff. Colonna = *OF* 1064), because Leibethrians were filled with envy when they heard Orpheus sing his divine melodies.⁴ Lesbians attribute their well-known talent for poetry and music to the fact that Orpheus' head sailed up from the continent to their island across the Aegean Sea (cf., among other sources, Aristid. *Or.* 24.55 Keil = *OF* 1067);⁵ on the contrary, Orpheus' stay in Leibethria had the opposite effect: according to Libanius (*Decl.* 1. 182 [V 119, 13 Foerster] = *OF* 1064 I: Λειβήθριοι μετὰ τὸν Ὀρφέως φόνον δι' ἀμουσίας ἔδοσαν δίκην καὶ κατέχεται τὸ χωρίον ἀπαιδευσίᾳ συχνῇ) and Himerius (*loc. cit.*: ἀλλὰ Λειβήθριοι μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς Ὀρφέως λύρας, ἣν ἀτιμάζειν εἴλοντο, μανίαν τε καὶ ἀμουσίαν καὶ σιωπὴν ἠλλάξαντο), the inhabitants of Leibethria were considered to have become stupid people with no talent for poetry and music as a result of the punishment they received from the Gods.

The fame of the Leibethrians' awkwardness was so widespread that Leibethrians even became a proverbial paradigm of crudeness and stupidity. In fact, our paroemigraphical and lexicographical sources, and also some literary texts, pick up a proverb attested in two versions (*OF* 1069):

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- 4 Λειβήθριοι μὲν οὖν Παγγαίου πρόσοικοι Ὀρφέα ... ἐθαύμαζον τε καὶ συνήδοντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς λύρας ἤψατο καὶ προσῆσέ τι μέλος ἔνθεον, φθόνῳ νικηθέντες οἱ δέλαιοι ...
- 5 ἄνδρες Λέσβιοι, ποῖ προήχθητε; οἱ φατὲ μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἅπασαν ὕμιν εἶναι μουσικὴν καὶ τοῦτου τὴν Ὀρφέως κεφαλὴν αἰτιάσθε ... On the 'miracles' brought about by Orpheus' head, see Graf (1987: 92 ff.), Bernabé (2008: 26), Santamaría (2008: above all 125 ff.).

the original and more frequent version “less talented than Leibethrians” (ἀμουςότερος Λειβηθρίων), and the secondary “more stupid than Leibethrians” (Λειβηθρίων ἀνοητότεροι).⁶

I) ἀμουςότερος Λειβηθρίων is the more frequent version of the proverb and it is found in many paroemiographical and lexicographical sources, which offer the same explanation on its significance and origin (the death of Orpheus):

a) *Zenobius Athous* 3.1: Λειβήθριοι ἔθνος ἐστὶ Πιερικόν, οὗ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μέμνηται ἐν τῇ Μεθωναίων πολιτείᾳ [fr. 552 Rose]. λέγονται δὲ ἀμουςότατοι εἶναι οἱ Λειβήθριοι, ἐπειδὴ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο ὁ τοῦ Ὀρφέως θάνατος.

b) *Zenobius Vulgatus* 1.79 = *Diogenianus Vindobonensis* 1. 37 (slightly different text): ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμούσων καὶ ἀπαιδευτῶν. Λειβήθριοι γὰρ ἔθνος Πιερικόν ἐστίν, οὔτε μέλους ἀπλῶς οὔτε ποιήματος ἔννοϊαν λαμβάνον. λέγονται δὲ ἀμουςότατοι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ Ὀρφέως θάνατος ἐγένετο.

c) *Zenobius Athous* 5.39: ἔθνος δὲ οὗτοι Πιερικόν ὃ διὰ τὸν Ὀρφέως θάνατον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀμουςον εἶναι κατεδικάσθη.

d) *Collectio Bodleiana* 107: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμούσων καὶ ἀπαιδευτῶν. Λειβήθριοι γὰρ ἔθνος Πιερικόν ἀμουςότατον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῦ Ὀρφέως φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸν θάνατον.

e) *Collectio Coisliniana* 177 n° 27: Λειβηθρίοις γὰρ οὐδέποτε μέλους ἐμέλησε, τὸν Ὀρφέως φοβηθεῖσι θάνατον.

f) *Diogenianus* 2.26 = *Apostolius* 2.67:⁷ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν. Λειβήθριον γὰρ ἔθνος⁸ Πιερικόν, οὔτε μέλους ἀπλῶς οὔτε ποιήματος ἔννοϊαν λαμβάνον.

II) The version Λειβηθρίων ἀνοητότεροι is probably a secondary form that appears in the lexicographical tradition, specifically in Zonaras’ lexicon (p. 1294 Tittmann): Λειβήθριοι· ἔθνος μωρόν· ἀπὸ τόπου Λειβηθρα καλουμένου, ἐν ᾧ κατοικοῦσιν ἀνόητοι ἄνθρωποι· Θουγενίδης.⁹ Λειβηθρίων ἀνοητότεροι.¹⁰ This version of the proverb is also found in the paroemiographical collection of Apostolius (10.50), whose commentary comes from the lexicographical tradition: Θουγενίδης [Θουκιδίδης codd.] ταύ-

6 See above all Spyridonidou-Skarsouli (1995: 311 and 314–316). Cf. also Mariño-García Romero (1999: 88 and 289), Lelli (2006, *ad Zen. Vulg.* 1.79).

7 In Apostolius’ collection, the lemma is ἀμουςότερα Λειβηθρίων, and this form of the proverb appears, for example, in the passage of the Aristaenetos’ *Epistles* quoted below.

8 Manuscripts, probably by mistake, read ὅρος instead of ἔθνος.

9 Manuscripts read Θουκιδίδης; the name of the historian is a mistake instead of the name of the comic poet Thugenides, as yet observed by Schaefer, *apud* Tittmann (*Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon*, Oxford 1808), p. cxlvi.

10 But Tittmann yet comments in his edition (p. cxlvi) that “neque placet ἀνοητότεροι, quod apertum glossema est v. ἀμουςότεροι. Paroemiographi illud proverbium vulgo efferent, ἀμουςότεροι Λειβηθρίων”.

τη ἐχρήσατο. οἱ γὰρ Λειβήθριοι ἔθνος ἦν μωρόν, ἀπὸ τόπου Λεῖβηθρα καλουμένου, ἐν ᾧ κατώκουν, οὕτω παρωνομαζόμενον.

The proverb ἀμουσώτερος Λειβηθρίων is not frequent in the Greek literary texts that have survived. It is found, as we have seen above, in the fr. 5 K-A of the comic poet Thugenides (5th century BC, according to the date accepted by Kassel-Austin). In the late imperial period, the proverb reappears in the *Love Epistles* of Aristaenetos, specifically in the epistle 1.27, where a woman refers to a suitor, who is serenading her, and she comments sarcastically: ἄδει δὲ ἄλλως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὥσιν ἀπιθάνως καὶ ἀμουσώτερα Λειβηθρίων.¹¹ Later, during the Byzantine period, in the 12th century, the proverb is found in the *Epistles* of Eustathius of Thessalonica (*Opuscula*, p. 331, 62 Tafel: ἰδιωτεύω μὲν τᾶλλα, οὐδὲ Λειβήθριοι οὕτως ἔξω σοφίας);¹² and also, probably in the 11th century, in another *corpus* of epistles: a collection of anonymous epistles written by a Byzantine scholar and edited in Cramer's *Anecdota Graeca* (3.188–189):

οἶδας γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σωράνου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους ἐπίστασαι Γαλήνεία τε καὶ Ἡροφίλεια, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡροδότου, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρωνος· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγεις αὐτὰ εἰδέναι, καὶ οὐτ' εἰρωνεύῃ οὐτ' ἀλαζονεύῃ τοῖς λόγοις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἶδας ὡς ἰατρός, τὰ δὲ ὡς γραμματικός· τὰ δὲ ὡς μηχανικός· πάντα δὲ ὡς πολλῶν ἐμπειρότατος· εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα περὶ σοῦ μὴ εἰδείην, Λειβηθρίων ἂν εἶην ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀλογώτερος, καὶ ξενώτερος τῶν Στοϊκῶν, καὶ κενώτερος τῶν Ἐπικουρίων καὶ στενότατος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.¹³

During the following centuries, Leibethrians' reputation for stupidity dies out slowly, which is a relief for today's inhabitants of Litochoros, finally free from the misfortune that the presence of Orpheus, alive or dead, had caused them for many centuries.

11 "And he sings in vain with less talent than Leibethrians, and don't persuade my ears". Cf. Tsirimbis (1950: 40–41).

12 "I am ignorant in the rest, and not even the Leibethrians are so far from the wisdom". Quotes the passage Kurtz (1891: 314). See also Eustathius' commentary on *Il.* 21.259, p. 1235, 61: πλείων δὲ ἢ διφθόγγου γραφή· καὶ οὕτω γράφουσι καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικὰ Λεῖβηθρα, τὸ ὄρος, οὗ τοπικὸν οἱ βάρβαροι Λειβήθριοι, οἷς ἐνδιατρίψαι ποτε ὁ Ὀρφεὺς λέγεται.

13 "Because you know Soranus' and Hippocrates' works; and you are expert in the works of Galen and Herophilus, and in those of Herodianus, Trypho, Herodotus and Heron. And not only that, but also you are saying that you know well those works, and in your words there is neither irony nor blustering. Since some of them you know well because you are a physician, another ones because you are a philologist, another ones because you are an engineer, and all of them because you are an excellent expert in many sciences. For if I didn't know that about you, I really would be sillier than Leibethrians, stranger than Stoics, emptier than Epicureans, and a man of very limited intelligence".

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55. Orpheus Reunited with Eurydice (on OF 1076–1077)

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At the beginning of Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid recounts the death of Eurydice, after she accidentally trod upon a poisonous snake, and how Orpheus descended to the underworld to fetch her back, overcome by the power of love (*vicit amor*, 10.26). The song he sings melts Persephone's heart and the fiercest spirits of hell, and Orpheus is permitted to lead Eurydice to the upper world, on the condition, of course, that he not look back till he has left Hades behind. He does look, out of fear and a desire to behold his bride (*metuens avidusque videndi*, 10.56), and she is whisked back to the nether regions, having died a second time. She is, however, unrepentant of her husband, according to Ovid, since the cause of his infraction was just his love for her (10.60–61). As a result, as Ovid tells us at the beginning of Book XI, after Orpheus has been murdered and his shade has descended to Hades, he is safely reunited with Eurydice, and can gaze at her now to his heart's content (61–66):

*Umbra subit terras, et quae loca viderat ante,
cuncta recognoscit quaerensque per arva piorum
invenit Eurydicen cupidisque amplexitur ulnis;
hic modo coniunctis spatiantur passibus ambo,
nunc praecedentem sequitur, nunc praevious anteit
Eurydicenque suam iam tuto respicit Orpheus.*

This last detail, of Orpheus' happy reunion with Eurydice in the underworld, is not, as far as we know, mentioned in any earlier surviving source, and it may well be an invention of Ovid's. We shall in a moment examine the reasons for supposing so, which do not rule out the possibility that Ovid found this feature in a text now lost to us, and possibly one of Orphic provenience, broadly speaking. In any case, we propose to treat it as a minor *addendum* to the Testimonia OF 1076–1077, which are gathered under the heading, "*Orpheus apud inferos, post mortem*"; for, although Ovid's treatment of the Orpheus myth is cited elsewhere in the volume, e.g. *Met.* 10.11–17 and 50–52 (OF 994), 10.72–77 (OF 996), 10.83–85 (OF 1004 II), 10.78–82 (OF 1003 II), 11.1–8 (OF 1035 II), and, indeed, 11.50–60 (OF 1054 IV), which breaks off just at the point where the above-cited text begins, this slight notice appears to be missing. And yet, it is not entirely without an interest of its own.

Between the mention of Eurydice's exculpation of Orpheus and their joyful reunion in Hades, there intervenes the better part of Book X, in which Orpheus abandons himself to grief over the second loss of Eurydice, and transfers his love from women, who continue to pursue him, to the fleeting beauty of boys – the first of the Thracians to do so, Ovid remarks. As Orpheus sings, trees gather round him in the previously unshaded spot, including the cypress, which gives Ovid the opportunity to recite how it was once a boy, beloved of Apollo. Orpheus then takes up the lyre and sings, not the theogonies that were his staple, but stories about love for boys and girls: Jupiter's passion for Ganymede and Apollo's for Hyacinth, Pygmalion's love for the statue he sculpted and Myrrha's passion for her own father, and the story of Venus and Adonis (in the course of which Venus relates the tale of Atalanta). It is only after these lengthy digressions that Ovid returns, at the beginning of Book XI, to the narrative of Orpheus himself, recounting how the Ciconian women, enraged at being spurned by Orpheus, hurl spears and stones at him, drowning out the power of his song (which would have stopped the missiles in their tracks) with the clamor of their Bacchic music, and finally tear him apart with their own hands. His lyre and the poet's tongue continue to sound, however, till the severed head is beached on the island of Lesbos (11.50–56). In a coda to the tale (after the description of Orpheus and Eurydice in Hades), Ovid relates that Dionysus, angry at having lost the poet of his sacred rites, turns the wild maenads into oak trees – the theme of trees comes round again, in a different register – and Dionysus departs with a better band of followers (*cumque choro meliore*, 11.86).

In his depiction of Orpheus and Eurydice in the underworld, Ovid is clearly being characteristically playful, having the two take turns in leading and following, in contrast to their ill-fated ascent to the upper world, and undoing the malevolent effect of Orpheus' gaze. They are now lovers and equals, joined in the afterlife in a way they could not be in this life. But Ovid may also have another objective in mind, namely, a rejoinder to the scene of Aeneas' failed attempt, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, to win Dido's favor, or at least understanding, in his encounter with her in Hades (6.650–676). Aeneas abandoned Dido in Carthage to pursue his destiny and lay the foundations of the future Roman empire; for all the sorrow he feels at Dido's sad fate, which is abundantly demonstrated in his touching plea in the underworld, he places his mission above his personal attachment to her. Dido is reunited rather with her former husband, Sychaeus, who, in Dryden's inspired translation, "answer'd all her cares, and equal'd all her love" (*coniunx ubi pristinus illi / respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem*, 6.673–674); Aeneas, for his part, is stunned by his unfair – or literally, "unequal" – fortune (*casu percussus iniquo*, 6.475). Aeneas goes on to meet his father, who saddles him with responsibility for the future of Rome. For Ovid, however, it is love, not power, that drives his hero – himself, like Ovid, a love poet and poet-lover

par excellence in the *Metamorphoses* – and brings fulfillment in the end. Of course, Ovid also had an eye on the fourth book of the *Georgics*, devoted to beekeeping, in which Virgil explains how bees can be spontaneously regenerated in case the hive has been destroyed. With this he introduces the story of Aristaeus, who is probably Virgil's own contribution to the myth. When he lost his bees, he complained to his mother, Cyrene, a naiad; Cyrene bore him to her cave at the bottom of her river (the Peneus), and explained that to find the solution he must capture and hold on to Proteus, even though he shifts his shape into all manner of things; then he will reveal the secret. Proteus first explains the cause of Aristaeus' misfortune: he had once pursued Eurydice, and in her effort to flee his embrace she stepped on a snake that killed her; for this, Orpheus punished him. Proteus then tells how Orpheus descended into Hades and persuaded Persephone to release Eurydice, but peeked behind just as he was emerging into the light and she was again taken from him. In this version too, Orpheus mourns inconsolably, and refuses all women (there is no explicit reference to love for boys). Enraged by this rejection, the women of Ciconia tear him apart while celebrating the Bacchic revels. His severed head, tossed into the river, nevertheless keeps repeating the name of Eurydice. Cyrene tells her son to propitiate Orpheus with a special sacrifice of bulls, and nine days later there emerge from their carcasses new swarms of bees.

Aristaeus is something of a doublet for Orpheus. He too pursues Eurydice, and is responsible for her death. Like Orpheus, he makes a *katabasis*, not to Hades itself but to the bottom of a river, where he meets, not Persephone, but his own mother. He wins from her a special grace, just as Orpheus does from the queen of Hades, and succeeds in bringing his lost love, or loves, back to life, that is, his bees. The difference is that Aristaeus does not bring the same bees back to life, but substitutes others for those he lost. The point may be that, unlike human loves, bees are not individualized and are thus replaceable.

In the first part of *Georgics* 4 Virgil had described the bees as a kind of republic, a perfect cooperative society save when the leaders of two hives set out to battle each other. They are fierce little warriors; however, one can stop their war by tossing a little dust in their way (4.86–87). This done, Virgil advises that the beekeeper kill the weaker and uglier of the two leaders. And when the bees fly too far from the hive, it is an easy matter to rein them in: simply pluck the wings from the king bee (4.106–107). These bold little creatures are perfectly obedient to their king: if he is safe, the rest have a common purpose (*mens omnibus una est*, 4.212). But where there are two kings, or discipline breaks down, then the farmer must intervene. Virgil ends his account on an oddly Pythagorean note, affirming that there are those who claim that “bees have a share in the divine mind” (4.620), which informs all things: everything dies and is born again, “nor is there any place

for death, but they fly living to the assembled stars and rise to high heaven” (4.626–627; we may recall that Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* too culminates in a lengthy account of the teachings of Pythagoras, which were a vehicle for Orphic doctrines at Rome).

It is not hard to see in the bees an allegory of Rome itself, recently transformed from an aristocratic republic into a monarchy in all but name, under the leadership of Augustus. He is the wise leader – the farmer or beekeeper – who stands above the fray, and makes sure that the harmony of the state is not disrupted. A number of scholars, therefore, have seen in Aristaeus a figure for Augustus, and some have interpreted the role of Orpheus, by contrast, as the image of the poet, that is of Virgil himself.¹ This may be to accept rather too romantic a conception of the poet. Perhaps it would be better to see in Virgil’s variation on the Orphic narrative an effort to provide a counterpoint to the Orphic tradition. In place of the orgiastic rituals of descent to the underworld, wild grief, and eventual *sparagmos* or dismemberment, with their overtones of forbidden Bacchic rites, Virgil chose to represent an alternative myth, in which the shade of Orpheus is pacified by a hero who was the son of Apollo – Augustus’ patron god – and who succeeds where Orpheus failed. The ideological backdrop for this new version was, not the Orphic cults, but the abstract philosophical doctrines of the Pythagoreans, who held a place of privilege among the quasi-mystical traditions at Rome.²

What, finally, are we to make of Orpheus’ novel interest in boys, which, Ovid says, he introduced, if not to the world at large, at least to Thrace, his homeland? Ovid’s Orpheus has not relinquished all passion; if he had, how could he continue to sing as a love poet? Instead, he recites stories of passion gone awry, incestuous love like that of Myrrha for her father, love for boys, like Jupiter’s for Ganymede, and especially for boys who die young and tragically, like Apollo’s Hyacinth and Venus’s Adonis, or Pygmalion’s thwarted love for a statue that comes to life. What Ovid stresses, however, about the love of boys is its transience: they soon grow older, become men, and are no longer suitable as objects of erotic desire (10.83–85):

*ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor amorem
in teneros transferre mares citraque iuventam
aetatis breve ver et primos carpere flores.*

The ephemeral character of boy-love was a commonplace of erotic literature. Boys might be said to represent the very essence of metamorphosis, or at least its most familiar manifestation, as they are inexorably transformed from beloveds into mature men who become lovers in their turn. Love in this world, Orpheus seems to perceive, is fleeting. What is more, boy-love is by its nature a one-way or transitive relationship between a lover and a

1 Cf. Nadeau (1984) and Nappa (2005: 216).

2 Cf. Herrero de Jáuregui (2010: 64).

beloved. It is only in the next world that Orpheus is united with his wife in what appears to be an enduring and reciprocal love, as equals, with neither leading or being led but walking side by side, or each going alternately in front. That the afterlife might be a locus in which erotic passion is transformed into an abiding and mutual affection seems to us to be an Ovidian twist that captures something at least embryonic in the Orphic vision of the afterlife.

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56. Orphism, Cosmogony, and Genealogy (Mus. fr. 14)

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Philodemus *De pietate* P.Herc. 1610 fr. 3 + 247 fr. 6 col. i:¹

4670	τιν]ἐς δὲ τούτ[ους τὰ] κύμπαντά [φα- ci τ]εκεῖν. ἐμ μέν τισι]ν ἐκ Νυκτὸς καὶ Ταρ]τάρου λέγεται	15/4	Anonymi KRS no. 18 Anonymi
4675	τὰ π]άντα, ἐν δέ τι- cin ἐ]ξ Ἄιδου καὶ Δι- ὸς ἄ]μ(α), ὁ δὲ τὴν Τι- τανο]μαχίαν γρά- ψας ἐξ] Αἰθέρος φη-	20/9	Anonymi <i>Titanomachia</i> fr. 1B Davies = 1 Bernabé
4680	cίν,] Ἀκουσί[λ]αος δ' ἐκ] Χάους πρώτου τᾶ]λλα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνα]φερομένοις εἰς Μο]υσαῖον γέγραπται	25/14	Acusilaus VS 9 B 1 = <i>FGrHist</i> 2 F 5 = <i>EGM</i> 6d = <i>CPH</i> 1
4685	Τάρ]ταρον πρώτον εἶτα Ν]ύκτα [τε] καὶ	30/19	Musaeus VS 2 B 14 = F 14 Bernabé
col. 184	τρίτον] Ἀέρα γεγο- νέναι,] ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰς Ἐπι]μενίδην		247 6 col. 1 KRS no. 17 Epimenides VS 3 B 5 = <i>FGH</i> 457 F 4b =
4690	ἐξ Ἀέρος] καὶ Νυκτὸς τᾶ]λλα c]υετῆναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ] Ὀμηρος	5	F 46 II Bernabé = <i>EGM</i> 6b = Eudemus fr. 150 Wehrli Homerus

... but some say that these gave birth to everything. For example, in some it is related that all things are born from Night and Tartarus, but in others from Hades, and at the same time from Zeus, while author of the *Battle of the Titans* says that all things come from Aether, but Acusilaus says that all else comes from Chaos who was the first. In the works ascribed to Musaeus it is written that first Tartarus, and then Night, and third Air came into being, while in those ascribed to Epimenides it is written that everything else is constituted from Air and Night. But of course Homer ...

1 The continuous line-numbers are those of my forthcoming Oxford University Press edition of Philodemus' *De pietate* II. Underscored letters designate editorial alterations of presumed mistakes in the nineteenth century Neapolitan apograph (N), today the only extant witness to the text. The two fragments were re-united by Adolf Schober in his 1923 Königsberg dissertation under Christian Jensen's supervision.

Apart from verses of early Orphic theogonic poetry (so many of which we owe to the Derveni commentator), we have few early attested accounts of Orphic cosmogony. The text above is among the valuable pre-Hellenistic Orphic material collected by the second century polymath grammarian Apollodorus of Athens in his researches on divine epithets and identifications and presented by Philodemus in the second part of his *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*. Philodemus says he took ‘almost everything’ (πάντα σχεδόν) from Apollodorus’ *Περὶ θεῶν*. The first section is an account of cosmogony, which may derive ultimately from Eudemos of Rhodes – at any rate the order and details for Philodemus’ citations of Musaeus, Epimenides, and Homer are exactly the same as those attributed by Damascius to Eudemos, who was presumably Apollodorus’ source. Philodemus’ earlier, anonymous versions of divine cosmogony may also have Orphic affinities. But here an unsolved problem remains at line 4676: who ever held that all things came from Hades? To make matters worse, Philodemus’ citation seems to pair Hades with Zeus, as though they were a procreative couple (which would be stranger than almost anything the Derveni commentator contrives to say about Zeus!). One explanation is to see this as an abbreviation of a quotation from Chrysippus given later in the treatise, namely ‘that the air about the earth is Zeus, that in darkness is Hades, and that which goes through the earth and sea is Poseidon’. But this is not the only possible explanation: the passage is plagued by textual difficulties and the text anything but certain (in particular the scribe seems to have written κ instead of ξ before Ἄιδου, and if the copyist is to be trusted, μ before ὁ).²

The form in which Philodemus cites Musaeus’ works in the passage above, taken over by Philodemus from Apollodorus, makes it clear that the works were only ‘attributed’ (4683 ἀνα]φερομένων) to Musaeus.³ This shows that Apollodorus and perhaps other Hellenistic grammarians were aware of the possible pseudepigraphic status of these works. He had, after all, gone so far in one of them to claim to have been the grandson of Zeus, as Philodemus (doubtless from Apollodorus) tells us later in the treatise:

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- 2 In the realm of theogony, Philodemus (presumably still from Apollodorus) has still more Orphic material to relate (see Albert Henrichs’ contribution to the present volume).
 - 3 This form of citation need not exclusively imply scepticism about authorship: it also entails that some (*Orphikoi*? religious exegetes like the Derveni commentator, who seems to accept Orpheus’ authorship of the Derveni theogony, for example?) did actually accept Musaeus’ authorship, and may even have adduced arguments for the works’ ascription to him. It would be an interesting exercise to consider further the ascriber’s identity: Stesimbrotus of Thasos would certainly be a candidate, as would the chresmologue Onomacritus.

Philodemus *De pietate* P.Herc. 243 fr. 6:

	] . [.]οικτεῖρειν	1	243 6
	τ]ὰς λαθραῖα βουλε[υ-		
	ομ]ένας. καὶ Μουσα[ι- {δε}		Musaeus Test. nov. Bernabé
	ο]ν μὲν Ὀρφεὺς υ[ι- {γοι}		Orpheus T 47 Bernabé
7585	ὄν] αὐτῆς γενέσ- {ν . }	5	
	θ]αἰ φησίν, Μουσαῖ- {γρ}		
	ο]ς {ο} δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν {κα}		
	Πατ' ὕδίας τῆς Διὸς {ν}		
	κα]ὶ Σελήνης “κάγ-		
7590	τιο]φῆμου”, “σεληνο-	10	
	πε]τῇ” δ' Ἴων αὐτὸν		Ion Chius
	λέγ]ει. φησὶν δὲ καὶ {χο}		
	Κλε]ῖω τὴν Μοῦσα[ν { . }		
	Μαγνήτο]ς ἐρασθῆναι {σεμ}		
7595	Λι]κὺ[μ]νιος, οἱ δὲ καὶ {ακα}	15	Licymnios 768A Campbell,
	τὸ]ν Ὑ[μ]ένα[ιο]ν υ[ιὸν {αμωνη}		Greek Lyric V
	α]ὐτῆς [εῖν]αι νο[μίζου- {υπερ}		Anonymi
	σι]ν. Οὐρανίας δὲ { }		
	Λί]νον, Μελομέ- τ[	19	Linus fr. nov. Bernabé
282A 7600	[νης δὲ Θάμυριν . . .]ω	1	243 5 col. 1

(they say) that those (goddesses) who were plotting secret affairs lamented. As for Musaeus, Orpheus says that he was her (Selene's) son, but Musaeus says of himself that he was the son of Pandia, daughter of Zeus and Selene, and Ἀντιόφημος'. Ion says that he was “fallen from the moon”. Likymnios says that the Muse Clio was in love with Magnes and some believe that their son was Hymenaeus. (*Name missing*) (says) that Linus was the son of Urania, and that Thamyras was the son of Melpomene ...

As it is, Musaeus' view that all things came first from “Tartarus, and then Night, and third Air” makes his cosmology and its elements look suspiciously derivative from Archaic Greek hexameter poetry (Tartarus and Night are familiar generative elements in Hesiod's *Theogony*, as well as the other works cited by Philodemus, including the Homeric *Iliad*), while the third element, Air, makes him look like a card-carrying member of the Presocratic movement of the fifth century B.C. – a milieu that produced the Derveni theogony and its commentator. No doubt Philodemus himself wanted to make all of these sound like but slight variations on a well-worn theme, and has consequently obscured to modern scholars the value of this relatively early testimony for the shadowy figure Musaeus.

57. Linus fr. 2: Music and Death

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Οὐρανίη δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτε Λίνον πολυήρατον υἱόν,
ὃν δὴ ὅσοι βροτοὶ εἰσιν αἰδοὶ καὶ κιθαρισταί,
πάντες μὲν θρηγνῦσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις τε χοροῖς τε,
ἀρχόμενοι δὲ Λίνον καὶ λήγοντες καλέουσιν.

This fragment corresponds to the Hesiodic fragment 305 M.-W.² and refers to a mythical character whose personality appears quite confused in our sources: Linus, son of Apollo and one of the Muses, here named as Ourania, although other sources refer to Terpsichore or Calliope. In this last case he would be Orpheus' brother.

Our fragment therefore documents the existence of Linus, who has been considered the prototypical musician and poet in one person,³ whom all kitharodes and bards celebrate and invoke; however the fragment does not mention any myth related to him.

This text raises a number of questions which I am going to examine briefly. Firstly: who is this Linus? As a mythological figure the best known appearance of Linus is as the music teacher of Heracles, who, when he was very young and was receiving music lessons, was on one occasion reprimanded by his teacher; Heracles hit him violently and killed him. This episode, which is recorded for instance in Apollodoros⁴ and also in Greek vase-painting from the 5th century BC onwards,⁵ presents some interesting aspects which are worth commenting on. On the one hand, the fact that Heracles had as a music teacher a brother of Orpheus shows the excellence of the hero's education, although music will not be a significant feature of Heracles' later career.⁶ On the other hand, the hero appears as an intrac-

1 I am grateful to Richard Buxton for his comments on this article. He too wishes to add his very best compliments to Alberto Bernabé.

2 Sch. *Il.* 18.570. Cf. West (1983: 56–67).

3 Cf. Häussler (1974: 8).

4 Apollod. 1.3.2. and 2.4.9.

5 Cf. Boardman (1991: 290).

6 However on some Attic vases dating to about 530 BC, Heracles may be represented as a musician, playing the kithara or the lyre, usually in the presence of Athena. This side of Heracles' character seems unusual, precisely because his musical edu-

table and rebellious pupil whose violence the episode highlights. In this story, then, Linus' only role is as a victim of Heracles, destined to experience physically the strength and brutality which characterise the hero already from his earliest youth; in the same way the two serpents sent by Hera, and strangled by the hero in his cradle, were also victims of his extraordinarily precocious strength. Heracles and Linus are in this episode two opposed characters: the one strong and athletic, the other dedicated only to music (like Zethus and Amphion). The iconographical representations of this scene also mark an opposition. Heracles is a young boy, normally depicted naked, although sometimes he can wear a cloak; Linus by contrast is an old man, bearded, holding a lyre in his hand. In the images of this episode of "violence in the classroom" we can see how Heracles pounces on his teacher, in some cases gripping his shoulder, in others even putting his knee on him and brandishing what seems to be a stool over the helpless Linus, who in some images has already fallen to the ground. On one cup dated to 480–470 BC and ascribed to the Douris Painter⁷ there are other young boys around him who, to judge from their gestures, seem to be astonished by what has happened and Linus seems to be using his lyre as a defensive weapon. It is interesting to note how the iconography of Linus is very rare, being limited to this scene and another in which he also appears in the role of a music teacher, for instance with Mousaios.⁸

Another variant of the myth of the death of a character also called Linus who has nothing to do with Heracles, is the one documented in Pausanias.⁹ This version relates that Linus was a divine hero, son of Ourania and Amphimaros the son of Poseidon, who received offerings in a cave dedicated to the Muses on Helikon. Pausanias agrees with our fragment in the idea that Linus was the most glorious of musicians, but adds that he was killed by Apollo for competing with him in song. From the lamentation for his death – which extended as far as barbarian peoples – came the song which bore his name. Pausanias also refers here – although as if to a different and independent story – to the Linus who was Heracles' music teacher.¹⁰ Another reference to a certain Linus – also in Pausanias¹¹ – states that he was the son of Apollo by Psamathe, the daughter of Crotopos king of Argos,

cation came to an abrupt halt when he killed his teacher; therefore these images have received a different, non-mythological explanation which related them to the musical life of Athens at the time of Peisistratos and his sons, who might have found it advantageous to present the city's favourite hero as a musician, cf. Boardman (1988: 814–817).

7 Boardman (1988: 833, image 1671).

8 Boardman (1991: 290).

9 Paus. 9.29.6.

10 For Linus' connection with Thebes see Pausanias 9.29.6 (and Bremmer [1999: 252]).

11 Paus. 2.19.8.

who, fearing her father, abandoned her son in a forest where he was torn apart by dogs. Pausanias¹² says that Linus (both those with this name) never composed poetry or else – according to him – “the poetry they wrote never reached us”.¹³

So the answer to the first of our questions cannot be completely definitive. It is difficult to affirm with absolute certainty which Linus is the one mentioned in our fragment, because the only fact we know is that he is the son of Ourania, which would also correspond with the reference of Pausanias to the Linus who received cult on Helikon.

The second question which arises from this text relates to the detail that he is celebrated specifically with laments (θρηνεῦσιν). We could immediately think that laments are dedicated to him because he dies in a tragic way. In any case, what is certainly relevant in the mythical character called Linus is his death. Whether it is one Linus in different versions or two separate Linuses, one the music teacher of Heracles and the other the young man whose death originated the song with his name, it is clear that the significant point common to all versions is his tragic and violent death. Like other characters in Greek myth, Linus exists in order to die. And here we need to mention another hero who exists in order to die and be lamented: Adonis.¹⁴ However, an aspect which attracts attention in the case of Linus, according to our fragment, is that he is celebrated with θρήνοι in situations which do not seem appropriate for them, such as banquets and choruses. Θρήνοι were in general funerary songs performed in the honour of the dead, such as those mentioned in the *Iliad* (for instance in 24.720), which were accompanied by women's laments¹⁵ and which gave place to the θρήνοι in tragedy. It is true that in some sympotic poems by Alkaios and Theognis painful aspects of life were expressed in threnetic tones,¹⁶ but the θρήνοι in honour of some heroes had also a positive side: they lament the death of Adonis, but also celebrate his union with Aphrodite; that is, they could be accompanied by another type of lyric poetry which stressed his apotheosis or resurrection.¹⁷ In the case of Linus a more positive quality to celebrate him in a cheerful way would be his extraordinary musical aptitude: a good reason to be remembered.

One last question which arises around this character is the fact that we have evidence for a song named the Song of Linus. Indeed – as Pausanias

12 Paus. 9.29.6.

13 Concerning the opposition between the lyric singer and the poet, see for example Adrados (1974: 23–24).

14 The earliest literary reference to the lament for Adonis is found in a fragment generally attributed to Sappho (fr. 140 Voigt), cf. Alexiou (1974: 55).

15 For laments in honour of the dead and of gods and heroes, cf. Alexiou (1974: 55–82).

16 Cf. Adrados (1974: 111).

17 In the case of vegetation deities whose rituals combined the ideas of death and resurrection.

reports (as I have already mentioned) – we know of the existence of an old song with that name, a lament in which the expression αἶλινον was repeated. The most ancient source for it is Homer,¹⁸ and it is also documented in Aeschylus;¹⁹ this song, probably of Eastern origin,²⁰ has been connected with the mythological figure Linus, and raises the question of the priority between myth and ritual,²¹ through the idea that the existence and death of this character might have been derived precisely from that song,²² of which Linus as a mythical character would thus be the mere personification.²³

Nothing therefore prevents us from postulating Linus as a single mythical character, originating from a funerary song. From that song, several variants of the story of his death would have developed, all related to music and all violent. One variant ascribed his death to the hand of Apollo, as a consequence of a singing competition which produced the god's anger, following a similar pattern to that involving other characters in Greek mythology who died or were metamorphosed for having attempted to outdo a god. Alternatively the character responsible for his death was Heracles, in a story which serves to underline the violent personality of this hero. If in origin Linus was – like Adonis – a vegetation deity whose death was lamented – and this would be reinforced by the Eastern parallels and the song dedicated to him –, this would explain the θρήνοι in his honour, which could have turned into other forms of lyric poetry, more cheerful, more appropriate to the banquets and choruses alluded to in the fragment – just as in the description of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad* the occasion does not seem suitable for a song which was only a funerary lament.²⁴

18 *Il.* 18.570–572. The context is the description of the shield of Achilles, on which is depicted a child singing the Song of Linus while a chorus dances. Cf. Edwards (1991: 225).

19 A. A. 121.

20 Cf. Edwards (1991: 225). Herodotus (2.79) identifies the Song of Linus with an ancient song common to Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt.

21 Cf. Häussler (1974: 1–14).

22 Caro Baroja (1974: 161–186) advances a similar interpretation of the ancient Cantabrian song “Canto de Lelo”. In the view of this author, Lelo would be – in parallel with the Greek Linus – both a character who died in tragic circumstances and at the same time the name of the song sung in his honour. This phenomenon of naming a song after a personage who died tragically appears also among other peoples. Thus, as I have already said, Herodotus mentions an Egyptian song which was very similar to the Greek Song of Linus, and which was called Maneros (Hdt. 2.59).

23 Cf. Bremmer (1999: 252).

24 Cf. Edwards (1991: 225). For Alexiou (1974: 57) the *Iliadic* case seems to concern a dance rather than a lament.

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58. The Derveni Papyrus on Heraclitus (col. IV)

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When Martin West, in 1972, copied the fragments of the Derveni Papyrus that were on exhibition in the museum of Thessaloniki, he at once recognized Heraclitus B 3 in ΑΝΘΡΩ ... ΕΥΡΟΣΠΙΟΔΟΣ. Some years later Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou made known some more lines of this fragment, so that two famous quotations of Heraclitus appeared, B 3 and B 94, apparently belonging together.¹ It was only then that Mouraviev read in fact ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ in line 5. But even so this column, as it now appears in Kouremenos – Parásoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006) and with additional supplements in Bernabé (2007), remains enigmatic. The context is unclear, as the earlier columns are still more fragmentary. The text of “Orpheus” has not yet been touched – the commentary starts in col. VII. It is great to have these early testimonies for Heraclitus. But what is it about?

This essay tries to take a fresh start from the end: In line 10, ὑπερ]βατόμ ποῦι seems to be a nearly unavoidable reading. The very term ὑπερβατόν appears also in col. VIII 6, and in Plato’s *Protagoras* (343e), one of the earliest texts of detailed literary interpretation we have. Evidently it has already the meaning defined in later rhetoric (Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.65 *opportuna ordinis mutationis*): the author has ‘overstepped’ a word which results in an uncommon word order; the reader must recognize this and reconstruct the meaning in context to bring out the sense. In Plato’s *Protagoras*, within the interpretation of the famous Simonides poem (fr. 542 PMG), Socrates insists that ἀλαθέως must go with χαλεπόν, not with preceding ἀγαθόν. Aristotle (*Rh.* 1407b 14) discusses a problem of the kind right in reference to Heraclitus B 1, although without the term; he speaks of the problem of punctuation instead, διακτίζειν. In col. VIII 6 of our papyrus, the author claims that πάρα belongs to the preceding πατρός and not to the following θέσφατα: Zeus receives power “from the father”, he does not act “against oracles”; such ὑπερβατόν might escape certain readers (λανθάνει).

1 Bibliography on the Heraclitus fragment: Burkert (1983 and 1993); Mouraviev (1985); Sider (1987); Parásoglou – Tsantsanoglou (1988). Commentaries of the Derveni Papyrus: Jourdan (2003); Betegh (2004). Commented editions: Kouremenos – Parásoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006); Bernabé (2007).

In col. IV 10, the form ποῆι suggests a preceding ἦν (cf. col. XXIV 5) or rather ἦν μὴ (τις); this would amount to something like “this is nonsense, unless one makes the appropriate change of word order”.

In fact this seems to go together with a likely supplement right at the beginning, col. IV 2: ὁ κείμενα μεταθεῖς “he who transposes accepted texts”. One might hesitate to translate κείμενον here directly with ‘text’ – common in later commentaries –, but starting from expressions such as νόμοι κείνται, ὄνομα κείται the way towards the literary term of ‘text’ was short. The following phrase can be reconstructed in accordance.

The ‘text’ dealt with here is the quotation of Heraclitus. So which change of word order does the author advocate?

Ἀνθρωπήϊον εὖρος ποδός, “a human foot’s breadth”, is normally taken as a predicate of Helios, *i. e.* a statement about his size; and modern interpreters of Heraclitus go on to discuss either the primitive astronomy of Heraclitus or else his wilful protest against Anaximander’s calculation of distances and sizes (Anaximander A 19 = Eudemus fr. 146 Wehrli). Such a statement indeed would have been an affront already for Heraclitus’ contemporaries; somewhat later Anaxagoras (A 77) had found the explanation of the lunar eclipse: we see the earth’s shadow, cast by the sun, on the surface of the moon – a clue in fact to imagine the sizes of heavenly bodies (cf. Arist. *Cael.* 297b 28). The Derveni author clearly is post-Anaxagorean.

What could be the effect of a “change of word order” here? Let the distance of “a human foot” belong to what follows, and you get: Not even by one human foot’s breadth will Helios surpass the boundaries established for his course. This makes primitive astronomy disappear.

A reconstruction of the text remains hazardous. It means to abandon the supplements presented by Kouremenos, Bernabé and others.

Here is a tentative transcript of the text preserved, following Kouremenos (68), with checking his photographs:

2 ΟΚΕΙΜ... ΜΕΤΑΘ... (13)... ΚΔΟΥΝΑΙ
3 ΜΑΛΛ... ΣΙΝΕΤΑΙ... (12)... ΤΑΤΗΣΤΥΧΗΣΓΑ
4 ΟΥΚΕΙ... ΜΜΑΝΕΙΝΑΡΟΥΤΑ... (10)... ΝΔΕΚΟΣΜΟΣ
5 ΚΑΤΑ... ΑΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣΜΑ... ΤΑΚΟΙΝΑ
6 ΚΑΤ... ΦΕΙΤΑΙΔ... ΑΟΣΠΕΡΙΚΕΛΑ... ΛΟΓΩΙΛΕΓΩΝ
7 ΗΛΙ... ΟΥΚΑΤΑΦΥΣΙΝΑΝΘΡΩ... ΕΥΡΟΣΠΟΔΟΣ
8 ΤΟΜ... ΣΟΥΧΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΩΝΕΙΚ... ΡΟΥΣΕ
9 ΗΕΡΙΝΥΕ... ΝΙΝΕΞΕΥΡΗΣΟΥ
10 ΒΑΤΟΜΠΟΗΚ
11 ΑΙΘΥΟ
12 ΑΔΙΚΗΣ
13 ΜΗΝΙΤΑΚ
14 ΙΠΑΙΣΕ

A possible text:

2 ὁ κείμ[ενα] μεταθ[εῖς τὸ σαφὲς μέλλει ἐ]κδοῦναι
3 μάλλ[ον ἢ] κίνεται [τὸ σεμνόν. παρ]ὰ τῆς τύχης γὰρ

- 4 οὐκ ἔστι[ι λα]μμάνειν, [π]αρ' οὐ τά[ξιν ἔχει ἐπὼν τῶ]γδε κόσμος.
 5 κατὰ [ταῦτ]α Ἡράκλ[ε]ιτος με[γαλύνων] τὰ κοινὰ
 6 κατ[ατέλ]λει τὰ ἴδ[ι]α· ὃς περὶ κελ[εύθων] λόγῳ λέγων·
 7 ἥλι[ος ἐωυ]τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρω[πι]οῦ εὖρος ποδὸς
 8 τοῦ[ς οὖρου]ς οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων· εἰ γ[ὰρ οὔ]ρους ἐ[υ]τοῦ
 9 [ἐ]κ[βή]σετα[ι], Ἑρινύε[ς] νιν ἐξευρήσου[σι], ἄλλως δοκοίη
 10 λέγειν, ἦμ μὴ τις ὑπερ[βατὸμ] ποῆι κ[αὶ] ποδὸς μέτρῳ
 11 ἐμμένοντα τὸν ἥλιον, ἀν[α]θυμ[ι]ώμενον καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀκούη.

This is far from certain. One new letter added or clearly read may change the whole. It is good to remember how for Antiphon F 44 DK, a comparatively simple, unpretentious text, one little piece of papyrus added later (1984: *POxy.* 52 nr. 3647) brought half a dozen of corrections.

3 *ζίνεται* is strange in a normal prose text; one might suspect *γίνεται*, with various possible supplements.

It is difficult to find a sense for τὰ τῆς τύχης. The photo seems not to exclude *παρ]ά*.

4 οὐκ ἔστι λαμμάνειν· οὐκ εἶα (Kouremenos, Bernabé) leaves the problem who should be the subject here; Orpheus has not yet been mentioned in the extant letters, Heraclitus enters in line 5. The photo shows no trace of the fifth letter.

A rhetorical question would be unique within this text; hence the attempt at *παρ' οὔ; ἀφ' οὔ* seems excluded by a very clear ρ.

κόσμος: The *lacuna* admits various supplements. That cosmic order should be mentioned has been a dominating idea of interpreters; but it is only within the Heraclitus quotation that Helios makes his entrance. If interpretation is discussed instead, one might rather think of ἐπέων κόσμος (Democritus B 21, cf. Solon fr. 1.2 West; Parmenides B 8.52); τῶγδε remains enigmatic – it must refer to something preceding col. IV 1.

5 ME instead of MA is read by Bernabé, who restores *μεγάλα*; the corresponding verb is inserted here, to contrast with the verb in the next line; *κατατέλλει* (to let down sails) would be more convenient than *κατατρέφει*; the traces in the papyrus must decide.

6 *κέλευθοι* 'courses' of stars is a normal expression; *περὶ* with dative seems possible, perhaps more 'for the sake of' than just 'about'. It was Anaximander (A 19) who found the *λόγος* of sizes and distances among stars, Eudemus fr. 146 Wehrli = Simplicius *Cael.* 471.4.

8 TOM Kouremenos, hence τὸ μέγεθος; Bernabé has, after others, τοῦς οὔρου; οὔρος is used by Heraclitus in an astronomical context, B 120.

Later in the line Kouremenos has EIK, supplemented to εἰ καὶ; Bernabé's γὰρ is much more attractive to connect the two Heraclitean sayings, and seems possible according to the photo.

9 κ in Bernabé, without comment.

11 Restoration is hopeless: Kouremenos presents 5 letters, three of them uncertain; there remains ΘΥ. By a very slight chance this could indicate the doctrine of Heraclitus developed in B 6 and A 1.10–11, A 12.

The translation would be:

He who transposes an established text will rather bring out the clear meaning than destroy the prestige. For it is impossible to get by pure chance, from where the composition of these verses has its order. In this sense Heraclitus, making great the common (perceptions), reduces the individual ones; speaking on the calculation of (stars') courses:

"Helios, according to his own nature, a human foot's breadth boundaries not surpassing; for if he will step outside his own boundaries, Erinyes will find him out" – (saying this, Heraclitus) would speak nonsense, unless one makes a different word order and understands: even by measure of one foot Helios stays in his boundaries, as he rises in vapour every day.

It is hardly necessary to repeat: this is uncertain; we desperately would like to have just a few more letters. Some will criticize certain expressions, others will regret if one of those memorable paradoxes of Heraclitus' is made to disappear, even if the Derveni author, of course, need not be right; Aetius (2.21.4 = B 5) records Heraclitus' one-foot-sun without comment. Nevertheless it might be worthwhile to follow the Derveni author in his strolls within a Presocratic world picture, and his footing in the tricks of interpretation. The attempt has been to give sense to just one word, ὑπερβατόν. How shakeable interpretations of fragments are, this may well be the clearest result.

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59. Eraclito e i Persiani nel Papiro di Derveni (col. IV 10–14)

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Nella quarta colonna del papiro di Derveni l'autore cita (forse un po' liberamente)¹ Eraclito come uno che, esprimendosi al pari di 'Orfeo' da *hierologos*, dava credito alle sensazioni e/o opinioni universalmente riconosciute (τὰ κοινά). La citazione abbraccia quelle che erano considerate, per la diversità dei testimoni, due diverse sentenze eraclitee (22 B 3 e B 94 DK) e ne suggerisce la primitiva appartenenza a un unico *dictum*. Nonostante lo stato lacunoso del papiro il testo della citazione ha potuto essere ricostruito, per mezzo delle altre fonti, con buona precisione, e le divergenze fra le edizioni di Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006) da un lato e di Janko e Bernabé dall'altro riguardano la forma del testo piuttosto che la sostanza dell'argomentazione.

Non credo però che sia stata fin qui trovata una soluzione appropriata per l'inizio di l. 7, dove Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006) rinunciano a integrare.² L'integrazione ἔω]τοῦ di Tsantsanoglou – Parássoglou (1992) è semanticamente impeccabile, ma cozza contro il fatto che la lettera sul margine destro della lacuna è pressoché sicuramente un delta, come appunto registrato in Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 69). D'altra parte μεθό]δου, proposto da Janko (2008: 48, "in accord with the nature of ⟨our⟩ method"), introduce come parte del testo eracliteo un termine che non è attestato prima di Platone e che neppure propone un'idea idonea al contesto se è vero che, subito dopo la menzione del sole, ci si

1 Le varianti offerte dal papiro rispetto alle due testimonianze, per B 94, di Plutarco (*Exil.* 604A e *Is. et Os.* 370D) non sono discusse da Kouremenos nel commento, ma vedi Tsantsanoglou – Parássoglou (1992: 225). È comunque più che probabile che la lezione μέτρα (*Plu. Exil.*) vada preferita alle due diverse ma parallele varianti di tenore parafrastico offerte dal papiro (εἰς[όταc οὐ]ρoυc con le integrazioni di Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006)) e da *Plu. Is. et Os.* (τοὺc προσήκoνταc ὄρoυc), tanto più che μέτρα trova riscontro in Heraclit. 22 B 30 πῦρ αἰείωoν, ἀπτόμεoν μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμεoν μέτρα.

2 Ma nel commento è ricordato lo strano supplemento κά]δoυ: si tratta di una variante di κάδοc 'vaso', 'urna' poco promettente per il senso e comunque inattestata prima del IV secolo d.C. (*Them. in Ph.* 268.2).

aspetterebbe, con κατὰ ... φύσιν, un riferimento alla 'natura' dell'astro piuttosto che a quella di un ipotetico osservatore (o del criterio da lui adottato).

Mi pare invece che ben si adatti a un passo dove si sottolinea che il sole non può travalicare la sua naturale dimensione (quella di un piede umano) l'integrazione περί[δου] (non troppo lunga, a mio avviso), che denoterebbe la 'circonferenza' dell'astro secondo il senso del vocabolo attestato in Ar. Nu. 206 γῆς περίοδος πάσης e più volte in Erodoto (1.163 ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τεύχεος, 178 e 185, 2.101 etc.).

Come si arguisce dal ricorso al 'piede' quale termine di paragone e dalla menzione dell'"estensione" (εὖρος) dell'astro e dei suoi 'confini' (οὐ[ρ]ος), la questione toccata da Eraclito era infatti la *reale* (κατὰ φύσιν) dimensione del sole, non quella apparente,³ ed è presumibile che ὑπερ]βατὸμ ποιῆ del rigo seguente fosse parte di una prosecuzione del tema da parte del commentatore "specialmente sulla base di ὑπερβάλλων e di ὑπερβήσεσθαι e ὑπερβήσεται di Plutarco" (Tsantsanoglou – Parássoglou 1992: 225).

Il congiuntivo ποιῆ doveva pertanto far parte di una proposizione finale in cui l'anonimo di Derveni ricordava che affinché il sole non violasse i termini della propria *physis* modificando la sua dimensione,⁴ alcuni (annidati in lacuna) erano soliti offrire sacrifici al sole stesso.⁵

Non è probabile d'altra parte che l'aggettivo verbale ὑπερβατός avesse la valenza attiva presupposta nelle traduzioni di Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006) ('so that it will not transgress') e di Janko ('going beyond'). Come si conviene a una formazione in -τός, questo aggettivo verbale ha quasi sempre valore passivo ('that can be passed or crossed' per LSJ s. v. I 1), e le eccezioni (A. A. 428: καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα, Arist. Div. somn. 463b 1: τὰ τε ὑπερβατὰ πάντα), oltre ad avere valore figurato, non riguardano costruzioni in cui ὑπερβατόν sia retto da verbi come ποιέω (cf. invece Plu. Aet. Gr. Rom. 271A ποιεῖν ὑπερβατόν in relazione a un luogo da rendere 'attraversabile').

Di conseguenza ὑπερ]βατόν, riprendendo ὑπερβάλλων di l. 8, doveva inserirsi in una preghiera o in un augurio a che il sole non rendesse mai 'superabile' la propria 'dimensione' o 'grandezza', e cioè, secondo una ricostruzione testuale inedita suggeritami da Valeria Piano che riprende anche il μ[έγεθ]ος integrato da Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006)

3 Vedi su questo punto Kouremenos in Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 156–161).

4 A me pare che non ci sia alcun indizio, nonostante l'uso di ὑπερβατά in senso grammaticale in col. VIII 6, a favore di un analogo uso anche in col. IV 10.

5 Una pubblica invocazione a Helios, certo accompagnata da suppliche e sacrifici, presso il santuario oracolare che sorgeva a Tebe lungo il fiume Ismeno in occasione di una eclissi di sole è l'occasione del *Peana* 9 di Pindaro (fr. 52k M.). Sul possibile sbocco tematico del carme, difficile da determinare data la perdita quasi completa dell'epodo, vedi Rutherford (2001: 195).

a l. 8 e colma adeguatamente lo spazio della lacuna iniziale, μη ἐδὸμ μέγεθος ὑπερβατόμ ποῆι “affinché non renda superabile la propria grandezza”.

Quanto all’identificazione dei sacrificanti, essa è recuperabile, credo, grazie a un dato paleografico fin qui trascurato, e cioè che due minuscoli frammenti rimasti finora *unplaced* (I 62 e I 80) combaciano bene l’uno con l’altro nella forma e nell’andamento delle fibre orizzontali e che a sua volta la loro combinazione si inserisce agevolmente fra G 4 e H 8 (TAV. 1).⁶

L’incremento di testo che ne deriva è quantitativamente modesto ma non per questo insignificante (ll. 10–13):

μη ἐδὸμ μέγεθος ὑπερ]βατόμ ποῆι κ[
Π]έρσαι θύου[ci(v)]
κ]ατὰ τὰ Δίκης [
γὰρ [ἀ]μήνιτα κ[

10 μη ἐοῦ μέγεθος V. Piano ὑπερ]βατόμ KPT 11 θύου[ci(v)] Lebedev 12 supple-
vi 13 supplevi (δυσ]μήνιτα vel ὀξυ]μήνιτα iam Tsants.;] μηνι τακ[τῶι KPT)

... i Persiani fanno sacrifici... [affinché il sole non] renda superabile [la propria dimensione] ... secondo le [norme] di Dike ... infatti senza ira⁷ ...

I sacrificanti erano dunque i Persiani, il popolo persiano, secondo un interesse per le pratiche sacrificali iraniche e per le entità numinose a cui esse erano collegate che in epoca classica emerge in particolare in Hdt. 1.131.2: θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ ἐλλήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι e in X. Cyr. 8.7.2: ἱερεῖα ἔθνε Δί τε πατρώϊω καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσιν. E un riferimento implicito a tali pratiche si coglie anche nel VII libro delle *Leggi* di Platone (821c–d), dove l’Ateniese raccomanda di onorare gli “dèi del cielo” (sole, luna, pianeti) con sacrifici e preghiere (... εὐφημεῖν δὲ αἰεὶ θύοντάς τε καὶ ἐν εὐχαῖς εὐχομένους εὐσεβῶς).⁸

In effetti il nesso tra offerte sacrificali e ordine cosmico rimanda in prima istanza alla cultura religiosa iranica e al ruolo che in essa giocavano gli elementi naturali (primo fra tutti il sole) e il dio supremo Ahura Mazda (di cui il Sole è detto essere l’“occhio”) in quanto generatore e garante di un universo armoniosamente regolato (*asha*). Così, in un inno al Sole (*Yasht* 6), si dice che colui che sacrifici all’immortale, splendente Sole dai veloci cavalli per respingere l’oscurità, i *daēva* nati dall’oscurità e i rapinatori e banditi sacrifica nel contempo ad Ahura Maza e alla propria anima.

6 Ringrazio V. Piano per l’aiuto decisivo nell’esatto posizionamento dei frustoli e nella elaborazione della tavola digitale.

7 L’aggettivo ἀμήνιτα poteva riferirsi all’esito, gradito agli dèi, degli atti e delle parole rituali dei sacrificanti, cf. A. A. 1036–1037: ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις / κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων e Plu. *de def. or.* 413D: τὸν δὲ θεὸν εὐμενῇ φύλαττε καὶ ἀμήνιτον.

8 Vedi in proposito Horky (2009: 48).

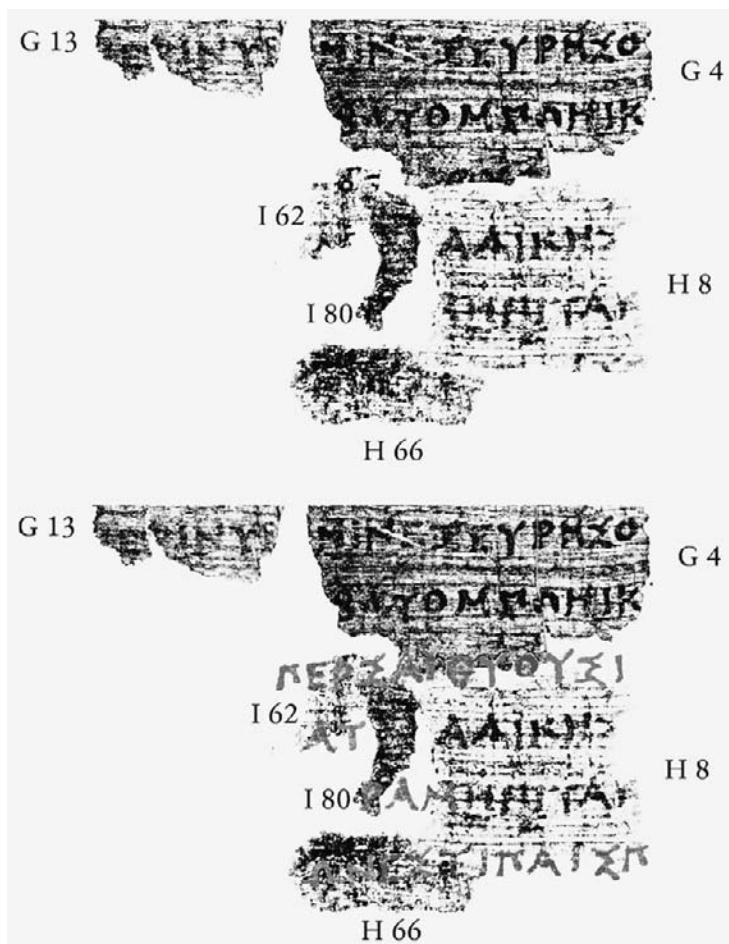


Tavola 1

Con questa prospettiva parrebbe accordarsi anche una nuova citazione eraclitea del commentatore, quella di 22 B 52 nella forma αἰὼν ἐστὶ παῖς πα[ί]ζων, περσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιληῆς,⁹ che emerge dall'inserimento del frustolo H 66 al di sotto di I 80 e H 8.¹⁰

9 La successione παῖς παῖζων si ritrova in uno dei numerosi testimoni del passo (Luc. Vit. Auct. 14), mentre l'unico testimone che riporta la sentenza nella sua forma completa (Hippol. Haer. 9.9.3-4) ha αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παῖζων, περσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιληῆς. Vedi Marcovich (1978: 339).

10 Avevo già sospettato il richiamo a 22 B 52, pur senza sfruttare l'apporto di H 66, in Ferrari (2007: 206-207).

In particolare, il profilo della zona superiore destra di H 66 combacia con quello della zona inferiore sinistra di H 8. Quanto alla decifrazione delle lettere in H 66, $\xi\varsigma$ è stato individuato da Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 120) e può considerarsi sicuro, ma anche il profilo del precedente ΩN emerge abbastanza chiaro. Aggiungo che in H 8 la traccia orizzontale dell'ultima lettera, riprodotta come ξ in Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006), può essere ricondotta altrettanto bene a π , come riconosciuto in qualche misura in Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 69): “top left-hand right angle as in γ, ϵ, π ”. Essi aggiungono, è vero, che “the sloping of the horizontal suggests ϵ ”, ma ci sono diversi casi di π tracciati con analoga inclinazione, e in più c'è da notare che l'altezza dell'orizzontale in questione rispetto al precedente sigma è meglio compatibile con π che con ϵ , la cui orizzontale superiore dovrebbe trovarsi leggermente più in alto.

Il senso della dibattutissima sentenza eraclitea viene ad essere, almeno nell'uso fattone dal commentatore di Derveni, che l'*aiôn* – l'incessante flusso temporale del cosmo – è come un bambino che gioca alla *petteia* (un gioco da tavola di controversa identificazione) proprio in quanto si rinnova a ogni ciclo diurno o annuale e dunque è, paradossalmente, tanto antico quanto perennemente giovane¹¹ (anche la divinità gioca alla *pesseia* usando come pedine le anime degli uomini in Pl. *Lg.* 903d). E si può anche notare, con V. Piano (in corso di stampa), che l'associazione proposta da Eraclito fra l'azione del tempo e il potere sancito dalla 'regalità' è ben comparabile con quella istituita dall'autore di Derveni fra il controllo esercitato dall'intelligenza divina sugli eventi passati, presenti e futuri e la funzione egemonica esercitata da un βασιλεύς, che “domina su tutti i poteri e porta a compimento tutto ciò che nessun altro fra i mortali può realizzare” (col. XIX 12–13 [πασῶν κ]ρατει καὶ πάντα τελεῖ [ἄπερ θνη]τῶν οὐδενὶ [ἄλλωι ἔξ]εσ[τιν] τε[λ]έ[αι]).

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11 Vedi Kahn (1979: 228): “‘the everlasting child’ ... remains forever youthful, even infantile ... playing his endless game and maintaining kingship by a series of births and deaths across the generations”. Lo stesso Kahn nega che in Eraclito αἰὼν potesse avere il senso di ‘tempo’ o di ‘eternità’, ma ‘eternità’ (come flusso perenne) può ben essere il modo in cui il commentatore di Derveni lo interpretava (per αἰὼν come ‘tempo’, cf. comunque già A. *Supp.* 574: δι’αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου).

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60. Col. VI of the Derveni Papyrus and the Ritual Presence of Poultry

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Despite recent discoveries, such as in the case of the Derveni Papyrus, Orphism remains an amalgam of problems in every conceivable aspect of the phenomenon. Scholars still disagree on its origin, geographical spread and originality or dependence on other mystery religions. There are even stubborn scholars who still deny the very existence of a real religious movement called 'Orphic', apart from the writings bearing that title. The above mentioned Derveni Papyrus, which could have shed some light especially on ritual aspects, in fact has increased the number of questions. This is because the ritual content is present in the first columns of the papyrus (I–IV) which are unfortunately the most lacunose or defective: in fact, of the first four columns only a handful of words can be read or restored. In better condition are columns V and VI where this issue ends, as the following one (col. VII) marks the transition between the cultic content and a kind of allegoresis in which the author tries to interpret the meaning of an Orphic theogony since, according to him, its language is enigmatic “from the first to the last word” (col. VII 7–8).

Again, column VI is one of the most 'juicy'. On it numerous papers have been written which relate both to the restoration of the text and to the interpretation of what the author is supposed to have written. I will begin by saying that there is a magnificent edition by Th. Kouremenos, G. M. Parássoglou and K. Tsantsanoglou, the result of extensive and intelligent work, and some earlier ones.¹ The text is also included in Bernabé's edition of *OF* 471. However, out of philological honesty we cannot obviate the fact that down to the line 4 restoration is highly conjectural, and that, in some case, it is even based on a reciprocal or circular explanation, a kind of *petitio principii*: lin.1 *μελίσσουσι*, for instance, would be well founded if a direct object like *ψυχάς* were at the end of the line. But this is not at all safe and the resti-

1 Cf. Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006), with most of the bibliography on the subject. Former complete and formal editions were: Jourdan (2003) and Betegh (2004). Some important contributions can be found in: Laks – Most (1997).

tution of ψυχάς rests precisely on the reconstruction of the verb where you can only read for sure οὔσι, which is the ending of the third person plural in any verb ending in -σω.

Now, in lin. 1 we can only read with certainty the word θυσίαι, and from lin. 2 to 4 μάγων, δύναται, δαίμονας, μεθιστάναι, δαίμονες, τὴν θυσίαν τοῦτου ἔνεκεν; and probably ἐμποδῶν (2) and ἐμποδίζοντες (3). From 11 to 15 only (most probably) ὀρνίθειον and πρότερον are sure.

Therefore, I deem it dangerous to interpret freely a text when case endings have been restored to nouns and adjectives which lacked them; or, still worse, to interpret freely a text in which essential words of the sentence are lacking and that, nevertheless, in translation gives us the illusion of a speech syntactically impeccable due to restoration. Nothing is further from intellectual comfort. I think it is scientifically more honest and from a methodological point of view more correct to 'asyntactically' list the contents and try to interpret the general idea of what presumably the author wanted to convey. It is true that to a large extent the result will be equally conjectural, but at least we will not harbour the false security of having rediscovered the actual text. The emotional pressure of print is very strong, as we know, and now commentators usually accept acritically certain reconstructions of K. Tsantsanoglou's version, or another occasionally offered as an alternative. And yet ... what can be deduced from the *dissecta membra* of col. VI is not much:

- There are souls, which are numerous (ἀνάρητοι) and are identified with the Eumenides;
- There are 'hindering demons', δαίμονες ἐμποδίζοντες (rather than the clumsy ἐμποδῶν ὄντες εἰσὶ) to be dislodged (μεθιστάναι);
- There are activities of μάγοι (probably, but not for sure, incantations if ε[..... in lin. 2 is ἐπωιδή) and sacrifices that are similar to those offered to Eumenides by the mystae – although μάγοι and μύσται seem to have no more relation than the purely logical or rhetorical of the comparison;
- There is a sacrifice to be made 'for the gods' in general (lin. 10 θεοῖς): here we have the case ending but, in contrast, we lack the main verb (τὸν μέλλοντα and the general context is obscure and all interpretations highly conjectural);
- There are wineless offerings of liquids (lin. 6 ὕδωρ καὶ γάλα) and πολυόμφαλα πόπανα 'cakes with many navels or lumps';
- Finally, there is an ὀρνίθειον, 'a chick' – probably poultry (*vid. infra*).

In principle, both souls and daimones in this context whether internal (textual) or external (archaeological, a burial) should have to do with Hades. But our certainty about these souls is not complete: we ignore who those are, if they are all souls or only those of the initiated; and whether they seek to enter Hades. Or to get out. And there is the same uncertainty about daimones.

Finally, attention has been also drawn to the presence in line 11 of the word ὀρνίθειον which is not complete nor clear to read, but it can be supported by its previous appearance in col. II (lin. 7: ὀρνίθειόν τι).² I do not rule out that there is a iotacism and we should read ὀρνίθιον. But in any event, I agree with A. Bernabé that it is not an adjective: in col. II one might think so, due to the presence of indefinite τι, but precisely the absence of τι in col. VI exclude the possibility of ὀρνίθειον being an adjective.

It is therefore a bird, not 'birdlike or some part of a bird' *pace* Betegh (2006: 15 and 77). And it is a small bird, a chick. Now here at least two questions may be posed: first, what role does a chick play in this context of wineless and especially bloodless offerings? And second, of what kind of bird is this ὀρνίθειον a chick? A. Bernabé's attention is drawn to a fairly interesting extrahellenic parallel. For him, the bird would be any bird and the ritual would be parallel to the Buddhist ceremony of setting live creatures free. Of course these birds would represent the souls and the purpose of the ceremony, which presupposes belief in reincarnation, is to help their karma.

On my part, I would like to call attention to a passage frequently quoted and discussed in studies on Magic and Theurgy: I am referring to the autopsy of his 'personal demon' attempted by Plotinus in the Iseum of Rome. According to Porphyry³ it ended up in complete failure because of the death by suffocation of some birds (ὄρνεις) that were there φυλακῆς ἔνεκα. Nobody is in any doubt that these birds were poultry.⁴ And the phrase, according to Dodds, does not mean anything other than 'for protection' against malevolent demons – not "to prevent them flying away" as MacKenna translates (cf. *On the Life of Plotinus* 10: "the priest's assistant, who had been holding the birds, strangled them"); nor as a part of a sacrifice, see Hopfner, *OZ* II 125, and Eitrem, *SO* 22, 1942, 62 ff. Naturally there is a difference of several centuries between both testimonies, but there is no doubt that the apotropaic power of the rooster is a persistent idea since the importing of these bird from Persia. Since then, the cock was thought of as endowed with apotropaic powers through its relation to the Sun (later, in Theurgy etc., through its position in the Helios dynamis chain or σειρά). Proclus⁵ says that the presence of heliacal symbols is 'stronger' in roosters (ἐναργεστέρα γοῦν ἔστιν ἢ τῶν ἡλιακῶν συμβόλων εἰς τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα παρουσία); that they "participate of the divine according to their own position in the solar chain (μετέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ θείου κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τάξιν), so that once a cock made one of the heliacal daimones which looked like a powerful lion to cow from fear (τινα τῶν ἡλιακῶν δαιμόνων λεοντοπρόσωπον φαινόμενον,

2 Cf. Bernabé (2005).

3 See Porph. *Plot.* 10 and Dodds (1951: 283–314).

4 This is precisely what ὀρνίθιον usually means. See generally Ath. 9.15.

5 Procl. *Sacr.* 150 ff. in Bidez (1928).

ἀλεκτρυόνος δειχθέντος, ἀφανῇ γενέσθαι φασίν). Summing up: once that any possibility of the ‘sacrifice’ of an ὀρνίθειον is ruled out by the nature of the ritual in question (probably an Orphic ritual), I would rather suggest, based on the above passage from Porphyrius, that: a) ὀρνίθειον or ὀρνίθιον is a rooster; and b) it has the same primary purpose as the theurgical ritual of Rome, *i. e.*, its presence is apotropaic against *daimones* who, apparently, try to prevent the transit of souls. So far it all seems pretty certain. Now the problem is that we do not have sufficient evidence to ascertain the direction of this transit of souls. It is possible that the direction would be towards Hades, that is, what the *daimones* are trying to do is to obstruct the entrance of the souls into Hades – maybe those of the dead, as it happens in *Iliad* 23.71–74 with the soul of Patroclus (cf. θάπτε με ὅτι τάχιστα Πύλας Ἰδῖας περήσω. / τῆλ’ ἐμὲ εἰργουσι ψυχὰι εἰδῶλα καμόντων, / οὐδέ μ’ ἐμὲ μίσησθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἐώσιν, / ἀλλ’ αὐτως ἀλάλημαι ἂν’ εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄϊδος ὥ).

But what if souls try to get out of Hades? In that case, their ultimate goal would be, perhaps, to contact those who require mantic revelations. If so, this would be a ‘crossover’ situation: from one side, the whole ritual would be similar to that of *Odyssey* XI where the hero is looking for a mantic revelation (Odysseus has to μεθιστάναι many obstructing souls with his sword, cf. vv. 48–50: αὐτὸς δὲ ξίφος ὅξ’ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ / ἥμην οὐδ’ εἶων νεκῶν ἀμηνῶν κάρηνα / αἵματος ἄσπον ἔμεν πρὶν Τειρεσίῃα πυθέσθαι); but on the other side, the ultimate purpose would be closer to the one of the episode of the Iseum in Rome where Plotinus requires the presence of a demon, his own or personal demon, to get into contact with him. Both *praxeis* are similar in purpose: in *Odyssey* souls hinder souls; there is no ὀρνίθειον, but the hero manages to get rid of them. In Plotinus’ episode, there are ὀρνίθια, but the contact is frustrated.

But why could we think of a mantic ritual? Now, before any explanation of the col. VI is given, one has to consider its relationship with prior columns, that is, within its context. It is not legitimate to consider its content, as is usually done, as if it were unrelated to the previous columns. If the order of these is the one established by Tsantsanoglou, col. VI should not be separated from col. V in particular. And we must not forget that in col. V there are several hints to oracles: “we [whoever they are] come along to the oracle [whichever it is] to ask for prophecy or revelation in a dream, to ask whether it is lawful... [we do not know what]”. This is followed by a reprimand for those who do not believe in oracles or revelations in dreams. And then follows col. VI.

Given the incomplete character of the text it is impossible for the moment to decide between both possibilities. The first one – the ὀρνίθειον is helping to clear the entrance to Hades for the dead – seems more probable. But we cannot discard the possibility that the ὀρνίθειον is there to help the participants in a mantic ritual.

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61. The Castration of Uranus and its Physical Consequences in the Derveni Papyrus (cols. XIII and XIV) and the First Stoic Philosophers¹

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One of the most controversial passages in the Derveni Papyrus affects the interpretation scholars have made of the word αἰδοῖον, appearing in a verse of the Orphic poem quoted by the anonymous author of the papyrus in col. XIII 4: αἰδοῖοι κατέπινεν, ὃς αἰθέρα ἔχθορε πρῶτος (OF 8). As it is well known, specialists have divided among those who postulate that this word is an adjective meaning ‘reverend’ and qualifying an anonymous deity mentioned in the previous verse, identified with Protogonos or Phanes, and those who maintain it is a substantive meaning ‘phallus’.² Those who defend the second interpretation, among them most significantly W. Burkert and A. Bernabé, specify that it would be the Heaven’s male member, lost by this deity after being emasculated by Kronos. Therefore, they translate the verse as follows: “he swallowed the phallus of [...], who sprang from the aither first”.³ On the other side, those who think it is an adjective translate it as: “the reverend one (αἰδοῖον) he swallowed, who first sprung out of the aither”.⁴

Anyway, apart from these opposing opinions, it is obvious that the commentator of the Derveni Papyrus seems to be very interested in equating this αἰδοῖον, which he interprets as a male member, with the sun, arguing that both have in common the ability to generate. In fact – as the author of the papyrus argues –, neither without male member nor without the sun would procreation be possible.⁵

1 This study is part of a broader project, “Estudios sobre la transposición de la doctrina órfica en la filosofía estoica”, reference FFI2009–08162, financed by the *Dirección General de Investigación* of the *Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación*.

2 We refer to Bernabé (2007a: 217–219) for extensive information on the grounds for both points of view.

3 Betegh’s translation (2004: 29).

4 Translation by Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 133). Laks – Most (1997: 15) translate it as: “he swallowed down the reverend one (*aidoion*), who was the first one to leap forth into aither”.

5 ἀνευ δὲ τῶν | αἰδοίων [οὐ γίν]εσθαι, αἰδοίωι εἰκάσας τὸν ἥλιο[ν· | ἀνευ [γὰρ τοῦ ἡ]λ[ί]ου τὰ ὄντα τοιαῦτα οὐχ οἶόν [τ’ ἦν | γίν]εσθαι, col. XIII 8–10.

Likewise, at the beginning of column XIV, the author of the papyrus seems to develop an explanation of this verse, using the expression ἐκχθόρη τὸ{ν} λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ θε]ρμό[τ]ατον | χωρισθὲν ἀφ' ἑωυτοῦ. Many scholars have claimed, for the sake of preserving the syntactic structure of the aforementioned verse, that the adjectives λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ θε]ρμό[τ]ατον⁶ refer to aither,⁷ which, due to both traits, “the brightest and hottest”, is equated to the primordial and universal fire.⁸

In this context, it is significant that the commentator, after the abovementioned considerations, alludes in column XIV to Kronos' violent action against Uranus, the castration of his phallus, in stating that Kronos “did a great deed to Uranos”, an act that eventually implied the loss of his sovereign power. Indeed, the commentator seems to be very interested in highlighting the meaning of this critical stage in the theogonic succession when quoting the verse Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὃς πρῶτιστος βασίλευσεν (col. XIV 6 = OF 10.2). “Uranos son of Euphrone, who was the first to become king”. This primeval reign gave rise, as pointed by the commentator himself, to a new era ruled by Kronos, after having dethroned Uranus with his violent action. The importance accorded by the commentator to this event of succession is enhanced by the suggested etymology of ‘Kronos’, directly deriving from his bloody deed. Thus, the author of the papyrus explains that the deity would have been denominated ‘Kronos’ because “Mind was striking things against each other”, κρούοντα τὸν Νοῦμ πρὸς ἀλλήλ[α]. It is thus suggested that this name derives from the crisis of the verb κρούειν, ‘strike’, with the substantive νοῦς, ‘mind’.

So the author of the papyrus seems to interpret that the castration of Uranus by Kronos means the onset of a new cosmogonic era⁹ in which be-

6 θε]ρμό[τ]ατον is the reading proposed by Tsantsanoglou. Other scholars, like Brisson or Jourdan, prefer to read λ]ευκό[τ]ατον.

7 “La phrase ἐκχθόρη τὸ{ν} λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ λ]ευκό[τ]ατον est une paraphrase interprétant l'expression ὃς αἰθέρα ἐχθορε du vers cité à la colonne précédente. Le complément d'objet τὸ{ν} λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ λ]ευκό[τ]ατον explicite ainsi αἰθέρα”, Jourdan (2003: 64). “The commentator gives here his exegesis of the same line (...) it quite clearly echoes the same construction with the accusative”, Betegh (2004: 155); “τὸν λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ θε]ρμό[τ]ατον is a substantival description of αἰθέρα, and in his paraphrase the author follows the syntax of the Orphic verse”, Kouremenos in Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 197–198). Cf. Laks – Most (1997: 15); Brisson (2003: 25–26).

8 “If τὸν λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ θε]ρμό[τ]ατον is a substantival description of αἰθέρα, ὁ αἰθήρ is fire (...), specifically the sum total of fire in the primordial universe: the mass of fire that would become the sun leapt forth out the intensely bright and hot ether, separating from itself χωρισθὲν ἀφ' ἑωυτοῦ”, Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 198). “τὸν λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ θε]ρμό[τ]ατον must refer either directly to the sun or at least to the fire, and in view of the parallel, it must be the author's interpretative paraphrase of αἰθέρα”, Betegh (2004: 234).

9 “‘Uranus’ reign must stand for a chapter in the history of the universe before the time which the reign of Cronus stand for”, Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 205).

ings began to distinguish from each other and in which the amputation of the male member of Uranus would have been the cause of the emergence of an autonomous entity, the sun,¹⁰ detached from Heaven and aither, to whom this phallus is equated because it is responsible for the generation of beings.¹¹

As a matter of fact the commentator emphasises the importance of this separation using the expression χωρισθὲν ἀφ' ἑωυτοῦ,¹² whose neuter singular participle very likely agrees with the phallus, τὸ αἰδοῖον, sectioned from Uranus when castrated by Kronos.¹³ That the commentator bore in mind the analogy between phallus and mind is made clear by the fact that he repeats a similar expression with the verb χωρίζω,¹⁴ in this case directly applied to the sun, χωρ[ι]ζομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ἀπολαμβανομένου | ἐμ μέσῳ, “the sun is separated and confined in the middle”.¹⁵ Thus, as pointed by A. Bernabé, the commentator would have finally interpreted the castration of Uranus in physical terms.¹⁶

So, according to this interpretation, Uranus saw his throne usurped after having lost his generating ability, which, in the reign of Kronos, was taken over by the sun, now turned into an entity independent from Heaven and aither. One must remember that Kronos' reign was also transient, since this deity was in its turn succeeded by Zeus, as the author of the Derveni Papyrus himself remembers when mentioning another verse that surely must have followed the aforementioned verse on Uranus' primeval sovereignty: ἐκ τοῦ δὴ Κρόνος αὐτίς, ἔπειτα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς, “following him in turn was Kronos, and then wise Zeus”.¹⁷ In this way the author of the papyrus reveals his interest in proving, in the following columns, that the deity who, according to the theogonic account, ended by assuming absolute power after dethroning Kronos was finally Zeus.

10 “The Derveni author equates the Sun with Uranus' severed αἰδοῖον”, Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 197).

11 “En termes allégoriques, le soleil est séparé du Ciel (...). La castration dans le mythe permet, dans la cosmogonie, l'autonomie du soleil”, Jourdan (2003: 65–66).

12 Col. XIV 2.

13 “Ouranos' sexual organ as a part of him, assimilated to the sun, is violently separated from Ouranos by Kronos as he strikes (*krouéin*), that is, castrates him; hence his name (*Kronos*), which derives from *krouéin* or *krouésthai*. Likewise the sun is a part of the sky (= Ouranos) which is separated from the rest of himself (*aph' heoutou*), thus we see the following analogy. Ouranos' sexual organ is to Ouranos as the sun is to sky (Ouranos)”, Brisson (2002).

14 As highlighted by Betegh (2004: 234).

15 Col. XV 3–4.

16 “Il y serait question d'une transposition en des termes physiques de l'émasculatation d'Ouranos. Le phallus (αἰδοῖον), lequel, n'oublions pas, a été identifié par le commentateur au soleil (ἥλιος), est coupé (χωρίζομένου) et reste ἐμ μέσῳ, sans doute entre la terre et le Ciel”, Bernabé (2007b: 93).

17 Col. XV 6.

Anyway, and apart from the different interpretations offered by scholars, it is worth noting that we know, thanks to Cicero's testimony, that the early stoic philosophers also showed a similar interest in explaining *modo physico* the castration of Uranus and the dethronement of Kronos by Zeus. Thanks to this information we can also ascertain that stoics interpreted the amputation of Uranus in a way that unavoidably evokes the explanation offered by the author of the Derveni Papyrus. Furthermore, it is really remarkable that the first stoic philosophers, as the author of the Derveni Papyrus, had also offered, in this context, an etymological explanation of god Kronos' name:

Alia quoque ex ratione et quidem physica magna fluxit multitudo deorum, qui induti specie humana fabulas poetis suppeditaverunt, hominum autem vitam superstitione omni refererunt. atque hic locus a Zenone tractatus post a Cleanthe et Chrysippo pluribus verbis explicatus est. Nam vetus haec opinio Graeciam opplevit, esse exsectum Caelum a filio Saturno, vinctum autem Saturnum ipsum a filio Iove: physica ratio non inelegans inclusa est in impiis fabulas. caelestem enim altissimam aetheriamque naturam id est igneam, quae per sese omnia gigneret, vacare voluerunt ea parte corporis quae coniunctione alterius egeret ad procreandum. Saturnum autem eum esse voluerunt qui cursum et conversionem spatiorum ac temporum contineret, qui deus Graece id ipsum nomen habet: Κρόνος enim dicitur, qui est idem χρόνος id est spatium temporis. Saturnus autem est appellatus quod saturaretur annis...

Another theory also, and that a scientific one, has been the source of a number of deities, who clad in human form have furnished the poets with legends and have filled man's life with superstitions of all sorts. This subject was handled by Zeno and was later explained more fully by Cleanthes and Chrysippus. For example, an ancient belief prevailed throughout Greece that Caelus [Ouranos] was mutilated by his son Saturnus [Kronos], and Saturnus himself thrown into bondage by his son Jove [Zeus]: now these immoral fables enshrined a decidedly clever scientific theory. Their meaning was that the highest element of celestial ether or fire, which by itself generates all things, is devoid of that bodily part which required union with another for the work of procreation. By Saturnus [Kronos] again they denoted that being who maintains the course and revolution of the seasons and periods of time, the deity so designated in Greek, for Saturnus' Greek name is Kronos, which is the same as chronos, a space of time. The Latin designation 'Saturnus' on the other hand is due to the fact that he is 'saturated' or 'satiated with years'.¹⁸

Note that, according to Cicero's text, the first stoic philosophers concurred with the author of the Derveni Papyrus in paying attention to the consequences derived from the respective dethronements of Uranus and Kronos. Likewise they agreed in trying to offer a physical explanation of the meaning of the separation of Uranus' male member and a lengthy etymological explanation of the name 'Kronos'. Even more, it is remarkable, in this context, that the stoic explanation of the castration happens to be so similar to the one found in the Derveni Papyrus.

18 Cic. *ND* 2.63–64 = *SVF* II 1067. Translation by H. Rackham, Harvard University Press, 1933.

Indeed, according to Cicero's passage, the first stoic philosophers physically interpreted the castration of Uranus' male member as its separation from Heaven, which is considered ethereal and therefore, according to the interpretation of the appearance of aither in the Derveni Papyrus by some scholars, is made of fire. Before losing its male member, Heaven was the generator of all things. However, the stoic philosophers 'wanted' the ethereal Heaven lacked this part "which is in need of another in order to procreate". Let's remember that one can read in the Derveni Papyrus that this freed member was separated from the aither from which it came and became assimilated to the sun thanks to its generating ability.

In this case, the sun would be no more than a part of this ethereal fire from which, as indicated by the author of the papyrus in column XV 3, had been removed.¹⁹ This interpretation fully agrees with the one offered by the stoics philosophers when considering the sun to be no more than a part of aither, the sacred fire which, fond of etymological explanations as they were, they supposed to derive from αἶθω, 'burning'.²⁰

ὁ αἰθήρ, ἱερὸν πῦρ, φλόξ ἐστὶν ἄσβεστος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, παρὰ τὸ αἶθιν, ὃ δὴ καίειν ἐστὶ κατὰ γλῶτταν, εἰρημένον. Μάρτυς δὲ μία μοῖρα τῆς οὐρανίου πυρᾶς, ἥλιος, ὃς τοσοῦτον γῆς ἀφυστῶς, ἄχρι μυχῶν τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐπιπέμπων ...

the aither is sacred fire and an unquenchable flame, as its very name shows, being derived from *aithein*, to burn, which is a synonymous word with *kaiein*. And we have a witness in our favour in one portion of the heavenly system of fire, that is in the sun, who, though he is at such a distance from the earth, sends his beams down into his inmost recesses ...²¹

As a matter of fact, another significant passage transmitted by Diogenes Laertius brings to light some dissents among the stoics as to whether to confer cosmic hegemony to Heaven, the sun or the purest part of aither, in a passage that strongly evokes what is read in the papyrus:

Χρύσιππος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν φασὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲντοι Χρύσιππος διαφορώτερον πάλιν τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ αἰθέρος ἐν ταῦτῳ, ὃ καὶ πρῶτον θεὸν λέγουσιν.

Chrysippus in the first book of his work *On Providence* and Posidonius in his book *On the Gods* say that the heaven, but Cleanthes that the sun, is the ruling power of the world. Chrysippus, however, in the course of the same work gives a somewhat

19 "The Sun probably stands for the mass of fire that separated first from the other basic entities", Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 205).

20 "Le commentateur semble davantage se référer à une conception plus traditionnelle de l'éther. Si l'étymologie populaire le fait dériver du verbe αἶθω, 'brûler', cette notion est cependant liée à la lumière. (...) L'éther signifie donc le lumineux absolu, l'éclat flamboyant de la brillance", Jourdan (2003: 65).

21 SVF II 664.

different account, namely, that it is the purer part of the aither; the same which they declare to be preeminently God ...²²

Without other considerations and whatever the interpretations offered by scholars, note that the passage deals with the main point discussed in the Derveni Papyrus: the role played by the three cosmic entities, heaven, aither and sun. Furthermore, it is very illuminating that we are informed that Chrysippus held a different opinion about who played the hegemonic role, whether the sun or the purest part, τὸ καθαρώτατον, in it, named πρῶτον θεόν, 'first god', by the stoics. The use of the adjective in the superlative grade, καθαρώτατον, seems ultimately to reflect the two uses appearing in the Derveni Papyrus, λαμπρότατόν τε [καὶ θε]ρμό[τ]ατον.²³ The same happens with the denomination as 'first god', πρῶτον θεόν, which evokes the presence of the adjective πρῶτος in the aforementioned verses, in relation to Heaven and aither: αἰδοῖοι κατέπινεν, ὃς αἰθέρα ἔχθορε πρῶτος and Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὃς πρῶτιστος βασίλευσεν.

Finally, given all these coincidences, it is worth noting that, as read in Cicero's *Natura Deorum*, the first stoic philosophers had also offered an etymological explanation of the name 'Kronos', in this case establishing its relationship with time, χρόνος, based precisely, according to another testimony, on the interpretation of Uranus' castration:

ἡ δὲ ἐκτομή αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἀναλύεται· ὅτι τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς Γῆς μίξεως γενομένης ἐξφογονεῖτο πολλά· εἴτα τοῦ χρόνου ἕκαστα διακρίναντος καὶ τὰ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα μίξεως ζωογονοῦντος, ἐκτετμήσθαι τὸν Οὐρανὸν εἴρηται.

His castration is explained as follows: it is said that from the union of Heaven and Earth many things were generated. Then each of them were separated by time and of this union many creatures were reciprocally produced, when Uranos was castrated.²⁴

It so happens that among the numerous and diverse etymological explanations of this god²⁵ offered by stoic philosophers to emphasize the role played by this deity in the invigorating of cosmic elements, they argued that the name 'Kronos' came from the verb κρίνω, 'separating', because this deity was responsible for the 'separation' of elements:

Κρόνον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῶν στοιχείων, (...) ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ Κρόνον εἰρῆσθαι, ὅτι πρῶτος θεῶν εἰς κρίσιν ἐπέβαλε.

Kronos is the separation of the elements (...) Others say it was called Kronos because it was the first god devoted to separation.²⁶

22 D.L. 7.139 = SVF II 644.

23 Other fragments confirm that Chrysippus used similar superlatives in order to define aither. Cf. τὸν αἰθέρα τὸν καθαρώτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον ἅτε πάντων εὐκίνητότατον ὄντα, SVF II 642; τὸν αἰθέρα ἀραιότατον ὄντα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον, SVF II 527; τὸν λεπτότατον αἰθέρα, SVF II 619.

24 SVF II 1088.

25 Cf. SVF II 1087–1091.

26 SVF II 1090.

And this is a function very similar to the one the author of the papyrus seems to assign to Kronos with its singular etymological explanation. So it is once more ascertained that there are many striking similarities between the interpretations offered by the author of the Derveni Papyrus and the first stoic philosophers.²⁷ Furthermore, this fact forces the specialists to search for an explanation allowing to clarify the causes that motivate such unexpected coincidences.

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27 For an extensive compilation of the more significant coincidences, see Casadesús (2010).

62. Okéanos dans la colonne XXIII du Papyrus de Derveni

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Dans la colonne XXIII du Papyrus de Derveni, le commentateur tente d'expliquer pourquoi Okéanos, habituellement représenté dans la tradition comme un fleuve d'eau salée qui entoure la terre, doit, dans le poème commenté, être identifié à l'air. Je voudrais montrer, dans ce court article, que cette identification résulte d'une interprétation allégorique stoïcienne de type physique qui s'accorde d'ailleurs parfaitement avec celle utilisée dans le reste du commentaire. Pour ce faire, je procéderai méthodiquement: après avoir proposé une traduction annotée de la colonne XXIII, j'essaierai de retrouver les sources de l'interprétation allégorique que défend le commentateur:¹

ce vers a été composé de façon à déconcerter; si, pour
le grand nombre, ce n'est pas clair, pour ceux qui ont le vrai savoir,
il est bien clair qu'Okéanos' c'est l'air. Or l'air c'est Zeus.
Il va de soi pourtant que ce n'est pas un autre Zeus qui a conçu ce Zeus, mais que
c'est lui-même
qui, pour lui-même, "a conçu une grande force". En fait, ceux qui ne possèdent pas
le savoir
sont amenés à croire qu'Okéanos est un fleuve parce que la formule "au large cours"
sert au poète à le qualifier. Par cette formule, le poète veut exprimer sa pensée
en utilisant des formules dont l'usage est courant.
Pour parler des hommes qui peuvent beaucoup dépenser,
on dit "qu'ils mènent grand train". Quant au vers suivant:
"et il déploya les fibres d'Achéloos qui roule des flots d'argent",
c'est à l'eau qu'il donne le nom d'Achéloos, c'est évident;
et la formule "déployer les fibres" signifie que le pouvoir apparaît ...

1 Le texte est celui édité par Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006). La traduction française s'inspire de celle de Jourdan (2003) modifiée.

Annotation

τὸ ἔπος: Le commentateur explique le poème vers par vers. Il semble que le vers commenté cette fois soit celui-ci: μήσατο δ' Ὀκεανοῖο σθένος εὐρὺ ρέοντος. À ligne 10, le vers qui suit celui-ci sera d'ailleurs cité. On se trouve dans la description d'un processus cosmologique. Après avoir avalé tout ce qui le précède, Zeus reconstitue le monde: dans cette colonne, c'est le couple air et eau qui est impliqué; l'air c'est Okéanos, et l'eau c'est Achéloos.

ἄδηλον / εὐδηλον: Cette opposition fait le partage entre le grand nombre qui ne peut comprendre ce qu'a dit Orphée, et ceux qui possèdent le savoir qui leur permet de comprendre.²

Ὀκεανός ἐστιν ὁ ἄηρ: La formule surprend, car Okéanos, le fils d'Ou-ranos et de Gaia, est traditionnellement représenté comme un fleuve d'eau salée qui entoure la terre et comme le père de tous les cours d'eau douce; on retrouve la même idée dans les *Rhapsodies* (OF 287 I et II).

ἄηρ δὲ Ζεύς: C'est ce que semble indiquer la colonne XVII 3-4.

σθένος μέγα: L'expression ne se retrouve nulle part ailleurs dans le papyrus. En revanche, la formule μέγα σθένος revient cinq fois dans l'*Iliade* et une fois chez Hésiode. Cette formule insiste sur la puissance du personnage qui tient la place du complément du nom au génitif.

ἐμήσατο: le verbe μήδεσθαι doit être associé à Métis, que devient Zeus après avoir avalé tout ce qui le précède. Le terme μητις désigne l'intelligence rusée, et n'est pas toujours pris en bonne part; le contexte cosmologique indique ici l'intelligence pratique.

τὸν Ζᾶνα: La formule surprenante s'explique ainsi. Zeus conçoit cette "grande force" qu'est Okéanos; or Okéanos, c'est l'air; et comme l'air c'est Zeus (voir *supra*, ligne 3), celui qui n'est pas initié est amené à penser que Zeus conçoit Zeus.

οἱ δ' οὐ γινώσκοντες: Indique l'opposition initiés / non initiés.

σημαίνει: Pour le commentateur, c'est donc Orphée lui-même qui a encodé son texte, de façon à en réserver le sens véritable aux initiés.

εὐρὺ ρέοντα: La formule revient quatre fois dans l'*Iliade*, où elle qualifie l'Axion, un fleuve de Péonie, qui baigne Amydon; c'est de là qu'est originaire Ménoitios et Pélégon dont Astéropée est le fils (*Il.* 2.849; 16.288; 21.157, 186). Voilà comment le poète commente la mort d'Astéropée tué par Achille (qui est de la race de Zeus par son père):

Autant Zeus l'emporte sur les fleuves coulant à la mer, autant sa descendance l'emporte sur celle d'un fleuve. Tu as près de toi un grand fleuve: vois donc s'il peut te prêter aide! ... Non, il n'est pas possible de lutter contre Zeus, le fils de Kronos. À Zeus ne se comparent ni le royal Achéloos (κρείων Ἀχελώϊος), ni même la force d'Okéanos (μέγα σθένος) aux eaux profondes, d'où sortent tous les fleuves, toute

2 Sur le sujet, voir Brisson (2010).

la mer, toutes les sources et tous les puits profonds; Okéanos lui-même craint la foudre du grand Zeus et son terrible tonnerre, quand il éclate du haut des cieux (*Il.* 21.190–199, trad. P. Mazon modifiée).

On peut penser que le poème orphique s'inspire, sur le plan de l'expression à tout le moins, de ces vers de l'*Iliade*.

προσέθηκεν: 'ajouter' comme prédicat ou comme formule laudative. Chez Aristote et par la suite, le terme προσθήκη devient un terme technique pour désigner le prédicat.

Ἀχελώϊος: C'est le nom d'un fleuve d'Étolie, le plus grand de la Grèce, et du dieu de ce fleuve. On le disait fils d'Okéanos et de Thétis.

ἀργυροδίνης: Formule qui chez Homère qualifie le Pénée, fleuve de Magnésie (*Il.* 2.753). Au livre XXI la formule qualifie aussi le Xante (vers 8 et 130).

ὕδατι: C'est donc l'eau (douce) comme élément qui correspond à l'Achéloos.

Les sources du commentateur

Comment comprendre cette colonne qui donne deux informations importantes; la première étonnante, Okéanos c'est l'air, et l'autre traditionnelle: il est le père de l'Achéloos et des autres cours d'eau douce. Okéanos qui est l'un des Titans, fils d'Ouranos et de Gaia (*Hes. Th.* 133–138), personnifie l'eau salée et il est, chez les Grecs, représenté comme un fleuve coulant tout autour du disque plat de la terre (*Il.* 14.201–204). Comme divinité, Okéanos est le père de tous les fleuves, y compris d'Achéloos qui est la figure emblématique de tous les cours d'eau non salée. La colonne XXIII reconnaît cette paternité d'Okéanos.

Aristote

Dès lors, comment expliquer la formule: "il est bien clair qu'Okéanos c'est l'air", qui, comme le fait remarquer lui-même le commentateur, semble contredire la tradition. En fait, on trouve dans les *Météorologiques* d'Aristote une information qui donne un début d'explication:

L'exhalaison qui vient de l'eau est de la vapeur, et la condensation de l'air en eau forme un nuage. Quant au brouillard, c'est le résidu de la condensation d'un nuage en eau. Aussi est-ce plutôt un signe de beau temps que de pluie. Le brouillard est en quelque sorte un nuage stérile.³ Ce circuit de l'eau imite le mouvement circulaire du soleil. Car, selon que le soleil suit une trajectoire plus ou moins oblique, l'humide

3 Qui ne donne pas de pluie.

monte ou descend.⁴ Il faut se représenter ce phénomène, qui met en jeu à la fois l'air et l'eau, comme le cours d'un fleuve qui tournerait en rond vers le haut et vers le bas. Quand le soleil est proche, le courant de vapeur s'écoule vers le haut, quand il est éloigné, le courant d'eau se dirige vers le bas; et cela semble se poursuivre sans interruption avec une certaine régularité, de telle sorte que, si nos prédécesseurs avaient voulu parler d'Okéanos sur le mode de l'énigme, ils auraient pu dire que c'est ce fleuve qui coule en cercle autour de la Terre.⁵ L'humide s'élève sans cesse par la puissance de la chaleur et redescend vers la Terre sous l'influence du refroidissement. Des noms particuliers ont été donnés à ces phénomènes et à certaines de leurs variantes: ainsi quand il tombe de fines gouttelettes, on parle de crachin; quand les gouttes sont plus grosses, c'est de la pluie (Arist. *Mete.* 1.9.346b 32–347a 2, trad. P. Louis modifiée).

Dans ce texte, Aristote associe le processus: évaporation (de l'eau par le soleil)-condensation-évaporation, au fleuve Okéanos. Pour Aristote, la terre n'est pas plate, mais ronde (*Cael.* 2.14). Par voie de conséquence, Okéanos ne peut plus être représenté comme un fleuve encerclant la terre sur un plan horizontal. Si Okéanos entoure la terre, ce doit être sur un plan vertical; c'est un courant d'air, ou plus précisément une masse d'eau vaporisée qui entoure la terre. Dès lors, les Anciens et notamment Héraclite, qui, comme on le verra, considéraient que le soleil et les astres se nourrissaient respectivement d'eau salée et d'eau douce, auraient pu, en s'exprimant de façon allégorique, parler d'Okéanos comme d'un fleuve résultant de l'évaporation et de la condensation de l'eau. Mais Aristote est très clair là-dessus: ses prédécesseurs n'ont pas développé cette interprétation allégorique; il est donc le premier à la suggérer, sans que l'on puisse savoir s'il s'est inspiré de l'un de ses contemporains.

Même s'ils n'ont pas mis en œuvre cette interprétation allégorique, les Anciens considéraient que le soleil avait pour aliment l'eau salée et l'eau douce. Plus loin dans les *Météorologiques*, en effet, on lit:

C'est pourquoi tous ceux de nos devanciers qui estiment que le soleil se nourrit de l'humide sont ridicules. Et certains vont même jusqu'à prétendre que c'est ce qui explique ses changements de direction,⁶ car les mêmes endroits ne peuvent pas sans cesse lui procurer sa nourriture, et il est nécessaire qu'il en soit ainsi pour lui ou qu'il

4 Arist. *Mete.* 2.4.359b 34–360a 2.

5 Cette phrase est particulièrement difficile à traduire: ὥστ' εἴπερ ἠνίττοντο τὸν ὠκεανὸν οἱ πρότερον, τάχ' ἂν τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν λέγοιεν τὸν κύκλῳ ῥέοντα περὶ τὴν γῆν. Le jeu des modes et des temps n'est pas habituel: imparfait de l'indicatif dans la subordonnée conditionnelle et présent de l'indicatif dans la principale; comme les Anciens appartiennent au passé, on d'attendrait à un irréel du présent, et donc à l'imparfait dans les deux cas. Mais cette anomalie n'est pas inconnue. Par ailleurs, il faut sous-entendre une infinitive après λέγοιεν. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, que je remercie, m'a aidé à décrire grammaticalement cette phrase.

6 L'existence des solstices s'explique que le soleil doit se déplacer pour trouver sa nourriture. Il est d'ailleurs probable que la référence à Héraclite (DK 22 B 3 et 94 = Pradeau 74, 75) dans la colonne IV du papyrus évoque la course du soleil au moment des solstices. Je tiens cette suggestion de Francesc Casadesús que je remercie.

périsset! Car, disent-ils, le feu que nous voyons brûler vit tant qu'il est alimenté, et l'humide est le seul aliment du feu.⁷ Comme si la partie de l'humide qui s'élève allait jusqu'au soleil, ou si une telle ascension était analogue à la formation de la flamme, avec laquelle ils établissent une comparaison qu'ils appliquent au soleil. Or, le cas n'est pas le même. La flamme est le produit d'une succession continue de passages de l'humide au sec et vice versa; elle n'est pas 'nourrie' (elle n'est, pour ainsi dire, même pas un seul instant la même). Quant au soleil, il n'est pas possible qu'il lui arrive ce que disent ces gens-là; car s'il était alimenté à la façon d'une lampe, il est clair que non seulement le soleil serait nouveau chaque jour, comme le dit Héraclite,⁸ et qu'il ne cesserait pas un instant de se renouveler.⁹ D'autre part, l'aspiration de l'humide par le soleil rappelle ce qui se passe quand l'eau est chauffée par du feu; donc du moment que le feu qui brûle sous l'eau n'est pas alimenté par elle, et il n'est pas vraisemblable que cela puisse se produire pour le soleil, quand bien même celui-ci chaufferait et vaporiserait toute l'eau existante. Il est en outre absurde pour ces penseurs de ne se préoccuper que du soleil et de négliger la façon dont se conservent les autres astres, dont le nombre et la grandeur sont considérables (...) (Arist. *Mete.* 2.2.354b 34–355a 21, trad. p. Louis modifiée, voir aussi 2.4 et encore *de An.* 2.2.416a 27).

Suivant le témoignage d'Aristote, les Anciens, c'est-à-dire ceux qui l'on précédé, considéraient que le soleil buvait l'eau de la mer et des fleuves.

Pour leur part, les doxographes attribuent cette idée à Thalès et à ses disciples:

En troisième lieu, [selon Thalès], le feu du soleil lui-même et celui des astres se nourrissent des vapeurs exhalées par les eaux, tout comme le monde lui-même. C'est pourquoi Homère lui aussi émet cette opinion à propos de l'eau: "Okéanos qui est naissance pour toutes choses" (*Il.* 14.246);¹⁰

à Xénophane:

Pour Xénophane, il (= le soleil) est fait de particules agglomérées provenant de l'exhalaison et dont le conglomerat produit le soleil: ou bien, c'est un nuage enflammé;¹¹

et à Héraclite:

Selon Héraclite et les Stoïciens, les astres se nourrissent de l'exhalaison à la surface de la terre.¹²

Aristote s'oppose à Héraclite en avançant trois arguments: 1) s'il était alimenté comme une lampe (à huile), le soleil serait nouveau à chaque instant; 2) seul le soleil est pris en considération, alors que les autres astres sont laissés de côté; 3) on ne peut admettre que des êtres divins aient besoin d'aliments matériels.¹³

7 Voir Arist. *Mete.* 4.9.

8 DK 22 B 6 Pradeau 55.

9 Voir Arist. *Mete.* 2.1.

10 Ps.-Plu. *Plac. philos.* 1.3.1 (875E–F) voir aussi Alexandre d'Aphrodise (*in Metaph.* 24.27) qui attribue la même doctrine à οἱ περὶ Θαλήν.

11 Ps.-Plu. *Plac. philos.* 2.20.3 (890A).

12 Ps.-Plu. *Plac. philos.* 2.17.2 (889D) voir aussi Gal. 19.273 K.

13 "Selon Aristote, les corps célestes n'ont pas besoin de nourriture: en effet, ils ne sont pas périssables, mais éternels". (Ps.-Plu. *Plac. Philos.* 2.17.3, 889D).

Les Stoïciens

Le rapport qu'établit Aristote entre Okéanos et le cycle évaporation-condensation-évaporation se situe sur un plan purement atmosphérique, alors que les Stoïciens le replacent sur un plan cosmologique (SVF I 504), si on croit Cicéron notamment (ND 2.40–41). On retrouve, dans cet ouvrage, la même idée au livre 3.35–37. Tout naturellement Macrobe, commentant Cicéron, reprend cette interprétation allégorique attribuée à Cléanthe:

1. Jupiter lui-même, le roi des dieux, n'est pas étranger à la nature du soleil; l'identité de Jupiter et du soleil est confirmée par des preuves manifestes. En effet, quand Homère s'exprime ainsi: "Zeus, en direction d'Okéanos, est allé hier chez les Éthiopiens sans reproche, pour un banquet, et tous les dieux l'ont accompagné; à la douzième heure il retournera dans l'Olympe" (Il. 1.423–425) 2. Sous le nom de Jupiter est désigné, selon Cornificius,¹⁴ le soleil, que l'onde d'Okéanos accueille en quelque sorte comme un hôte à sa table. De fait, comme l'affirme à la fois Posidonius¹⁵ et Cléanthe,¹⁶ le mouvement du soleil ne s'écarte jamais de la zone qui est appelée torride parce que, sous cette zone, s'écoule d'Okéanos qui entoure et sépare la terre; or, selon l'affirmation de tous les physiciens, il est établi que la chaleur se nourrit de l'humidité. 3. Dans la phrase "tous les dieux le suivaient", sont désignés les astres que le mouvement du ciel entraîne chaque jour avec le soleil vers le couchant et vers le levant et qui se nourrissent de la même humidité (Macr. Sat. 1.23. trad. C. Guittard).

Cette doctrine sera reprise dans le cadre d'une explication de l'embrasement (ἐκπύρωσις) du monde au livre II du *Commentaire sur le Songe de Scipion* (10.9–11).

Suivant ces deux témoignages, c'est le feu éthéré dans son ensemble qui se nourrit d'eau. On assiste donc à une extension de la doctrine d'Héraclite suivant laquelle l'aliment du soleil est l'eau salée. Or, les Stoïciens en général¹⁷ admettent que le soleil "est un flambeau intelligent provenant de la mer"; c'est le cas de Zénon (SVF I 121), de Cléanthe (SVF I 501, 504)¹⁸ et de Chrysippe (SVF II 652, 655, 656). De plus, Posidonius qui suit Cléanthe¹⁹ estime que le

14 Auteur obscur du premier siècle av. J.-C., Cornificius Longus aurait écrit un ouvrage d'étymologie. Voir *DPhA* 2, 1994, 459–460 [Stephen Gersch]. Les fragments sont édités dans *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta*, 473–480.

15 Posidonius d'Apamée (135–51 av. J.-C.), stoïcien chef de l'École. Disciple de Panétius, il enseigna à Rhodes où Cicéron le rencontra. Voir aussi Reinhardt (1926) qui rapporte cette interprétation à Posidonius, ce que refuse Boyancé (1936).

16 Stoïcien (331/330–230/229), disciple et successeur de Zénon de Citium à Athènes.

17 Ps.-Plu. *Plac. philos.* 2.20.4 (890A). "D'ailleurs, selon les Stoïciens, le soleil tire de la mer ses feux et leur aliment alors que ce sont les eaux des sources et des lacs qui font monter vers la lune leurs douces et molles vapeurs". (Plu. *Is. et Os.* 41, 367E, trad. Froidefond = SVF II 663).

18 Κλεάνθης ἀναμμα νοερὸν τὸ ἐκ θαλάττης τὸν ἥλιον, "Cléanthe dit que le soleil est un flambeau intelligent provenant de la mer". (Stob. 1.25.3i.3; voir aussi Sch. D. T. *Anecd. Graec.* 2.668 Bekker).

19 Comme on le voit chez Cic. ND 3.37 = SVF I 501.

soleil ne s'écarte pas de la zone tropicale, pour se trouver toujours au-dessus du bras principal d'Okéanos qui lui fournit sa nourriture.²⁰

Récapitulons

Suivant le témoignage d'Aristote et d'autres doxographes, plusieurs penseurs présocratiques, et notamment Héraclite, estimaient que le soleil se nourrissait d'eau salée. L'alternance des solstices vient dès lors confirmer cette théorie, le soleil devant toujours changer de position au-dessus d'Okéanos pour trouver sa nourriture.

Mais Aristote avance là contre plusieurs arguments, dont les trois suivants. Si tel était le cas, 1) le soleil serait sans cesse nouveau à chaque instant, et non point chaque jour comme le prétend Héraclite; 2) seul le soleil survivrait, alors que les autres astres seraient laissés de côté; 3) personne ne peut admettre que des êtres divins aient besoin d'aliments matériels. À la limite donc, Aristote interprète le phénomène de l'évaporation de l'eau de mer par le soleil en termes purement atmosphériques.

Pourtant Aristote évoque la possibilité d'interpréter allégoriquement le cycle de l'eau qui s'évapore et qui retombe sur terre en se représentant Okéanos comme un fleuve d'air humide ou d'eau vaporisée entourant la terre qui est ronde. On ne sait si cette interprétation était la sienne ou celle de l'un de ses contemporains, mais Aristote est clair sur ce point: une telle interprétation allégorique, que reprend le commentateur du Papyrus de Derveni, ne se retrouve pas chez les anciens, ses prédécesseurs.

En revanche, les Stoïciens, unanimes, estiment que le feu éthéré, celui du soleil et des astres, se nourrit de la vapeur d'eau salée ou douce qu'ils tirent de l'Océan, des fleuves, des rivières et des mares. Qui plus est, même si, dans les passages relatifs au Stoïcisme que nous avons cités, on ne retrouve pas explicitement l'interprétation allégorique, évoquée par Aristote et présentant Okéanos comme un fleuve d'air humide ou d'eau vaporisée, il est évident que c'est ainsi que les Stoïciens se représentaient le processus d'évaporation et de condensation de l'eau.

20 "Les physiiciens supposent que c'est en cette région (la zone torride) que se trouve la majeure partie de la Grande Mer: elle est située au lieu le plus central pour la nourriture des astres. Par conséquent, sur ce point Posidonius semble ne pas exprimer une opinion correcte". (Cleom. 1.6.7, trad. Goulet; voir aussi 1.4). Dans une note à sa traduction, R. Goulet écrit: "La zone torride ne peut pas être habitée, puisqu'on ne trouve pas en cette région un continent, mais l'Océan extérieur qui est ainsi placé à l'Équateur terrestre afin de nourrir de ses exhalaisons les astres des deux hémisphères du ciel." Cf. Géminos XVI 21: "Dans la zone torride, si l'on en croit certains auteurs anciens, dont le philosophe stoïcien Cléanthe (SVF I 505), l'Océan serait largement épandu d'un tropique à l'autre".

Une fois de plus,²¹ l'analyse du commentaire conservé dans le Papyrus de Derveni nous renvoie vers une interprétation allégorique de type physique du genre de celle pratiquée par les Stoïciens de la première génération, notamment Cléanthe.²²

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21 Voir Brisson (2003, 2009).

22 Sur l'interprétation allégorique pratiquée par les Stoïciens, voir le ch. 4 du livre de Brisson (1996). Pour ce qui est du Papyrus de Derveni voir le dossier réuni par Casadesús (2010).

63. Enigmatic Hints at the Hidden Meaning of Two Central Homeric Passages. The Derveni-Author as Homeric Philologist in *PDerv.* col. XXVI

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The poem of Orpheus defamiliarizes, de-establishes fixed meanings, loosens the link between signifier and the signified and occupies a zonal territory between them.¹ Therefore, it seems to be riddling or enigmatic for average people. Yet according to the Derveni author, Orpheus did not intend to use this technique for contentious purposes, that is, to show off in a rhetorical *ἄγών*. On the contrary, he wanted to say great things in riddles, that is, he tried to make the initiated, the *μύσται*, grasp the circumstances of nature and *κόσμος* (cf. col. VII). It is this hidden sense that the Derveni author wants to bring out by using hermeneutical methods. For him, everything boils down to a problem of language: people tend to err through incorrect nominations (*ὀνόματα*), since the language of *φύσις* or the gods is basically lost. However, *φύσις* and *κόσμος* speak for themselves. Human language, on the contrary, is not *φύσει*, but *νόμῳ*, by convention or *θέσει*. Yet some great poets and guru-prophets might still have access to pure *φύσις* and physical language. Through games of language, as well as textual and hermeneutical strategies, the true, mystic sense can be reinstalled.

Orpheus' theogony is pure poetry, thus composed of *ὀνόματα*. According to the Derveni author, Orpheus' poem pays credit to the taste of the masses, since they demand the existence of mythological figures. Popular myth emphasizes the birth, death, and succession of generations who are in power. For the masses, myth operates on the basis of purely anthropomor-

1 It is my pleasure to contribute to this volume in honor of Alberto Bernabé, whom I admire as great colleague, philologist, leader of 'Orphic' circles in Madrid, and Dionysiac friend. I met him for the first time at the Conference on the Derveni Papyrus at the *Center for Hellenic Studies* (2008). Therefore, I want to dedicate to him these thoughts on a text to whose understanding he offered so much. The Greek text is cited according to Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006), the translation of col. XXVI as well (*ibid.* 139). The basic hypothesis of my paper just appeared in Bierl (2011b) in the Proceedings of the *CHS* conference edited by Papadopoulou and Muellner (2011).

phous structures. Κόσμος is organized and explained by means of family analogies. Sexual intercourse, often familiar as with incest or exogamous, can explain the birth of new filiations. Castration, on the other hand, is the means to prevent such power politics through sex. Thus, he polemicizes against the popular view of viewing all things in terms of ἀφροδισιάζειν. Thus he says: ἀνὴρ | γυναικὶ μισγόμενος ἀφροδισιάζειν λέγεται κατὰ | φάτιν· τῶν γὰρ νῦν ἑόντων μιχθέντων ἀλλ[ή]λοις | Ἀφροδίτη ὠνομάσθη· (“A man mingling is said by common diction to ‘aphrodize’. For this reason, since the things are mixed with one another, it was called Aphrodite”, col. XXI 7–10). Moreover, cosmological development is narrated in terms of Love and Strife. Thus in myth, progress and succession occur by means of violent overthrows, murder, and exile. Philosophers and intellectuals soon regarded these traditional stories as scandals. One way to explain them away was the invention of allegory. However, our Derveni author is not only a simple allegorist, but aside from his target-discourse of contemporary natural science as φύσις, at the same time he is strongly embedded in the Orphic system himself. Thus, he resorts to a very specific set of hermeneutical tools, namely, allegoresis, paretymology and philological interpretation on the micro-level, as well as fragmentation via decontextualization paired with his own riddling strategies. By these means of distorting, twisting and changing sense, he introduces a radical *Umwertung* of values and meanings. What our author exactly intends with such enigmatic utterances often remains open. Therefore, the Derveni Papyrus is not a clear-cut and lucid commentary in terms of Presocratic natural science. Rather, by means of abstruse remarks, some light is shed on the basic mechanisms of φύσις in terms of the author’s Orphic ideas.

Thus, the Derveni author conveys the central Orphic idea of cyclicity by systematically downplaying the violent succession of mighty divine rulers. Zeus is the real ἀρχή from the very beginning, as he dominates the world. By means of an *in medias res* order and ring composition, the importance of Zeus, the guarantor of this κόσμος, is mirrored on the level of composition and poetic structure.² Therefore, the Olympian ruler is paradoxically identical to all of the former personifications in the process of evolution. Moreover, the author is keen to eradicate the notorious stories of sexual affairs. The last column (XXVI) is a good example of the latter tendency, since he deconstructs Orpheus’ version of the story of the incest between Zeus and Rhea/Demeter from which Persephone, Dionysus’ mother, is born.³

If Zeus encompasses all gods, we assume that he has also had his mother inside of him. Therefore, sexual generation is impossible, and mother is just another metaphor for Mind. The author then bases his argument on the mi-

2 On the “flashback device”, see Bernabé (2007: 113–114).

3 See Bernabé (2007: 121–122).

cro-linguistic level by playing with the ambiguities of sound. In doing so, he comes very close to the practice of early Alexandrian philology and its *hypomnema* exegesis. By overlapping the genitive of the feminine adjective of ἑύς with the feminine possessive pronoun of ἑός, the inventive, intellectual commentator claims that Zeus' new creation does not come from 'his own' (ἑᾶς) mother, but from his 'good' (ἑᾶς instead of ἑήος) mother. The adjective ἑύς is not, of course, identical to the possessive pronoun ἑός. However, such an erroneous confusion was quite frequent in grammarians.⁴ The Mother is good and, of course, Zeus does not mingle with his mother in love, but with Mind – it is identical with the good Mind, the mother of all.

The entire linguistic argument seems to be born in Homeric philology, and therefore he will resort to canonical Homeric examples as well. Thus he cites the formula "Hermes, the giver of goods", δῶτορ ἑάων, in *Od.* 8.335⁵ and the famous passage of the two urns in *Il.* 24.527–528: δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακίηται ἐν Διὸς οὔδῃ / δῶρων, οἷα διδοῦσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δέ τ' ἑάων ("for two urns are placed down on Zeus' floor – of gifts such as they give: of evils, and the other one of goods (ἑάων)").⁶ Besides the linguistic sophistry, the reference to Hermes and to these specific passages might not be accidental. As ψυχοπομπός, Hermes is linked to Hades and the passage into the underworld where all goods are waiting if you behave as is ritually and intellectually proper. What is harmful has to be changed into good.

Furthermore, the first quotation is derived from Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366). The burlesque story is not proof of a new and younger spirit of the time, and thus a later addition or digression, but rather is rooted in very old traditions and is perfectly integrated into the text by reflecting the entire *Odyssey* in a sort of a *mise en abyme*, as I argue elsewhere.⁷ The grotesque and comic divine narration can already be found in Hittite texts that, as is well known, had a strong influence on the Homeric tradition.⁸ The Homeric scene is located at the Phaeacian court, a sort of otherworld associated with Hades. Negative traits merge with features like love, luxury, feast, poetry and chorality.⁹

4 *LSJ*, s. v. ἑύς; ἑός = ἀγαθός see A. D. *Synt.* 213.7–8 Uhlig on *Il.* 24.292 and Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 271) *ad loc.* and Jourdan (2003: 104–105). The play on semantic ambiguity is easier to grasp if we print in col. XXVI 2 ἑᾶς, as Jourdan (2003: 26) and Betegh (2004: 54–55), instead of ἑᾶς, as Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou (2006: 113) and Janko (2002: 52).

5 Interestingly, the citation reads Ἑρμῇ Μαιάδος νιὲ διάκτορε δῶτορ ἑάων, whereas the transmitted text has Ἑρμείᾳ Διὸς νιὲ διάκτορε δῶτορ ἑάων. Only here, in *Od.* 8.325, and in the passage of *Il.* 24.528 do we have the variant with *spiritus asper* δῶτορ ἑάων. See Hainsworth (1988: 369 *ad Od.* 8.325).

6 See also Brügger (2009: 189 *ad loc.*).

7 Cf. Bierl (2010).

8 Cf. Burkert (1960: 133 with n. 5; 1982).

9 Cf. Bierl (2010).

The story of the clandestine love affair notionally returns to an oral pre-stage of the monumental epic performed in the regulated, recitative form of Homer.¹⁰ Embedded as a further recessed pre-stage, in the first and third song of Demodokos, this song accompanied by a mute chorus of dancers represents, according to Greg Nagy, a pure lyric *hymnos* without the *pars epica* after the transitional formula, as represented in the later *Homeric Hymns*.¹¹ In addition, the contents deal with Aphrodite and love, just as in the Derveni text at this point. To some extent, the song of Ares and Aphrodite seems to integrate Orphic and pre-Homeric traditions that refer to cosmic love and circularity. Moreover, Ares and Aphrodite are not only deactivated by Hephaistos' chains, but also their love finds its concrete expression in absolute union; the concatenated bodies of the lovers could be imagined in form of a ball. By the intervention of Poseidon, the bond is dissolved again and both gods, the personification of love and war, can walk away in freedom. Thus, it is conceivable that there have been attempts in ancient scholarship to link the song with Empedocles.¹² This Presocratic philosopher who introduces *Philotes* and *Neikos* as the principles of cosmic developments has been frequently associated with Orphic ideas.¹³ Strife dissolves the total union of Love, symbolized in the ball or σφαῖρα,¹⁴ until we return again to the maximum state of *Philotes* after one turn of the great cycle. In the same way, the loosening of the fetters dissolves the total union of a cosmic bond and helps Aphrodite once more to begin a new affair on the basis of deceit and guile that lead to quarrel, strife and war.

Thus, the citation from the song of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366) could be read as an allusion to a higher form of Orphic Love, and the following choral dance (*Od.* 8.370–381) with a ball (σφαῖρα) (*Od.* 8.372) might reflect this background as well. In addition, in the Homeric hymnic narration, Hermes plays the role of the keen and lustful lover (*Od.* 8.323–342). When the phallic trickster god who disrupts and transcends all boundaries, but who as ἐπιτέρμιος also watches over boundaries, and as κἀτοχος can bind evil-doers by keeping them beneath the earth via magical spells, is asked whether he would not love to lie, even in chains, with golden Aphrodite

10 Cf. Bierl (2011a). On all three songs of Demodokos as pre-stages of Homer, cf. *inter al.* Gentili in Gentili – Giannini (1977: 7–37) and Gentili (1984: 18–21; new edition 31–34). On the singers in Homeric epic in general, cf. references in de Jong (2001: 191, n. 2). On the idealization of the portrayal, see e.g. Segal (1994: 116).

11 On this subject, see Nagy (2008–2009: 313–342, 2§§274–331; 2009–2010: 1§§210–241). On Demodokos, see now Krummen (2008: 18–23) and Nagy (2008–2009: 313–353, 2§§274–350; 2009–2010: 1§§188–241).

12 The song was especially linked to the Empedoclean concept of *philotes* (Emp. fr. 35 DK); Burkert (1960: 133, n. 6) refers to Heracl. All. 69 and Sch. *ad Od.* 8.267; Eust. 1 298.34 *ad Od.* 8.267. See also Nagy (2009–2010: 1§208).

13 *Inter al.* Riedweg (1995).

14 Cf. Emp., esp. frs. 27–30 DK.

in bed (*Od.* 8.335–337), his answer is more than affirmative. Even if three times as many or innumerable chains were to hold him, and all of gods and goddesses were to watch them who now stay away out of shame, he would love to do so (*Od.* 8.338–342). Hermes might be addressed as δῶτορ ἑάων because, in a way, he functions as a primordial personification of male love.

The second Homeric citation is found in the famous scene where Priam visits his archenemy Achilles in his tent. The whole design of the story has been associated with a *katabasis*. In Alberto Bernabé's circle, his pupil Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui has recently explored all the resonances with Orphic gold-leaves and death experience in a systematic way.¹⁵ Of course, it is Hermes again who as ψυχοπομπός has to lead him into Achilles' tent, a journey into a sort of otherworld and death. In the famous supplication scene, both are at first united in lament about the death of their loved ones (*Il.* 24.468–512). At last, Achilles takes pity on Priam (*Il.* 24.513–516). Thus, in his following consolation speech, Achilles uses the famous example of the two jars (*Il.* 24.525–533) and, in analogy, applies it to the destiny of Peleus (*Il.* 24.534–542) and Priam (*Il.* 24.543–548). The image of the πίθοι filled with different qualities on Zeus' floor shows that Zeus epitomizes and encompasses everything, including all binary opposites, even good and evil. This concept again suits the situation of the chthonic Hades and Orphic doctrine, since moral behavior is decisive for whether the δεινά of Hades can turn out well, or whether death can be reverted to life.

Reading Orpheus as well as Homer, therefore, is like a profound associative technique similar to the understanding of an oracle. The Derveni author tries to decipher σημεῖα, textual signs. Yet he does not make everything clear but only gives hints, riddling himself. In this respect, he is similar to Heraclitus, who says in regard to the Delphic oracle: Ὁ ἄναξ, οὐ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει (fr. 93 DK). Cryptic and enigmatic language in the manner of an exegesis of dreams and oracles is exactly the strategy of our anonymous, extraordinary practitioner to involve the recipient and produce deeper insight. Even the two Homeric citations that on the surface just seem to have the function of providing evidence for a specific linguistic use refer to a deeper meaning: they are linked to the entire ideological system, namely, Orphic ideas of *katabasis*, the alternation of Love and Strife, life and death, and the paradoxical interaction between them in a *physis* as expression of perfect, cosmic harmony.

15 Herrero de Jáuregui (2011). On occasional “catabatic readings”, see the extensive reference to literature *ibid.* n. 1; and the new commentary by Brügger (2009: 121 *ad Il.* 24.328).

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64. *Orphic Hymn 37*

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It has not been noticed that a short invocation preserved among the so-called *Orphic Hymns* (no. 37) takes the form of a *thumokatachōn*, ‘an anger-binding spell’, a type of spell that we find in the Greek magical papyri and on some *defixiones*:¹

Τιτῆνες, Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, (1)
ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων, γαίης ὑπένερθεν
οἴκοις Ταρταρίοισι μυχῶι χθονὸς ἐνναίοντες,
ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαὶ πάντων θνητῶν πολυμόχθων, (4)
εἰναλίων πτηνῶν τε καὶ οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσιν·
ἐξ ὑμέων γὰρ πᾶσα πέλει γενεὰ κατὰ κόσμον.
ὕμᾱς κικλήσκω μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν,
εἴ τις ἀπὸ χθονίων προγόνων οἴκοις ἐπελάσθῃ. (8)

Titans, famous children of Earth and Sky,
ancestors of our fathers, beneath the ground
inhabiting Tartarian houses in the inner chamber of the earth,
the beginnings and the springs of all much-suffering mortals,
and of the sea-dwellers and the winged ones, and those who inhabit the earth,
because out of you every race comes throughout the universe.
I call on you to send away grievous rage,
if any one from the chthonian ancestors draws near the houses.

The date of any individual *Orphic Hymn* is, of course, difficult to pinpoint, but there is a general consensus that the collection transmitted to us from antiquity was assembled sometime in the third century AD perhaps in western Anatolia. There is, however, some confusion in the final verse about the precise identity of the individual who approaches the houses. Since the adjective *χθόνιος* regularly refers to infernal divinities and not the dead in Hades, it would appear that the attacker is one of the Titans themselves.² If this is so, then it is quite odd that the speaker of the hymn is not more explicit. The phrase *τις ἀπὸ χθονίων προγόνων* can, however, mean “anyone descended from the chthonian ancestors”, *i. e.*, not the Titans themselves, but any of the humans who had descended from their family line since their

1 I give the text of Ricciardelli (2000: *ad loc.*).

2 Morand (2001: 216–217).

imprisonment in Tartarus.³ Since the Titans are the ancestors of all humans and gods, this attacker could be anyone, and since he has *μήνις*, the usual designation for *supernatural* anger, it is best to understand that he is either a god born from a later generation or a dead human who has returned to haunt them in the form of a ghost.

There is a similar ambiguity regarding the identification of the ‘houses’ mentioned in the last line. Suggestions range from the houses of the Titans previously described in line 3 to special initiatory buildings in which an earlier generation of scholars imagined the hymns to be performed.⁴ Given the vagueness of the Greek, none of these theories can be laid to rest, but it seems most likely that the οἶκοι here belong in one way or another to the people singing the hymn, who invoke their ancestors (the Titans) to divert this supernatural anger from their homes.⁵ Here the presumed power of the Titans to send away the attacker presumably stems from their seniority in the underworld over all of their descendents.

We find an interesting parallel to these two texts in a set of lead tablets found in a third-century AD mass grave in Amathous on Cyprus. After an invocation of four fairly well preserved hexameters, the text devolves into prose:⁶

VERSE:

δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ γῆν καὶ δαίμονες οἵτινές ἐστε
καὶ πατέρες πατέρων καὶ μητέρες ἀντιάνειροι
οἵτινες ἐνθάδε κείσθε καὶ οἵτινες ἐνθάδε} κάθεστε
θυμὸν ἀπὸ κραδίης πολυκηδέα πρόσθε λαβόντες,

PROSE:

παραλάβετε τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος τὸν θυμὸν τ[ὸν]
πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχει τὸν Σοτηριανὸν τὸν καὶ Λίμβαρρον, καὶ τὴν [ὀργ]ήν
καὶ ἀφέλεσθε αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἀλκήν, [ποιή]σατε αὐτὸν
ψυχρὸν καὶ ἄφωνον καὶ ἀπνεύμονον {ψυχ- [ρ]ὸν} εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν
Σοτηριανὸν τὸν καὶ Λίμβαρρον...

3 See Ricciardelli (2000: 383, n. 15) for this interpretation. The usual interpretation is that the Titans are asked to send away the anger of one of their own and indeed we find something like it in the *Orphic Hymn* to Korybas, who is bid (39.9) χαλεπήν δ' ἀποπέμπεο μήνιν. There, however, the use of the middle imperative makes it clear that Korybas is asked to send away his own anger.

4 For example, Athanassakis (1988: 53) translates “if some earthly ancestor of mine stormed your houses”. See Ricciardelli (2000: n. 15, 384) for a full discussion of earlier views.

5 For the problems of attacking ghosts, see the instructions in a Cyrenean inscription and other evidence in Faraone (1992: 81–84).

6 *DT* 22. When we have their opening lines, *DT* 23–37 all begin in roughly the same fashion. For the initial hexametrical portion I use the reconstructed text of Drew-Bear (1972: 85–107).

VERSE:

Daimones under the earth, *daimones* whoever you are,
both fathers of fathers and mothers equal to their husbands,
whoever lie here and whoever sit here,
because you formerly took much-grievous *thumos* from the heart,

PROSE:

take away the *thumos* of Ariston which he has towards me, Sotêrianos (also known as Limbaros), and the *orgê*, take away his power and might from him, and make him cold, speechless, breathless, towards me, Sotêrianos (also known as Limbaros).

This Cyprian tablet is a binding spell of the usual type: it is incised on lead, deposited in a grave and aims to make the victim Ariston cold, speechless and breathless by removing his anger, power and might. There are hints, however, that it originally focused on the victim's anger alone: the verse portion only mentions *thumos* and in the prose section the author begins by mentioning anger twice (both as *thumos* and *orgê*). Here the situation of the invoked (ghosts of the dead buried in the mass grave) provide the rationale for the invocation: they are asked to take away the θυμός of Ariston, because at some point in time they had taken the θυμός away from someone's heart.⁷

In the Cypriot curses the dead are described as 'fathers of fathers' (πατέρες πατέρων), a phrase we can compare to 'ancestors of our fathers' (ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων) in the Orphic text. And like the Titans, these δαίμονες are located beneath the earth and are asked as a collective to take away the anger (θυμόν) of a living man, just as the Titans are asked to send away the rage (μῆνις) of a dead one. Since these lead tablets aim to silence the speech and control the behaviour of others toward the author, they also seem to work in a protective manner. In sum: both texts invoke an underworld power to protect them from anger, although there is an important difference between human θυμός and supernatural μῆνις.

There is, moreover, early evidence that the Titans could be invoked in curses to give help from the underworld. In the Delphic section of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* the goddess Hera asks for their help in creating the monster Typhon as a possible rival to Zeus's power (331–342):

“Ὡς εἰποῦσ’ ἀπονόσφι θεῶν κίε χωμένη περ.
αὐτίκ’ ἔπειτ’ ἡράτο βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,
χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ δ’ ἔλασε χθόνα καὶ φάτο μῦθον·
κέκλυτε νῦν μοι γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν,
Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες
Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν, τῶν ἐξ ἄνδρες τε θεοὶ τε·
αὐτοὶ νῦν μὲν πάντες ἀκούσατε καὶ δότε παῖδα

7 Here the subsequent mention of ὀργή makes it clear that the focus of these hybrid verse-and-prose spells is the anger of the victim, but the θυμός that appears alone in the verse part could have easily referred to 'power' 'will' or even 'sexual drive'; see Faraone (2003: 144–162).

νόσφι Διός, μηδέν τι βίην ἐπιδευέα κείνου·
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε φέρτερος ἔστω ὅσον Κρόνου εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.
 "Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἵμασε χθόνα χειρὶ παχείῃ·
 κινήθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα φερέσβιος, ἥ δὲ ἰδοῦσα
 τέρπετο ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, οἶετο γὰρ τελέεσθαι.

After speaking in this way she went far off from the gods, angered in her heart.
 Then straightaway cow-eyed mistress Hera made a curse-prayer
 and with her extended palm she struck the earth and spoke her *muthos*:
 "Listen now to me Earth and Heaven wide above,
 And you Titan gods, who dwell beneath the earth
 around great Tartarus, and from whom men and gods (descend)!
 You yourselves now listen to me, all of you, and grant (me) a child
 apart from Zeus, who is in no way weaker than him (Zeus) in violence!
 But let him be as much superior in power, as wide-seeing Zeus was over Kronos!"
 Then after she spoke in this way, she pounded the ground with her massive hand.
 And then the life-giving earth moved, and when she (Hera) saw it
 she rejoiced throughout her heart, for she knew her request would be fulfilled.

As in the Orphic hymn and the Cyprian curse, Hera's prayer emphasizes the fact that the Titans dwell under the earth in Tartarus and she identifies them as the ancestors of divine and human life. Hera also alludes openly to their theogonic past, when she addresses them as θεοί in line 335 and frames her request as an opportunity for the Titans to redress Kronos' defeat at the hands of Zeus.⁸ The Titans do, in fact, appear once on a Greek curse-tablet from Sicily aimed at an opponent in an upcoming lawsuit:⁹

καταδέω Ζωπυρίωνα τᾶς Μυμβυρ παρὰ Φερσε-
 φόνας καὶ παρὰ Τιτάνεσσι καταχθονίοις καὶ παρὰ
 π[ρ]ιχομένοις νεκύοις ...

I bind Zopyrion, son of Mumbur, by the side of Persephone and by the side of the underworld Titans and by the side of the goose-fleshed (= πεφ[ρ]ιχομένοις?) dead ...

Despite some difficulties with the text, we can make out the Titans as one of several groups living in the underworld with Persephone. In the mind of a third-century BC Sicilian Greek, then, the Titans apparently live in the subterranean kingdom of Persephone, rather than in bronze-walled prison described by Hesiod, and can be invoked along with human ghosts in binding spells. I suggest, then, that *Orphic Hymn* 37 represents a poetic and verbal form of the more prosaic anger-binding spells of the Roman period and that the Cyprian spells represent a point of transition between the poetic and prose versions.

8 The phrase Τιτῆνές τε θεοί (335) is odd and one is tempted to understand τιτῆνες as an adjective. Hesychius s. v. glosses τιτῆνες as 'avengers' (τιμωροί).

9 IG XIV 1442. For recent discussion, see Jordan (1997: 391–396) and Curbera (1997: 404–405).

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65. *Orphic Hymn* 86 “To Dream”: On Orphic Sleep and Philo

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Orphic speculations about sleep and dream,¹ and the revelation received in this state, are scattered in various fragments and testimonies, often difficult to ascribe, among them the *Orphic Hymn* dedicated to Oneiros (86). In this hymn, Oneiros is characterized as a ‘messenger’ of revelations about the future, who awakens the mind during sleep.² There is also a clear distinction referring to the minds or souls that are prepared for receiving this revelation, those of the ‘silent’, who walk on the path of piety to the gods:

πρὸς(ς) φωνῶν ψυχᾷς θνητῶν νόον αὐτὸς ἐγείρεις
καὶ γνῶμας μακάρων αὐτὸς καθ’ ὕπνους ὑποπέμπεις
σιγῶν σιγῶσαις ψυχᾷς μέλλοντα προφαίνων,
οἷσιν ἐπ’ εὐσεβίῃσι θεῶν νόος ἐσθλὸς ὁδεύει,
(...)
εὐσεβέσιν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸ τέλος γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι,
τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς οὐδὲν φαίνει μέλλουσιν ἀνάγκην
ὄψις ὄνειρήεσσα, κακῶν ἐξαγγελος ἔργων,
ὄφρα μὴ εὖρωνται λύσιν ἄλγος ἐρχομένοιο.

You rouse men’s minds and in their sleep you whisper to them the will of the blessed ones. Silent you come to show the future to silent souls, whose noble mind walk the path of piety to the gods (...) The end to which the pious come is always sweeter, but to the impious never does a dreamy phantom, a prophet of evil deeds, reveal future necessity, so that they do not find deliverance from pain to come.³

* I am indebted to Miguel Herrero, Marco Antonio Santamaría – my Orphic angels –, and David Nirenberg for their invaluable help in writing this paper. Without their assistance it would not have been possible. I took into account their suggestions, but there may remain some errors as a result of my stubbornness.

1 On Orphism and dreams, one may also refer to Theophrastus’ *Characteres* 16.11 “On the superstitious”, where oneiromancy and initiation in the mysteries of Orpheus are placed side by side. Also column V of the Derveni Papyrus has a reference to dreams as a preparation for Hades.

2 One may compare line 4 of the previous hymn 85, “To Sleep”, σώματα δεσμεύων ἐν ἀχαλκεύτοισι πέδησι, “Binding their bodies with fetters unforged”, where this body-soul contraposition is clear and complements what is stated in *Hymn* 86.

3 Translation by Athanassakis (1977: 107–109).

In this contribution in honour of my friend and teacher Alberto Bernabé, I will analyse the Orphic conception of sleep as a state of consciousness in which revelations are achieved, and the quality of the soul required to receive them, taking into account the intricacy of beliefs represented in the fragments used. I will then compare this to an extant complex system of communication with the divine, that of Philo of Alexandria, in an attempt to contribute to a contextualization of both.

The Plutarchian *Letter of Consolation to Apollonios*, 120D, quoting Pindar (fr. 59.2–5 Cannata Fera [131b M.] = *OF* 442)⁴ raises questions about how states of consciousness in the Orphic eschatological conceptions might be related to the attainment of knowledge.⁵ In this context of funerary consolation, in which death is described encomiastically for the mourner as a very special place, sleep is introduced as a state in which the soul, during the slumber of the body, acquires the capacity to receive revelation.

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἶδωλον· τὸ γὰρ ἔστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν· εὐδὲι δὲ πρᾶσσόντων μελέων, ἀτὰρ
εὐδόντεσσιν ἐν πολλοῖς ὄνειροις
δείκνυσι τερπνῶν ἐφάρποισαν χαλεπῶν τε κρίσιν.

The body of all men is subject to overpowering death, but a living image (*i. e.* the soul) of life still remains; for it alone is from the gods. It slumbers while the limbs are active, but to men as they sleep in many dreams it reveals an approaching decision of things pleasant or distressful.⁶

This attainment of knowledge is related to the moment of death. A few lines earlier Plutarch had stated: ἐνταῦθα δ' ἄγνοεῖ, πλὴν ὅταν ἐν τῷ τελευτᾶν ἤδη γένηται, “In this world (*sc.* the soul) has no knowledge, except when it reaches the moment of death”.⁷

In fr. 178 Sandbach (*OF* 594) Plutarch compares the experience of initiation and death in ways reminiscent of (although perhaps not directly influenced by) *Orphic Hymn* 86. He describes a ritual in which the initiate moves

4 This fragment, if not explicitly Orphic, has at the very least an Orphic flavor, on which see Brillante (1987), and Santamaría Álvarez (2008: 1166, 1169).

5 Further evidence for an affiliation of sleep and death in the *Orphic Hymn* 87.3–5, “To Death”, which compares death to perpetual sleep: σὸς γὰρ ὕπνος ψυχῆς θραύει καὶ σώματος ὀλκόν, / ἥνικ' ἄν ἐκλύης φύσεως κεκρατημένα δεσμὰ / τὸν μακρὸν ζῳίοισι φέρων αἰώνιον ὕπνον, “Your sleep tears the soul free from the body’s hold when you undo nature’s tenacious bonds, bringing long and eternal slumber to the living”.

6 Translation by Race (1997).

7 I will not elaborate on the topic of the body as a prison, and I refer to Bernabé (1995) for his explanation of the Orphic origin of this thought in Plato. On Plutarch and Orphism, see Bernabé (1996, 2001), and on this particular text, see Díez de Velasco (1997). On initiation as a death-like experience, see Martín Hernández (2005).

from darkness into a place of light, φῶς τι θαυμάσιον,⁸ and enters a pure and solemn space. This initiation is that of the pure souls, which will be able to receive visions of the future:

πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοὶ πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, εἴτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησεν καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες

In the beginning there is straying and wandering, the weariness of running this way and that, and nervous journeys through darkness that reach no goal, and then immediately before the consummation every possible terror, shivering and trembling and sweating and amazement. But after this a marvelous light meets the wanderer, and open country and meadow lands welcome him; and in that place there are voices and dancing and the solemn majesty of sacred music and holy visions.⁹

We find a similar transition of darkness into the light of knowledge and discernment in an author apparently marginal to the Orphic trends, Philo of Alexandria. He considers this transition as a kind of initiation in some parts of his works, as for example in that of Abraham, when he breaks up with his ‘Chaldaean’ education, and acquires the genuine knowledge as an ‘awakening’ into the light:¹⁰

ταύτη τοι τῇ δόξῃ συντραφεῖς καὶ χαλδαῖσας μακρόν τινα χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου διοίξας τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα καὶ καθαρὰν αὐγὴν ἀντὶ σκότους βαθέος βλέπειν ἀρξάμενος ἠκολούθησε τῷ φέγγει καὶ κατείδεν, ὃ μὴ πρότερον ἐθεάσατο, τοῦ κόσμου τινὰ ἡνίοχον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφεστῶτα καὶ σωτηρίως εὐθύνοντα τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ προστασίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μερῶν ὅσα θείας ἐπάξια φροντίδος ποιούμενον.

In this creed Abraham had been reared, and for a long time remained a Chaldean. Then opening the soul’s eye as though after profound sleep, and beginning to see the pure beam instead of the deep darkness, he followed the ray and discerned what he had not beheld before, a charioteer and pilot presiding over the world and directing in safety his own work, assuming the charge and superintendence of that work and all such parts of it as are worthy of the divine care (*Abr.* 70).¹¹

8 The wonderful light, an element which symbolises revelation of sacred or secret knowledge, is elsewhere referred to as the ‘sun below’, as for example, in another Plutarchian fragment (*Letter of Consolation to Apollonios* 120C, about the pious in Hades), quoting Pindar (fr. 129.1 M. [58a1 Cannatà Fera] = *OF* 439): τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν ἀελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω, “For them shines the might of the sun below during nighttime up here”.

9 Translation by Sandbach (1987: 317–318).

10 This use of sleep as a state of slumber in contraposition to the awakening into revelation, which is the other kind of ‘sleep’ in Philo, is quite different from the previously discussed treatment of sleep as a state in which the soul is free of the bindings of the body and has access to knowledge.

11 Translation by Colson – Whitaker (1929–1962: vol. VI, 41).

This condition of the improvement of the soul, this practice of the Philonic *asketes*, can be usefully compared to the toils of the Orphic initiate to reach the realm of light, the perfection of the soul, as a precondition to acquire visions of the future in *Orphic Hymn* 86: the souls that “walk the noble path of piety to the gods”. Philo’s ideas on dreams can be compared to those found in this Orphic hymn and the fragments mentioned above, as a compound system. In the three books (the first is lost) of his treatise *On Dreams*, Philo deploys as a structuring frame a Stoic threefold dream-classification, also preserved in a fragment of Posidonius of Apamea (transmitted by Cicero, *Div.* 1.64),¹² in order to present an allegorical interpretation of dreams found in Genesis 17–27.¹³ This treatise originally had the longer title *On the fact that dreams are God-sent*, and classified those dreams into three types: those sent by God, by the intermediaries of God (*i. e.* the angels), and those produced by the soul itself through its participation in the divine.

Philo mapped this threefold classification of dreams onto a threefold classification of types of life, in order to develop a theory explaining the modes of communication with God available to a given soul, in accordance with its acquired virtues. Of the three types of life – the contemplative, the active and the life of pleasure – the first is the most excellent, in which the soul is free from passions and has reached *apatheia*. The active life is the life of the *asketes*, who struggles against the bodily passions. The third one is the soul of the man drowned in the pleasures of life. Philo represents the first by Isaac, the second by Jacob and Abraham, and the third by Joseph. The first three patriarchs constitute Philo’s mystical triad (*Somn.* 1.167–168).¹⁴

The conception of body and soul underpinning this theory shares a great deal in common with that of our Orphic fragments. As in *Orphic Hymn* 86, the quality of the soul is a relevant factor in the acquisition of dreams and of knowledge. Moreover the state in which revelation or knowledge was obtained is that of sleep, or occasionally, ecstasy.¹⁵ Although Philo does not offer a classification of types of ‘sleep’ as states of consciousness, one can be reconstructed from his works: 1) Natural sleep, as necessary rest (*Spec.* 1.298) or relaxation of the bodily senses (*Ebr.* 131, 200; *Spec.* 2.103), which can be compared to *υπνος* as described in the *Orphic Hymn* 85, “To Sleep”. 2) The negative view, sleep identified with folly and drunkenness (*Ebr.* 204;

12 Fragments in the edition of L. Edelstein and I. G. Kidd (Cambridge, 1972, 1989), vol. I, 104–109. This classification can be found in other authors, such as Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.2; Tertullian, *De anima* 47.1–3; Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 6. Torallas Tovar (1999).

13 These are Jacob’s dream of the ladder, of the rams and ewes, Joseph’s dreams of the harvest and the stars, the dreams of Pharaoh’s butler and baker, and Pharaoh’s dreams of the seven ears of corn and the seven oxen.

14 Torallas Tovar (2003).

15 Torallas Tovar (2003: 47–48).

Sobr. 5; *Migr.* 222).¹⁶ 3) The positive view, sleep as the state in which the real senses of the soul are active and the bodily senses are asleep. In this state the soul can depart from the world (*Spec.* 1.298) and there can be an acquisition of a non-sensory knowledge, access to visions (*Abr.* 70); doctrines of the sacred philosophy (*Contempl.* 26); and visions from God (*Somn.* 1.1). This last state is the one relevant to our point, for the equation sleep of the body with wakefulness of the soul can be compared to the Orphic contraposition of soul and body and the consequences it has on the state of sleep, as expressed by Pindar, and may reflect an Orphic doctrine.¹⁷

The space – related to death and initiation in Orphism, to sleep and dream in Philo – represents for both the attainment of sacred knowledge. What both Orphics and Philo have in common is the condition of perfection of the soul to be able to receive the message of the divine. For the Orphics it is a matter of initiation in the sacred mysteries, for Philo it is a complex system of communication with the divine and a theory on dreams and states of consciousness.

The ‘wonderful light’ common to both the Plutarchian fragment on the mysteries¹⁸ and Philo points to the tangled complexity of those roots. Philo’s use of the metaphor of the Sun is a constant in his works, both in his broad system of communication with the divine and in his dream theory. The Sun in the material world represents the light, which falls upon physical things and makes the stars disappear while it shines. But the Sun represents as well the light of our soul, which comes out only at night, during the sleep of the body, when the physical Sun sets.

A text from Philo’s *Allegories of the Law* can be an example of this point:

οὐκοῦν ἢ τε τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐργήγορσις ὕπνος ἐστὶ (τοῦ) νοῦ ἢ τε τοῦ νοῦ ἐργήγορσις ἀπραξία τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος μὲν ἀφανεῖς αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων λάμπεις, καταδύντος δὲ ἔκδηλοι· ἡλίου δὲ τρόπον ὁ νοῦς ἐργήγορῶς μὲν ἐπισκιάζει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι.

Thus, the wakefulness of the senses means the sleep for the mind; and the wakefulness of the mind a time of leisure for the senses. Just as when the Sun has risen the lights of the other heavenly bodies are invisible; when the Sun has set, they show themselves. The mind, like the Sun, when awake throws the senses into the shade, but if it goes to sleep it causes them to shine out (*Leg.* 2.30).¹⁹

Of course one cannot talk about Philo’s dream theories without considering Platonic influences. Even if Philo did inherit Orphic images, probably

16 I refer here to C. López-Ruiz’s article in this volume.

17 Though it may also have other and more ancient roots in the Near East: see Oppenheim (1956: 190).

18 On this Orphic light related to day and night, Sun and Moon, see *Orphic Hymn* 78, where ‘Dawn’ is asked to shed more sacred light on the initiates, or *Orphic Hymn* 9, to the Moon, where she is asked to shine her redeeming light on the new initiates.

19 Translation by Colson – Whitaker (1929–1962: vol. I 245).

via Plato and middle-Platonism, the system he erects from them seems less Orphic than Platonic.²⁰ We should think here of the conception of sleep as a state of inspired divination in *Ti.* 71e: “No man achieves true and inspired divination when in his rational mind, but only when the power of his intelligence is fettered in sleep or when it is distraught by disease or divine inspiration”; or of the taxonomy in the *Republic* (9.571c–e), which distinguishes between divine dreams and those from the lower parts of the soul. Divine dreams are sent to wise men who can control this lower part of the soul, whose reasoning faculty is working properly and who are able to grasp the message they receive.²¹

Nevertheless many motifs scattered in Orphic fragments emerge as well in Philo’s attempt to systematize (a) dream theory: the state of sleep as a state of revelation, the presence of ‘light’ in the initiation, and the condition of purity or spiritual perfection required for the soul to reach revelation. This suggests that, with all the due prudence and after the necessary philological rigors, the one may be used to illuminate the other.²²

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20 See Mansfeld (1989).

21 See Gil (1966: 38–74); Vicaire (1970: 333–350).

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La decisión de Orfeo (según Cesare Pavese)

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1.

Que Orfeo perdió de nuevo a Eurídice al quebrantar el tabú impuesto por los dioses infernales es un trazo esencial del mito en su forma más acabada, aunque pueda discutirse si hubo en el primitivo relato helénico primitivo otro final, una salida feliz.¹ En todo caso, el famoso fracaso de su viaje al Hades ensombrece el destino trágico del héroe, víctima de terca y pertinaz melancolía, y descuartizado, en su ocaso, por frenéticas y rencorosas bacantes tracias. La motivación del gesto decisivo se presta a discusión: ¿Se volvió a mirar a su amada por desconfianza o por un impulso apasionado que le hizo descuidar, ya en el umbral fatídico, la prohibición de los dioses infernales?

Una versión diversa y, a mi parecer, muy original, de tan misterioso motivo la ofrece Cesare Pavese en un intrigante texto de su libro *Diálogos con Leucó* (1947). Es un diálogo entre Orfeo y una Bacante, titulado, como era previsible, “El inconsolable”.² Citaré algunas líneas, como las que inician la apasionada y sorprendente charla:³

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- 1 Resulta discutible, y ha sido discutido, que la versión griega más antigua del descenso de Orfeo al Hades presentara un final feliz. Cf. a favor de esta tesis – defendida ya por numerosos autores, como por C.M. Bowra (1952), González Delgado (2008: 76–82); y, en contra, Bernabé (2008: 211–224). Es probable que el famoso relieve (fines del siglo V a. C.) que muestra a Eurídice entre Hermes y Orfeo se refiera a la pérdida de la joven y no al final del viaje de Orfeo al Hades, ya que el Psicopompo conduce las almas al Hades, pero luego no interviene dentro del mundo infernal, cuyos límites ya no franquea de nuevo Eurídice. Pero, evidentemente, el fracaso de Orfeo determina el desarrollo del mito, acentúa su dimensión trágica, y, a la larga, apunta ya a la muerte del héroe, descuartizado por las mujeres desdenadas y furiosas.
 - 2 Pavese (1980: 87–91). Utilizo la conocida traducción de Esther Benítez, con algunos retoques: ‘Bacante’, por ejemplo, en lugar del término italiano ‘Bacca’ de su texto.
 - 3 “En una primera hoja del borrador el diálogo se iniciaba con la frase de la Bacante: ‘Orfeo no puede creerte ...’. Y Orfeo replicaba: ‘Te repito que lo hice adrede al volverme. Estaba ya harto de estos pensamientos. Y díles también a esas otras que me andan detrás que, si pudiera lanzarlas también al infierno, sólo con volverme, lo haría.’” (1980: 205).

ORFEO: Ocurrió así. Subíamos el sendero entre el bosque de las sombras. Ya estaban lejos el Cocito, Estigia, la barca, los lamentos. Se vislumbraba sobre las hojas el resplandor del cielo. Yo oía a mis espaldas el crujir de sus pasos. Pero yo estaba aún allá abajo y tenía encima aquel frío. Pensaba que un día debería retornar, que lo que ha sido volverá a ser. Pensaba en la vida con ella; como era antes; en que otra vez acabaría. Lo que ha sido será. Pensaba en aquel hielo, en el vacío que yo había cruzado y que ella llevaba en los huesos, en la médula, en la sangre. ¿Valía la pena revivir aún? Lo pensé, y vislumbré el resplandor del día. Entonces dije: “Acaba ya”. Y me di la vuelta. Eurídice desapareció como se apaga una vela. Sentí sólo un chillido, como de un ratón que escapa.

Ante la protesta de la Bacante (“No, no lo creo, Orfeo. No ha sido culpa tuya si el destino te ha traicionado”), el héroe insiste:

¿A qué viene eso del destino? Mi destino no traiciona. Ridículo que tras ese viaje, tras haber mirado a la cara a la nada, me diera yo la vuelta por error o capricho.

Y, más adelante, aclara:

La Eurídice que lloré fue una estación de la vida. Allí abajo buscaba otra cosa, no su amor. Buscaba un pasado que Eurídice no sabe. Lo comprendí entre muertos mientras cantaba mi canto. Vi las sombras rígidas y de mirar vacío, vi cesar los lamentos, a Perséfone esconder el rostro, al mismo tenebroso-impasible Hades asomarse como un mortal y escuchar. He entendido que los muertos no son nada... Cuando me llegó el primer vislumbre del cielo ... me estremecí por mí solo, por el mundo de los vivos. No me importó nada ella que me seguía. Mi pasado fue la claridad, fue el canto y la mañana. Y me di la vuelta.

Entonces la Bacante vuelve a invocar la fuerza del amor a la muerta:

¿Cómo has podido resignarte, Orfeo? Le dabas miedo a quien te vio al regreso. Eurídice había sido para ti una existencia.

Y Orfeo replica:

Necedades. Eurídice al morir se mudó en otra cosa. El Orfeo que descendió al Hades ya no era ni esposo ni viudo. Mi llanto de entonces fue como los que se tienen de niño, y uno sonríe al recordarlos. La estación ha pasado. Yo buscaba, llorando, no a ella, sino a mí. Un destino, si quieres. Me escuchaba.

La Bacante invoca el amor y la fiesta y el prestigio de Orfeo entre las mujeres que adoran sus cantos y su arrojo; pero el triste vate no se deja convencer:

Bacante: ... Tu pensamiento es sólo muerte. Hubo un tiempo en que la fiesta nos hacía inmortales.

Orfeo: Pues disfrutad vosotras con la fiesta. Todo es lícito para quien aún no sabe. Es menester que cada uno descienda una vez a su infierno. La orgía de mi destino se acabó en el Hades, acabó cantando a mi manera la vida y la muerte.

Unas líneas más allá, Orfeo sentencia con tono resignado y apolíneo:

Estaba casi perdido, y cantaba. Comprendiendo me he encontrado a mí mismo.

Y la Bacante le responde con un mensaje dionisiaco:

¿Vale la pena encontrarse de ese modo? Hay un camino más sencillo de ignorancia y gozo: El dios es como un señor entre la vida y la muerte. Una se abandona a su ebriedad, desgarrar o es desgarrada. Renace cada vez, y se despierta como tú a la luz.

Y concluye recordando que “para las mujeres de Tracia tú eres como un dios”; pero un dios, profetiza, que, enfurecidas por su desdén, “acaso un día te despedacen”.

2.

Dialoghi con Leucò, que Cesare Pavese publicó en 1947, es una de las ficciones literarias sobre mitos griegos más interesantes y enjundiosas del siglo pasado.⁴ Estimulado por sus múltiples lecturas de antropología y psicología, y muy en especial por las de Freud y Jung, el novelista italiano deja aquí sus temas realistas para enfrentarse al mundo de los mitos griegos, evocados en escenas sueltas, presentados en diálogos breves de denso trasfondo simbólico. Al pronto, la obra desconcertó a la crítica contemporánea – tanto por su temática como por su tono un tanto enigmático –, y logró muy pocos elogios inmediatos, con la excepción de la reseña muy favorable del gran helenista milanés Mario Untersteiner. Fue, sin embargo, la más querida para Pavese. Fue, significativamente, el libro que dejó abierto en la mesilla de noche cuando se suicidó, en 1950.

Por su formato esos diálogos, breves charlas entre dos figuras míticas, pueden recordar los famosos diálogos lucianescos, pero por su tono – irónico a veces, pero nada burlesco –, se hallan más cerca de los de G. Leopardi.⁵ En su evocación de esos encuentros míticos Pavese parece apuntar a un cierto misterio, un mensaje escondido o cifrado bajo la vistosa apariencia de la anécdota mítica, plena de sugerencias. Como señala uno de sus biógrafos recientes:⁶ “El sentido último de estos *Diálogos* parece resolverse en una contrastada inquietud religiosa, en una *anamnesis* torturante y recurrente. Conviene de todos modos subrayar su complejidad, su carácter irreductible a una lectura unívoca. Es un libro de fugas y retornos, de ocultamientos y de emergencias. Presenta una arquitectura ambiciosa que a cada paso se desmonta, en un *continuum* que refleja el fluir de una conciencia indecisa”.

Es curioso que Pavese, lector de Frazer, y editor de textos de Malinowski, se oriente así hacia una hermenéutica simbolista, en una línea cercana a Jung y Kerényi, como bien notaba Furio Jesi, temprano, fino y perspicaz comentarista de estos diálogos: “Es significativo que Pavese, por lo que respecta al valor simbólico del mito, rechace la teoría de un sentido ‘empírico’, como decía Malinowski, para aceptar más bien – aunque no de un modo ortodoxo – la de Kerényi, es decir, la que parece derivar no de una indagación

4 Los más importantes artículos de C. Pavese sobre el mito y la mitología helénica están recogidos en Pavese (1987) en la excelente versión de Elcio di Fiori.

5 Muñiz (1992: 112–116).

6 Mondo (2006: 152).

puramente etnológica, sino de las especulaciones sobre el símbolo con acentos diversos en el ambiente de la poesía germánica, pero más en conexión con la teoría de Goethe que con la de los románticos”.⁷

En su recreación de esos instantes míticos – yo diría – busca claves para expresar su propia inquietud vital, de modo un tanto paralelo a lo que hace a veces en su obra poética (o en parte de sus poemas). Porque creía que los mitos, con su riqueza imaginaria, se brindan a una hermenéutica muy abierta. Lo apunta en uno de sus mejores ensayos: “Un mito es siempre simbólico; por esto no tiene nunca un significado unívoco, alegórico, sino que vive de una vida encapsulada que, según el lugar y el humor que lo rodea, puede estallar en las más diversas y múltiples florecencias”.⁸ Desde tal perspectiva Pavese se enfrentaba a la lectura e interpretación de los mitos griegos como un reto intelectual y personal. De ahí también el tono melancólico y la inquietante seriedad – bajo la lúdica apariencia – de sus diálogos.

3.

También en algunos otros diálogos se comentan despedidas y abandonos míticos (de Ulises y Calipso, o de Teseo y Ariadna, por ejemplo). Y en todos ellos se analiza la decisión del héroe de abandonar a la amada. Ciertamente que ninguno de esos enlaces es tan fuerte como el que ha llevado a Orfeo a desafiar los límites de la condición humana para penetrar en el Hades. (En los dos casos mencionados se trata de una *liaison* y no de una unión matrimonial). Pero, en todo caso, el héroe elige la soledad como un destino inevitable, que implica el desanudar cualquier lazo sentimental que signifique un asidero o una compañía perenne. Tampoco para Orfeo cabe, según Pavese, imaginar una salvación junto a Eurídice, rescatada del Otro Mundo, y por eso le parece más coherente hacerle responsable conscientemente de la decisión de perderla por segunda vez, tras la experiencia, determinante sin duda, de su tremendo viaje infernal. En esa sorprendente variante de la secuencia mítica ha influido la visión pesimista de la existencia que el poeta y novelista italiano tiene a partir de su repetido desencanto en las relaciones amorosas. De ahí esa amarga ironía que es un reflejo de la melancolía profunda de su autor (que también se expresa, a la par, en las notas autobiográficas de *Il mestiere de vivere*, en esos años finales).⁹ El relato mítico arrastra en sus motivos sugerencias poéticas que la tradición puede reinterpretar con diversos acentos. De ahí su enigmática riqueza semántica, esa misma riqueza que la hermenéutica del simbolismo quiere rescatar en sus lecturas

7 Jesi (1972: 146).

8 Pavese (1987: 308–309).

9 Trad. esp. E. Benítez, 1979.

sucesivas. Lecturas que veces, como en el caso del texto de Pavese, uno de los grandes poetas italianos del siglo XX, están muy marcadas por la propia experiencia vital. De ahí que su modo de recontar los mitos tenga, a la par de su ironía, una inolvidable y personal reflexión sobre sus posibles sentidos.

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Himno órfico a Zeus*

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*A mi viejo amigo Alberto Bernabé,
que sabe más de órficos que el mismísimo Orfeo,
con admiración y cariño.*

Entre todos los dioses que pueblan el abismo
de nuestra soledad, es el primero Zeus,
el del luciente rayo, el centro y el origen
y el comienzo de todo cuanto existe en el mundo.
Zeus, que nació varón y que es, al mismo tiempo,
rey y reina del éter donde habitan los astros,
de la tierra con todos sus montes y sus valles,
del agua con sus ríos y sus mares que rien
innumerablemente, del fuego que trae luz
y calor a los hombres en la lóbrega noche
(que es también Zeus, del mismo modo que es Zeus el día,
Zeus el bien, Zeus el mal, Zeus la vida y la muerte).
Zeus, que se tragó a Metis, una de las Titánides,
para engendrar las cosas, y que inventó el amor
bajo la especie de Eros: el martirio y la gloria.
Todo es Zeus. En sus ojos habita el firmamento.
Sus cabellos anuncian el orto y el ocaso.
Él es el sol, la luna y todas las estrellas.
Nada escapa a su oído, ni el más débil susurro
de la naturaleza, ni el rugir del océano.
Es la voz y el silencio, la cuna y la yacija.
Todo lo ve. Su cuerpo es radiante, infinito,
imperturbable, hermoso. Sus hombros y sus anchas
espaldas y su pecho son aire – aire pesado,
poderoso, magnífico –, y su sagrado vientre
es la tierra, la madre universal, el útero
que alumbra los rebaños, los frutos y las flores.
En su cintura vive el mar con su oleaje
transitorio y eterno, y en sus pies y en sus piernas
se dan cita las últimas regiones, los extremos

* Homenaje poético en alejandrinos a Alberto Bernabé Pajares, tomando como base su versión castellana de la tercera versión del himno (OF 243).

confines que rodean el universo, el Tártaro.
Entre todos los dioses que pueblan el abismo
de nuestra soledad, canto a Zeus, que es el último
y el primero, el verdugo y la víctima, el alba
y el crepúsculo, luz y tiniebla infinita,
razón de ser de todo lo que existe en el mundo.

El Orfeo de Ovidio en hexámetros castellanos

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Varios son los traductores, colegas nuestros, que han puesto ya en buena prosa castellana contemporánea estos maravillosos versos de Ovidio sobre Orfeo y Eurídice, empezando por mi maestro, Antonio Ruiz de Elvira. Yo he querido aquí recuperar un ritmo poético equivalente al que tuvieron en su origen y los he traducido en hexámetros castellanos. He seguido para ello el texto de la edición bilingüe del citado Ruiz de Elvira (Ovidio, *Metamorfosis*, vol. II, lib. VI–X, Madrid, CSIC, 1964, y vol. III, lib. XI–XV, Madrid, CSIC, 1984), que no ofrece discrepancias significativas con las más modernas de Anderson (Stuttgart – Leipzig, Teubner, 1996) y Tarrant (Oxford, Univ. Press, 2004). Y, con la venia de Ovidio, te los dedico a ti, Alberto: versos órficos para un maestro del orfismo. *Quare habe tibi hos qualescumque*.

Metamorfosis X 1–63

Parte Himeneo de allí, revestido de un manto amarillo, cruza los aires y sigue con rumbo a las tierras ciconias, donde lo invoca con súplicas nunca atendidas Orfeo. Sí que asistió a aquellas bodas el dios, pero sin las palabras propias del rito, sin rostro risueño ni agüeros felices.	5
Chispas incluso exhalaba la antorcha que había en su mano y humo que hacía llorar, y ni siendo agitada se enciende. Más grave aún se mostró el desenlace, pues cuando en el prado, acompañada de un grupo de náyades, iba la novia, pierde la vida, mordido el tobillo por una serpiente.	10
Luego que mucho la estuvo llorando en las auras de arriba el rodopeo poeta, probando también en lo oscuro, hasta la Estige atrevióse a bajar por la puerta del Ténaro, yendo a través de tropeles ingrátidos, sombras sepultas. Ante Perséfone se presentó y ante el rey del horrible	15
reino sombrío, y pulsando las cuerdas y dándose al canto, esto decía: «Deidades del mundo que está bajo tierra, donde venimos al fin los que fuimos creados mortales, si permitís y dais venia a que diga verdad, omitiendo círculos propios de lengua falaz, no he bajado	20
a contemplar las tinieblas tartáreas ni a atar con cadenas	21
esos tres cuellos que tienen serpientes a modo de vello,	21

esa la triple garganta del monstruo parejo a Medusa;
 vengo hasta aquí por mi esposa, a quien ha envenado una víbora
 al tropezar con su pie y ha truncado sus prósperos años.
 Quise poder soportarlo y no voy a negar mis intentos, 25
 pero el Amor me ha vencido, deidad bien notoria allá arriba,
 dudo si aquí lo es también, mas supongo que sí, de igual modo,
 y si no miente la fama de aquel viejo raptó, a vosotros
 es el Amor quien os tiene enlazados. ¡Por estos lugares
 llenos de espanto, por este dominio del Caos tan enorme 30
 y los silencios que inundan la gran extensión de este reino, 30
 ruego volváis a tejer de mi Eurídice el sino truncado!
 Todos los seres os somos debidos y al cabo de un tiempo,
 tarde o temprano, corremos veloces a un mismo destino.
 Todos venimos aquí y aquí está nuestra sede postrera;
 vuestro es el reino más vasto de todo el humano linaje. 35
 Ella también, cuando cumpla a su plazo los años precisos,
 ha de ser vuestra: tenerla algún tiempo es el don que os imploro.
 Y si los hados me niegan su venia a favor de mi esposa,
 he decidido quedarme: gozad con la muerte de ambos».
 Mientras cantaba y tocaba las cuerdas al son de sus voces, 40
 todas las almas sin sangre lloraban por él; ya no intenta
 Tántalo el agua alcanzar y la rueda de Ixión detiene;
 ya no devoran los buitres el hígado ni las Belides
 llenan su cántaro y, Sísifo, tú, te sentaste en la piedra.
 Dicen que fue aquella vez la primera que lágrimas hubo 45
 en las Euménides, siendo ablandadas del canto. Y no pudo
 ni la consorte real ni el monarca de abajo negarse
 al suplicante. Reclaman a Eurídice, que entre las últimas
 sombras estaba y, herida en el pie, lentamente se acerca.
 Se la conceden a Orfeo el del Ródope, mas con mandato 50
 de no volver hacia atrás su mirada hasta haber ya salido
 de la garganta infernal, o sería anulado su premio.
 Toman la senda empinada a través de los mudos silencios,
 senda escarpada y oscura, cubierta de opacas tinieblas.
 Ya estaba cerca el confín en que empieza la tierra de arriba, 55
 donde, temiendo que no lo siguiera y ansioso por verla,
 torna el amante sus ojos, y al punto la esposa se esfuma
 retrocediendo y en tanto que extiende sus brazos y quiere 58
 ser abrazada y al tiempo abrazar al amado mas nada 58
 puede agarrar la infeliz sino brisas que rápidas huyen.
 Y aunque moría otra vez, de su esposo no dio queja alguna 60
 (pues, ¿se podría quejar de algo más que de haber sido amada?),
 sino que dijo su «adiós» postrimero, que apenas escucha
 él con su oído, y de nuevo cayó a aquel lugar donde estaba [...]¹.

1 Omiso los vv. 64–71, que son referencias ajenas al tema, injertadas por vía del ejemplo, con el fin de aumentar el catálogo de metamorfosis.

Metamorfosis X 72–108

[...] Aunque rogaba el esposo y en vano pedía de nuevo
paso al abismo, el barquero lo impide. No obstante, se estuvo
siete jornadas sentado a la orilla, mugriento y ayuno.
Lo alimentaba su pena, el dolor en el alma y el llanto. 75
Tras lamentar la crueldad de los dioses del Érebo, marcha
a la montaña del Hemo ventoso y al Ródope excelso.
Tres veces hubo cumplido Titán su carrera de un año,
la que se cierra en los Peces acuosos, y Orfeo evitaba
todo contacto con hembra en razón del fracaso sufrido 80
o de promesa; y en cambio quisieron unirse al poeta
muchas mujeres y muchas sufrieron el ser rechazadas.
Él fue también el que tuvo la idea en las tierras de Tracia
de trasladar el amor a los tiernos varones y, aún niños,
su primavera caduca coger y su flor primeriza. 85
Un cerro había y encima del cerro una gran explanada,
llana del todo, que verde pintaban la hierba y el césped.
Sombra faltaba al lugar, mas tan pronto se sienta allí el vate
hijo de dioses tañendo las cuerdas sonoras, la sombra
vino al lugar y se hicieron presentes el árbol caonio, 90
el de las hijas del Sol, la carrasca de altivo follaje,
mórbidos tilos, el haya, el laurel desdeñoso de amores,
el quebradizo avellano y el fresno que en lanzas se emplea,
vino el abeto sin nudos, la encina curvada de frutos,
plátanos muy placenteros y el arce de varios colores, 95
sauces también que frecuentan los ríos y acuáticos lotos,
boj de continuo verdor, tamarices de fino follaje,
mirto de doble color y sauquillo de baya azulenca.
No os ausentasteis vosotras, oh yedras de patas flexibles,
y con vosotras vinieron las vides que pámpanos crían, 100
vino el vestido de vides, el olmo, y con él los quejigos, 100
pinos silvestres, madroños cargados de frutos rojizos,
vino la palma flexible, que premia victorias, y el pino
que alza su tronco desnudo y despliega su fronda suprema,
grato a Cibeles, la madre de dioses, pues Atis, su amigo,
se despojó de lo humano y mudóse en aquel duro tronco. 105
No de esta turba faltaba el ciprés, que los conos imita,
árbol ahora, muchacho hace tiempo al que amó el dios famoso
que de la cítara y arco modula y maneja las cuerdas [...]²

Metamorfosis XI 1–66

Mientras el músico tracio seduce con tal melodía
selvas y bestias feroces y piedras que siguen sus pasos,
súbitamente las hembras ciconias, cubierto su pecho

2 El resto del libro X se aparta del tema órfico propiamente dicho y se adentra en el relato metamórfico de Cipariso, convertido en ciprés, y en otros mitos que fueron objeto del canto de Orfeo (Jacinto, Pigmalión y la estatua, Mirra, Venus y Adonis, etc.).

lleno de furia con pieles salvajes, avistan a Orfeo
 desde una loma cantando al compás de las líricas cuerdas. 5
 Una de tales, soltando su pelo a las brisas ligeras,
 dice: «aquí está el que nos tiene ojeriza», y al punto dispara
 contra la rítmica boca del vate de Apolo su tirso,
 que, recubierto de fronda, le deja señal sin herirlo.
 Otra utiliza por arma una piedra, que al ser arrojada, 10
 queda vencida en el aire del son de la voz y la lira
 y como aquel que suplica humillado al haber cometido 12
 una osadía y locura tan grande, se rinde cayendo 12
 ante sus pies. Sin embargo, la osada reyerta se agranda,
 el desenfreno se impone y domina la Furia rabiosa.
 Todas las armas podría ablandarlas el canto, mas una 15
 gran gritería y la flauta de la Berecintia de curvo
 cuerno, el tambor y los ruidos de palmas y báquicas voces
 fueron estorbo a la lira sonora. Y al cabo las piedras
 se enrojecieron con sangre del vate al que ya no escuchaban.
 Y, lo primero, destrozan las ménades aves sin cuento, 20
 sierpes y fieras, absortas aún en la voz del cantante,
 todo lo que era una muestra de aquel auditorio de Orfeo.
 Luego con manos sangrientas al propio juglar se dirigen
 y hacen cual pájaros corro, si acaso de día se encuentran
 ave nocturna y perdida, o igual que en el anfiteatro 25
 por la mañana en la arena es botín de los perros el ciervo
 presto a morir; contra el vate caminan y arrójanle tirsos
 verdes, cubiertos de fronda, que no a tal servicio se hicieran.
 Unas le tiran terrones, las ramas que arrancan de un árbol
 otras, y aquéllas pedruscos, y aún, para armar su locura, 30
 bueyes había que araban la tierra con reja de arado
 y musculosos labriegos no lejos de allí que los suelos
 duros hendían con mucho sudor afanosos del fruto.
 Huyen al ver el tropel y abandonan las armas que usaban
 para el trabajo y se quedan tirados en campo desierto 35
 los escardillos, los graves rastrillos y largas azadas.
 Tras agarrarlos aquellas salvajes y hacer de los bueyes
 cruenta masacre, a pesar de sus cuernos temibles, se vuelven
 para matar al cantor, que alargaba las manos y vanas
 voces soltaba ya entonces, que a nadie ni a nada movían. 40
 Mátanlo impías y el alma, exhalada a través de su boca
 – célebre boca que oyeron, oh dios de los cielos, las piedras
 y comprendieron los brutos –, el alma se fue por los aires.
 Tristes lloraron tu muerte las aves, Orfeo, y de fieras
 grueso tropel, y las rígidas rocas y el bosque que anduvo 45
 tras de tu canto a menudo; y dejando sus hojas el árbol
 hizo su duelo por ti recortando sus crines; los ríos
 – dicen – crecieron también con su llanto, y vistieron un velo
 negro las ninfas de fuentes y bosques soltando sus trenzas.
 Yacen los miembros en sitios diversos. Acoges, oh Hebro, 50
 lira y cabeza, y – ¡milagro! – flotando las dos en tus aguas

no sé qué son lacrimoso produce la lira, y la lengua
son lacrimoso murmura ya muerta, y responde la orilla
son lacrimoso. Y llevadas al mar, abandonan el río
de su región y a Metimna y las playas de Lesbos arriban. 55
Busca una fiera serpiente aquel rostro posado en arenas
desconocidas, y aquellos cabellos que gotas destilan.
Febo aparece al instante y rechaza a la sierpe dispuesta
para morder, congelando en la piedra sus fauces abiertas
y endureciendo, según se mostraba, su boca patente. 60
Baja su sombra al lugar subterráneo que ya conocía,
todo lo explora, a su Eurídice busca a través de los campos
de los piadosos, la encuentra por fin y con ansia la abraza.
Ambos deambulan aquí con el paso al compás unas veces,
otras andando él detrás o avanzando delante de ella, 65
y ya se vuelve a mirar sin peligro a su Eurídice Orfeo.

Analytic index

- Academy 42
 Achelous 385–387
 Achilles 187, 193, 216, 358, 397
 Adonis, Adonia 65, 69, 186, 242, 252,
 321, 346, 348, 357 f., 423
 Aeneas 346
 afterlife (happiness / punishments; see
 eschatology, Hades, Underworld) 10,
 38, 66, 173, 178, 181, 185–187, 193, 233,
 246, 327, 346, 349, 414
 Agamemnon 101, 192, 214, 319
aion 106, 369
 air 36, 86, 140–144, 154, 156, 197, 209,
 280, 351–353, 385–389, 391, 419, 421, 424
aither 88, 249 f., 256, 258, 351, 377–382,
 419
aletheia 15, 26, 31, 176, 180, 183, 193,
 306
 Alexandria 15, 51 f., 168 f., 210, 278,
 286 f., 337
 allegory, allegorical 4, 16, 96 f., 205 f.,
 223, 348, 371, 379, 385, 388, 390–392,
 394, 408 f., 416
 Ammon 198 f.
 Amphion 264, 356
 amulet 185, 188 f., 233 f.
anamnesis 415
 Ananke 313
 Anat 72, 101
 Anatolia(n) 99, 245–247, 267, 399
anodos 125
 anthropogony (see Titan, myth) 35, 66,
 79, 116, 124, 259
 anthropology 146, 206, 258, 415
 Aphrodite 191, 242, 357, 394–396
 Apollo 94, 162, 168, 190 f., 198 f., 215 f.,
 241, 245, 249, 256, 264 f., 289, 317,
 319–322, 330, 336, 346, 348, 355 f., 358,
 401, 424
 apotheosis 129, 161, 331, 357
 Apulian pottery 148, 150, 169, 197, 199,
 200, 202, 314
 Ares 395 f.
 Argonauts 9, 253, 318–320, 327
 Ariadne 199, 416
 Aristaeus 321, 347 f.
 Artemis 123–125, 313, 321
 asceticism, ascetic 10, 214 f., 285
 Asclepius 9, 128 f., 277
 Asia Minor 101, 269, 278
 associations 101, 106, 125, 269, 271
 astrology, astrological 298, 319
 Athena 61, 71, 80 f., 124, 191, 322, 355
 Athens 61, 64 f., 101, 186, 279, 293, 295,
 327, 352, 356
 Attis 13, 69, 82, 266, 423
 Augustus 348

 Baal 70–72, 74 f., 100
 Bacchanals 10, 100
 Bacchants (see maenads) 10, 25, 120,
 262, 265, 283, 413 f.
 Bacchic (see Dionysism, Dionysus, mys-
 tery cults) 14, 24–27, 56 f., 70, 108,
 114, 120 f., 124, 131, 133–135, 137, 165,
 169, 199 f., 257, 270 f., 273, 278, 286,
 346 f., 348, 393.
 Bacchus (see Dionysus) 25–27, 71, 114,
 168 f., 177, 200, 283, 286, 321
 bees 347 f.
 binding spell (see *epodai*, magic) 102,
 314, 399, 401 f.
 bird 141, 329, 372–374
 blessed 102, 162, 167 f., 172, 187–189,
 201–203, 215, 217, 294, 405
 blood, bloodless 143 f., 293, 335 f., 280,
 373, 414, 422, 424
 bodily passions 210, 322, 408
Bona Dea 261–267
 Brahma, brahmanic 30 f., 87, 89 f.
 breath 139–143, 145, 154, 401
 Brimo 258, 321
 bull 88, 95, 130, 200, 216, 257 f., 347
 burial 168, 205, 227, 232–235, 372
 burn 31, 301, 335, 381
 Byzantium 16, 23, 120, 301, 342

- Cabiri (see Samothracian gods)
 Cadmus 159
 castration 32, 99 f., 103, 377–382, 394
 Ceres (see Demeter)
 Chaos 41, 44–46, 86, 88, 221, 250 f., 422
 Charon 232 f.
 chastity 38
 Chiron 128, 321
 chorus / choral lyric 187, 192, 208, 242, 245, 293, 357 f., 396
 Christianity 15, 37, 70, 74, 77–82, 255, 287 f., 322
 Chronos (Χρόνος) 79, 93, 95–97, 102, 106, 121, 153, 189, 207, 284, 287 f., 380
 chthonic deities 97, 150, 202, 232, 397, 399
cista (basket) 38, 133, 135, 285–287
 Cocytus 414
 coins 198, 231, 233 f., 265
 contemplation 285–287
 cosmos 31, 33, 39, 45, 71, 96, 99 f., 102 f., 125, 143, 327
 cosmology 93 f., 99 f., 102 f., 133, 155, 353, 386, 390, 394
 cosmogony 5, 7, 8, 29–31, 44–47, 49, 50, 52, 85–90, 93, 95, 97–99, 103, 165, 250, 252, 320–321, 328, 351–352, 378–379; (Vedic) 30–32, 88
 crater 197, 200–202
 Crete 37, 179, 221, 312
 crown 25, 55, 134, 137, 213–215, 217, 330
 Cybele 245, 267, 280, 283, 423
 cycle 35, 93, 96, 154–156, 161, 167, 176 f., 179 f., 182, 216, 369, 390 f.

daimon 94, 224, 313, 372–374, 401
 dance 5, 14, 135, 245, 270, 317, 320, 330, 358, 396
defixiones (see magic) 102, 314, 399
 Delos 134, 178, 215
 Delphi 81, 160–163, 228, 336, 397, 401
 Demeter 4, 7, 9, 37 f., 61, 71, 79–81, 123–125, 205, 215, 312 f., 319, 394
 Demodokos 395 f., 398
 descent (see katabasis) 73, 162, 348
 Derveni Papyrus 2, 3, 14, 31, 33, 36, 50, 55, 66, 85, 99, 221–223, 295, 361, 371, 377, 379–383, 394, 405
 Dido 346

 Dike 331 f., 367
 Dionysism 26 f., 160, 273
 Dionysus (see Bacchic) (birth) 61–65, 71, 112, 123, 127–129, 130 f., 133 f.; (consumption) 124; (death) 56, 61, 70, 111, 121; (dismemberment) 62, 64–66, 111 f., 348; (epiclesis, epithets; see Bacchus); δίδυμος, δισσοτόκος, διμήτωρ, διμήτριος, *bimatrix* 129; *Eiraphiotes*, *-as*, *Eraphiotas*, *Eriphios* 130; Liknites 257; Lysios 200; Zagreus 61 f., 64–66, 70, 80, 112 f.; (heart) 36, 71, 121, 124, 128, 133–138; (mirror) 113, 115, 119; (resurrection) 124; (metamorphoses) 113, 136; (toys) 108, 115;
Dodecaeterides 297 f., 300
 dream 72, 103, 193, 195, 374, 397, 405–410
dromena (see rites, Orphic rites) 4, 160, 221
 Dumuzi 74 f.

 earth 36, 45, 55, 72–74, 86 f., 89 f., 102, 124 f., 128, 134, 143, 148, 153–157, 166 f., 215, 223, 297, 300, 352, 362, 381
 Earth (Gaia, Ge) 31, 36, 52, 88, 100, 108, 112, 121, 185, 298, 382, 399, 402
 egg (cosmic e.) 3, 31, 85, 90, 95, 98, 141, 250, 257 f., 272
 Egypt/Egyptian 35, 37 f., 55–58, 64 f., 85, 108, 119, 122, 169, 189, 285, 335, 358
 Electra 192, 320, 328
 Eleusis/Eleusinian (see mystery cults) 3 f., 13 f., 37, 124 f., 209, 214, 241, 266 f., 276, 293–295, 312, 314
 embryo (cosmic e.) 31 f., 85, 87–90, 349
 Empousa 293–295
 enaeteric 160, 162
 epic poetry 4, 202, 204, 214–217, 293, 396
 epiclesis 198, 257
 epigram 165–168, 193, 244, 270, 300, 322, 335 f., 339
epodai (incantations; see binding spell, magic) 148, 312, 314, 372
ephesia grammata 311–315
 Er (myth of E.) 180 f., 337
 Erebus 86, 88, 250, 423
 Ericepaeus 45
 Eros (see Phanes) 5, 36, 86, 241 f., 244, 246, 249–252, 419

- eschatology (see afterlife, Hades, Underworld) 2, 157, 165, 167, 202, 256
 eternity 94, 97, 106, 250, 369
 etymology 50, 67, 117, 121, 140, 144, 251, 293–295, 303 f., 307, 378, 381, 390
 Eubuleus 249–252, 256–259, 313
 Eumenides 372, 422
 Eurydice 149 f., 318, 321, 323, 331, 336 f., 345–347, 413 f., 416, 421 f., 425
 evil 43, 70, 120, 191, 297, 396 f., 405, 419
 exegesis 2, 9, 56, 97, 205, 378, 395, 397

 Faunus (Pan) 198 f., 201, 261–264, 266, 322
 festivals (see rites) 4, 101, 102, 161 f., 185–188
 fire 36, 87, 96 f., 114, 128 f., 154, 156, 238, 250, 257, 378, 380 f., 419
 forgetfulness (see Lethe) 165–169, 175–177
 formula 17–21, 23–27, 51, 176, 179 f., 189–191, 193, 200–202, 206, 216, 284, 315, 395 f.
 Fortune (Τύχη, Τύχα) 311–315
 fountain (see spring)

 Ganymede 321, 346, 349
 Ge (see Earth)
 generation 30–32, 42–44, 46, 66, 98 f., 106, 127, 135, 245, 369, 379, 392–394, 400
 Geropso 325, 332
 Gigantomachy 136
 Glaucus 328, 332
 ghosts 16, 336 f., 400–402
 goat 130, 167, 199, 313
 gods 36–39, 65, 69–75, 100, 102; (dying g.) 65, 69 f., 75; (Indian g.) 31 f., 90; (vegetation g.) 357 f.
 glory (see honor) 172, 177, 194, 242, 419
 grapes 199, 257
 Greek dialects 228, 229
 guardians (in the afterlife) 175–177, 182, 185 f., 215
 guilt 73, 181, 200
 gypsum 114, 119–122

 Hades (god) 10, 124 f., 148, 150, 166 f., 174, 177, 187, 191 f., 205 f., 208 f., 213, 312 f., 319, 347, 352, 395, 414
 Hades (place; see afterlife, eschatology, Underworld) 9, 65, 141, 161, 165–167, 172–177, 191 f., 205, 209 f., 213, 215, 228, 276, 295, 319, 331, 336, 345–347, 351 f., 372, 374, 395, 397, 399, 405, 407, 413 f., 416
 healing 293, 335
 heat 31, 86 f., 89, 144, 301, 419
 heaven (see sky, Ouranos) 31, 37, 41, 44–46, 98 f., 108, 167, 175, 179, 185, 377, 379, 381 f., 389, 402
 Hecate 123–125
 Hector 107, 190 f., 216
 Helios (see Sun) 245, 251, 256, 362–364, 366, 373
 henotheism 37
 Hephaestus 130, 141
 Hera 113, 119, 127, 128, 141, 190, 356, 401 f.
 Heracles 88, 95–97, 159, 194, 232, 263 f., 267, 293, 322, 325–332, 355–358
 hermaphroditism 88, 356
 Hermes 24, 125, 141, 166, 168 f., 215, 232, 319, 395–397, 413
 heroes 94, 127, 160, 167, 173, 177 f., 186–188, 190, 194, 216 f., 327, 331, 357
 Hesperides 319 f., 332
 hexameter (see poetry, Orphic poetry) 7, 9, 13–15, 23, 186, 189, 216, 228, 239, 283 f., 353, 400, 421
 hierogamy 200, 263
hieros logos (see *legomena*, Orphic poetry) 16, 182, 186
 Hipta 133
 Hittite (myth, literature) 99, 100, 101, 103, 129, 395
 holy man 19, 187
 honey 99 f., 262
 honor (see glory) 37, 72, 101, 167, 241, 319, 321, 322
 horns 36, 100, 198 f., 200–202, 257, 424
 humidity 300, 390
 Hyacinth 321, 346, 348, 423
hybris 327

 identity 114, 127, 134 f., 168 f., 175, 182, 192 f., 254–257, 352, 390, 399
 immortality 242, 328
 impurity 26, 206 f., 210, 278
 Inachus 322, 331
 incest 127, 224, 348, 392, 394
 Indoeuropean 228, 295, 303, 305
 initiates (see mystery cults, rites) 4, 9, 13–15, 17–19, 20 f., 25–27, 37–39, 50, 66,

- 108, 114–116, 120–122, 128, 131, 165,
167–169, 171–177, 179–182, 193 f., 199–
201, 205, 207–210, 214 f., 217, 220 f., 257,
262, 265, 267, 275 f., 278, 293–295, 372,
386, 392 f., 406, 408 f.
- initiation (see mystery cults, rites)
172 f., 177 f., 209, 210, 258, 266, 278 f.,
283, 295, 319, 405–407, 409 f.
- Isis 35, 37–39
- Isles of the Blessed 187
- ivy 130, 137 f., 199, 257, 423
- journey 85, 160, 172 f., 180, 185, 187,
205, 207, 210, 233, 250, 293, 318 f., 328,
330, 332, 397, 407, 413, 414, 416
- judge 73 f., 200 f., 287, 356
- justice 33, 44, 315, 331
- kantharos* 137, 278, 422
- katabasis* (*kathodos*) 125, 180 f., 293,
347, 397
- kingship 105–108, 187, 369
- kithara* 319, 320–322, 326 f., 330, 355,
423
- klismos* / *klision* 4 f., 326
- knowledge 1, 3, 8, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23–27,
30, 62, 103, 111, 125, 153, 163, 173,
176 f., 179, 182, 197, 220 f., 284, 286,
306, 314, 334, 337, 406–409
- Kore (see Persephone) 80, 221, 224, 313
- Kouretes 270, 258, 278
- Kronos 103, 187, 377–380, 382 f., 402
- Kumarbi 99, 101
- lake 165, 174, 179–183, 215, 243
- laurel 160, 199, 423
- lead (see tablets) 295, 334, 401
- left / right 198, 312, 314, 369
- legomena* (see *hieros logos*, Orphic
poetry) 160, 221
- Leibethra 339 f.
- Lesbos 242, 244 f., 330, 346, 425
- Lethe (see forgetfulness) 165–169, 175,
180
- Leto 94, 123, 215
- libations 120, 198–199, 201
- Liber 255–256
- liberation 173, 176, 200–202, 204
- life 2, 26, 38, 61–66, 69–75, 93,
95–97, 105–107, 115, 122, 127–131,
137, 140–144, 149, 166–168, 172–173,
176–177, 182, 187, 190–194, 199–202,
213 f., 217, 233, 265, 276 f., 285 f., 294,
313, 337, 346–348, 357, 380, 397, 402,
406, 408, 414
- light 32, 36–37, 39, 182, 242, 244, 249,
251, 256, 258, 330, 381, 407–410, 414,
419–420
- lightning 36, 61, 111–112, 114, 128, 387,
419
- Linus 241–242, 264, 319, 322, 326, 353,
355–358
- Lykomids 4–5, 242
- lyra 4, 20, 147–150, 244 f., 263 f., 318–
322, 325 f., 332, 346, 355 f., 424–425
(Orphic *Lyra*) 147–150
- Macedonia 221, 227–229, 231 f., 234,
269, 339 f.
- magic (see *defixiones*, binding spell) 73,
100, 102, 185, 220, 222, 233 f., 314 f.,
334, 373, 396, 399
- Magna Graecia* 179, 197 f., 202, 314
- Magna Mater* 264, 266
- magoi* (see magic) 238
- makarismos* 312, 315
- maenads (see Bacchantes) 25, 135, 160,
319, 346, 424
- manuscripts 123, 206, 277, 290–291, 341
- meadow 180 f., 205–210, 407, 421
- melancholy 413, 416
- memory (see Mnemosyne) 173, 179–182
- metamorphosis 113, 136, 294, 348, 358,
422 f.
- Metis 36, 224, 252, 386, 419
- Midas 261, 264–267
- milk 38, 189, 200–201, 216, 300
- mimesis 160
- mirror 38, 113, 115, 119
- Mnemosyne 165, 171–173, 179–182;
(spring of M.) 165, 174–177, 179–182,
186, 215
- Moirai 181, 213, 313–315
- monks 285–287
- Moon 36, 73, 94–96, 147, 161, 205 f.,
353, 362, 367, 390, 409, 419
- mud 97, 120
- Musaeus 4, 10, 15, 128, 293, 319,
351–353
- Muses 7–8, 10, 264, 317, 319, 326–332,
339, 353, 355 f.; (Calliope) 319, 321–322,
327, 331–332, 355

- music 5, 9, 149 f., 244 f., 261, 264, 266, 317–322, 325–327, 330, 334, 340, 346, 355–358, 407, 423
- Myrrha 321, 346, 348, 423
- mystery cults (see initiation, Eleusis/
Eleusinian, Orpheus, Orphic, Samo-
thracian) 4, 13–15, 20 f., 23, 25, 39,
49 f., 80, 119, 122, 124, 160, 165 f., 169,
186, 205, 209 f., 238, 257 f., 261–267,
276, 278, 283, 312 f., 319, 371, 409;
(Bacchic, Dionysiac) 14, 25 f., 108,
120 f., 124, 165, 209 f., 262, 278; (Isis)
35, 37; (Mater) 265; (science) 19–21
- mystai* (see initiate, initiation)
- myth (see Orphic) 24, 29–33, 35, 42–44,
56 f., 69–75, 77–82, 87 f., 93, 96–98,
99–103, 111–116, 119–122, 124 f.,
127–129, 134 f., 148–150, 159–163, 173,
189, 205–208, 221, 232 f., 238, 244, 258,
261–267, 270, 278, 314, 317–318, 321 f.,
326, 328–330, 334, 336 f., 345–348,
355–358, 379, 393 f., 413–417, 423
- Necessity (see Ananke)
- Night 5, 36, 41, 44–46, 86, 95, 97, 141,
351–353, 409
- nightingales 333 f.
- nous* 205 f., 378, 409
- numbers 41, 94, 149, 222, 319, 372
- nurse 128, 275–279
- nymph 36, 128, 135 f., 261, 424
- Nysa 128
- Ocean 36, 41, 44–46, 49–52, 79, 134,
213, 385–391, 419
- Odryssus 265 f.
- Odysseus (see Ulysses) 101, 187, 190,
214–215, 299, 374
- Oeagrus 244
- Olbia 66, 131, 221 f., 312
- Olen 241 f.
- Olympus 112, 123 f., 128, 130, 161,
166 f., 191, 215, 249–251, 256, 339 f., 390
- Omphale 263 f., 266 f.
- oracles (see prophecy) 15 f., 103, 162,
165, 186, 192, 194, 237, 240, 252, 293,
313, 330, 336, 339 f., 361, 366, 374, 397;
(revelations in dreams) 72, 103, 193,
374, 405–410; (Delphi) 9, 397
- orality (see performance) 7–10, 220,
229, 317, 396
- Orpheotelestai* 5, 269, 276, 278–280
- Orpheus 4, 58, 78–80, 82, 149 f., 237 f.,
241, 244, 249, 265–267, 327–334, 336 f.,
339 f., 342, 345–349, 355; (catabasis)
149 f., 336 f., 345, 347, 413 f., 416, 421 f.;
(death) 339–341, 345, 424; (head)
244–246, 333, 340, 424 f.; (literary
author) 1, 4, 13–16, 27, 44–46, 49–51,
55–57, 65, 78 f., 82, 99, 123, 128, 133,
139, 142, 144, 147, 150, 153, 157, 172,
237, 241 f., 251, 256–258, 289, 293,
297 f., 317–322, 334 f., 340, 352 f.,
361, 363, 365, 393, 397; (musician) 5,
148–150, 244, 264, 317–322, 328–333,
340, 346, 423 f.; (transmitter of myster-
ies) 14, 51, 56–58, 79, 161, 169, 293, 405;
(tomb) 339 f.
- Orphic (see Orpheus, Orphics, theogo-
nies, tablets) (beliefs, doctrines; see
soul) 2, 4 f., 27, 31, 35, 70, 85, 139–
142, 144 f., 149, 154, 157, 159, 165–167,
169, 214, 227, 237, 245, 258, 293, 348 f.,
394, 396 f., 405 f., 409 f.; (mysteries;
see Bacchic, initiation, mystery cults,
rites) 1, 3, 10, 35, 37, 116, 165, 266, 275,
409; (myth: see Titans, Zagreus) 56,
61 f., 66, 70, 99, 111–116, 119–121, 124,
127–129, 134, 161, 200, 270; (poems,
poetry, fragments; see *hieros logos*)
1–5, 7–10, 17, 23, 27, 35, 36, 41, 46 f.,
49–51, 55, 57 f., 61, 66, 70, 85 f., 88, 90,
93, 95 f., 98–102, 106, 111–112, 127 f.,
131, 139–141, 143, 145, 147 f., 150, 153 f.,
194, 197, 200, 213, 217, 223 f., 238–240,
246, 250–252, 256–259, 272, 301, 303,
312 f., 352, 371, 377, 387; (rites, cults;
see mystery cults) 10, 14, 27, 38, 56,
113, 115 f., 120, 137, 202, 208, 237,
261–267, 277–279, 313, 339, 348, 372,
407–409
- Orphics 2, 32, 38, 65 f., 88, 93, 95, 98,
102, 141, 145, 166, 169, 209, 217, 352,
371, 409
- Osiris 55–58, 61, 64–65, 69, 168, 257
- Ouranos (see heaven, sky) 32, 99,
222–224, 378–382, 386 f.
- Pamphos 241–244
- Pan 198 f., 201, 263 f., 266, 322
- Pangeus 327
- pantheon 99 f., 259, 261

- paradise 150, 200–202
 paradoxography 333–337
 Parnassus 119, 134
 Patroclus 214, 216, 374
 path 36, 138, 153, 155, 295 f., 405, 408
 Peneus 161, 163, 347
 performance (see orality) 1, 3 f., 216, 279
 Peripatus 333
 Persephone (see Kore) 9 f., 61, 70, 79 f., 112, 123–125, 127, 129, 139, 161, 166 f., 200 f., 213, 215, 221, 224, 313, 345, 347, 402
 Persians 307, 365, 367
 Phanes / Protogonos (see Eros) 7, 32, 58, 88–90, 95, 222–224, 246, 249–252, 256–258, 272, 313, 377
 Phocidians 119 f., 122
 phallus 29, 32, 99, 223, 377–379
physis 199, 366, 397
 Pieria 228, 231, 235, 266, 330
 Platonism, Neoplatonism 47, 78, 287 f., 410
 plurality 32, 42 f., 156, 294
 poetry (see epic poetry, Orphic poetry, theogony) 4, 16, 24, 50 f., 61, 106, 128, 137, 162, 190, 193 f., 216, 334, 340, 352 f., 357 f., 393, 395 f.
 Poseidon 189, 215, 352, 356, 396
 prayer 285, 402
 presocratics 30, 142, 156, 353, 364, 394, 396
 priests, priestess 14 f., 38 f., 57, 108, 114, 160, 276–278, 280, 373
 principles (first p.) 41–44, 46 f., 106
 profane (uninitiated) 1–4, 7, 13–15, 17, 19–21, 23–27, 38
 prophecy (see oracles) 193, 374
 proverbs 219, 340–342
psychopompos 169, 232, 295
 Ptolemies 56, 169, 335
 punishment 61, 66, 73, 112, 114, 131, 179, 207, 209, 276
 purification 35, 120, 159, 161 f., 182, 200, 205 f., 210, 276
 Pygmalion 321, 346, 348, 423
 Pythagoras 15, 30, 95, 140, 156, 348
 Pythagoreanism 15 f., 23, 27, 30, 150, 156, 182, 348
 Pythagoreans 42, 140–142, 148 f., 167, 174, 193, 347
 rebirth 61 f., 64 f., 71, 129, 131, 199–201
 reincarnation (see soul) 167, 173, 176 f., 206 f., 209, 373
Rhapsodic Theogony (Rhapsodies) 7, 86, 88, 90, 95–98, 123, 127, 131, 133 f., 141, 223 f., 386
 Rhea 61, 64–66, 71, 80 f., 127, 198, 258, 266, 394
 riddles 51, 193, 393
 right (see left)
 rites, ritual (see initiation, mystery cults, Orphic) 4, 13 f., 15–18, 21, 23, 25–27, 38, 56, 57, 65, 69–70, 108, 111, 113–116, 119 f., 137, 156, 159–162, 173, 180, 186–189, 192, 194, 197 f., 202, 210, 213, 221 f., 233, 238, 275–280, 283, 313, 319, 339, 346, 348, 357 f., 371, 373 f., 406
 Rome 171, 263 f., 336, 346, 348, 373 f.
 sacred space 15, 198
 sacrifice 25, 31, 115, 146, 186, 272, 347, 366 f., 372–374
 salvation 138, 157, 174, 189, 193, 199–201, 215, 220 f., 276, 337, 416
 Samothracian gods 125, 266 f., 328
 Samothracian mysteries 125, 265, 267, 328
 sanctuary 38, 160, 199, 201, 267, 277, 313, 366
 Satyrs 135, 263, 265
 sea 32, 36 f., 71, 90, 102, 143, 240, 319 f., 328, 332, 340, 352, 391, 399, 419, 425
 Selene 10, 123, 353
 Semele 65, 71, 112, 128 f., 131, 160 f., 262 f.
 Semitic 71 f., 99–102
 shamanism 240
 Silenus 265
 Sirens 181, 319, 321
 sky (see heaven, Ouranos) 31 f., 37, 41, 44–46, 99, 108, 167, 185, 222–224, 377–380, 382, 386 f., 402
 snakes /serpents 95–97, 112, 133–136, 138, 160, 261–263, 345, 347, 356, 421, 425
 Socrates 14, 162 f., 193 f., 361
soma / sema 154, 176
 song 129, 149, 151, 241–245, 289, 317–320, 327–332, 334, 345 f., 356, 357 f., 395 f., 414, 421–424
 sorrow 167, 192, 213, 346, 423

- soul 205–211, 220, 285, 337, 405–410;
 (of dead) 94, 149 f., 166–169, 171–177,
 187–189, 200, 213–217, 246, 294–296,
 372–374, 413, 424; (Orphic doctrine)
 133 f., 139–146, 147–150, 153–157,
 166–169, 171–177, 213–217, 233, 337,
 372–374, 405–410; (Stoic doctrine)
 405–410; (transformation of) 153–157;
 (transmigration: see reincarnation) 35;
 (universal) 95
- speech 14, 37, 39, 52, 73, 114, 119, 128,
 190 f., 278, 372, 397, 401
- spheres 37, 88, 95, 147–150, 154, 156
- spirits 69, 94, 116, 121, 140, 148, 156,
 215, 287, 345
- stars 36, 94 f., 106, 167, 185, 320, 328,
 348, 363 f., 408 f., 419
- Stoics / Stoicism 96 f., 139–146, 153 f.,
 238 f., 342, 377–383, 385, 389–392, 408
- Styx 37, 161, 414
- Sun (see Helios) 36 f., 89, 94–97, 99, 134,
 147, 161, 191, 223, 242–246, 249–251,
 255–257, 259, 261, 301, 327, 339 f., 362,
 364–367, 373, 377–379, 381 f., 387–391,
 407–409, 419, 423
- superstition 275–281, 380, 405
- supplication 199, 201, 320, 328, 397, 421
- symbola* 169, 221, 234–235, 258
- symposium 2, 14, 135–137, 201, 213
- syncretism 37
- synthemata* 258
- tablets (lead) 311–315; (Orphic gold) 10,
 137, 165, 167–169, 171–183, 185–188,
 194, 197, 200, 202, 213–217, 219–222,
 313; (Olbian bone) 66, 312
- Tartarus 36, 80, 86, 100, 102, 166, 351,
 353, 399 f., 402, 420 f.
- tattoo 325
- teletai* 188, 294, 313
- temple (*adyton*) 168–169, 245 f., 262 f.,
 267, 273, 313 f., 330, 366,
- terrors of Hades 295, 407
- theology, theologians 32, 41–47, 57, 79,
 133, 147, 162, 200, 238 f., 255–257
- theogony/-ies 1, 5, 14 f., 35, 41, 46 f., 88,
 90, 93, 95–97, 99 f., 102, 123, 141, 215,
 223, 239–241, 250, 253–259, 321, 352 f.,
 371, 393
- Thessalians 119–122, 160–163, 175, 190,
 193
- theurgy 79, 373 f.
- thiasos 14, 168, 263
- thirst 215
- Thrace 9, 238, 265, 270, 297, 319, 322,
 325, 327, 331, 339, 348, 413, 415, 423
- throne 70, 73, 111, 113, 130, 168, 199,
 378–380
- thyrsus 199, 257, 278, 283, 286, 424
- time (see *aion*) 41, 44–46, 88–90, 102 f.;
 (Chronos) 79, 88, 93–98, 102 f.,
 205–210, 250, 380, 382; (Kāla) 88, 90
- Titans (myth) 61, 70 f., 79 f., 111–114,
 119, 121 f., 127, 258, 270; (crime) 58,
 64 f., 71, 80, 108, 112–115, 121 f., 124 f.,
 176, 200; (feast) 66, 111, 115, 124 f., 127;
 (nature) 70, 122, 175 f., 207, 399 f., 402;
 (plaster) 111–116, 119–122; (punish-
 ment) 61, 112, 121
- toys 108, 115
- tragedy 5, 9, 24 f., 27, 51, 137, 190–194,
 208, 216, 357
- Trevi 85, 127, 133, 153, 165, 189, 213,
 293, 311, 333, 405
- Trophonius 165, 313
- Troy 190, 214–216, 267
- Typhon 401
- Ulysses (see Odysseus) 149, 159, 416
- Underworld (see afterlife, eschatology,
 Hades) 65, 72–74, 125, 147 f., 160,
 186–188, 201, 232, 313, 345–348, 395,
 400–402, 413
- unity 14, 29–31, 36, 94, 156, 207, 209, 259
- vases (see Apulian pottery) 135, 137,
 197, 201 f., 222, 313 f., 327, 355
- war 5, 107, 116, 216 f., 347, 396
- water (as cosmogonic element) 30 f.,
 36, 87 f., 90, 134, 136, 153–157, 161,
 165–170, 186, 190 f., 215
- winds 37, 72 f., 86 f., 139–142, 298 f., 301,
 328, 331
- wine (wine-god) 99–104, 114, 136, 188,
 258, 262 f., 265, 373
- womb 36, 128 f., 131, 134, 141, 144, 419
- Zagreus (see Dionysus) 61–66, 70, 80,
 112 f.
- Zeus 29–33, 35–38, 41, 44–47, 61,
 64–66, 70 f., 77, 79, 80 f., 94, 99–103,

- 111–114, 121, 124–131, 133 f., 143,
159, 190, 198, 213, 215, 223 f., 238 f.,
250–252, 257–259, 262, 289, 313, 321,
351–353, 361, 379 f., 385–387, 390,
394 f., 397, 401 f., 419 f.; (Zeus' light-
ning) 36, 61, 112, 114, 128
Zoroaster 238, 294

Index fontium

Greek and Roman texts		Alexander Polyhistor	3.5.3	129
Acusilaus		<i>ap.</i> [Plu.] <i>Fluu.</i> 10	265	3.10.3 128
<i>FGH</i> 2 F 5	351	Alexis		Apollonius Dyscolus
Aelianus		Fr. 140 K.-A.	327	<i>Synt.</i> 213.7–8 Uhlig 395
NA 5.38	52	Ammianus Marcellinus		Apollonius Rhodius
VH 3.18	162, 265	22.9.7	264	1.23 327
Aelius Dionysius		Anaxagoras		1.26–31 320
k 30 Latte	4	A 77 DK	362	1.471–473 320
Aeschylus		Anaximander		1.494 327
A. 121	358	A 19 DK	362 f.	1.496–511 321
A. 428	366	Anaximenes		1.512–515 328
A. 1301	191	A 23 DK	140	1.536–541 320
A. 1036–1037	367	B 2 DK	140	1.570–571 321
<i>Eu.</i> 641	102	Andocides		1.915–921 328
<i>Pers.</i> 619–632	149	<i>Myst.</i> 31	3	1.916–917 320
<i>Supp.</i> 109	299	Anecdota Graeca		1.1135–1137 320
<i>Supp.</i> 529–530	181	2.668 Bekker	390	2.161–162 320
Aëtius doxographus		3.188–189 Cramer	342	2.686–694 320
1.21.1	95	Anthologia Graeca		2.700–714 321
2.21.4	364	6.122	270	2.735–746 299
Aëtius medicus		6.123	270	2.927–929 320
<i>Libr. Medic.</i> 1.175		7.9	339	4.85–90 320
(I 80, 10 Olivieri)	335	7.159	322	4.891 181
Alcaeus		9.384	299 f.	4.905–910 321
Fr. 129.6–7 Voigt	245	9.524.1	130	4.1159–1160 320
Fr. 349 (a) Voigt	130	Antigonus Carystius		4.1194–1195 320
Fr. 338 Voigt	299	<i>Mir.</i> 1.1–6	334	4.1411–1422 320
Alciphro		<i>Mir.</i> 1.5	333	4.1548–1549 320
1.23	299	<i>Mir.</i> 1.19	335	Apuleius
3.40.3	300	Antipho Sophista		<i>Met.</i> 11.5 37
<i>Alcmaeonis</i>		Fr. 44 DK	363	<i>Soc.</i> 24.19–21 149
Fr. 3 Bernabé	112	Apollodorus		Aratus
Alexander Aphrodisiensis		1.3.2	355	98–136 331
<i>In Metaph.</i> 24.27	389	2.4.9	355	Archelaus Aegyptius
Alexander Ephesius		2.4.12	159	F. 13 Giannini (Orph. Par.
Fr. 21.23 Lloyd-Jones –		2.10	159	F. 4 Giannini, <i>ap.</i> Plin.
Parsons	301	3.4.2–3	128	28.43) (<i>OF</i> 793) 335
				F. 14 Giannini (Orph. Par.
				F. 5 Giannini, <i>ap.</i> Plin.
				28.34) (<i>OF</i> 794) 335

Archilochus		<i>Metaph.</i> 1.5,		Bacchylides	
Fr. 300.20 Adrados	299	986a 15	182	3.85	1, 8
Aristaenetus		<i>Metaph.</i> 12.7,		Fr. 20a.43 Maehler	299
1.27	342	1072b 29	42	Callimachus	
Aristides		<i>Metaph.</i> 12.7,		<i>Ap.</i> 78	305
Or. 3.50 Keil	4, 24	1072b 30–34	42	<i>Del.</i> 93	134
Or. 22.2, 12 Keil	3	<i>Metaph.</i> 12.9,	43	Fr. 43.117 Pfeiffer	80
Or. 24.55 Keil	340	1074b 33–34	41–47	Fr. 466 Pfeiffer	126
Or. 41.2 Keil	128 f.	<i>Metaph.</i> 14.4		Fr. 643 Pfeiffer	114
Aristophanes		<i>Metaph.</i> 14.4,	41	Callisthenes Olynthius	
<i>Ach.</i> 181	280	1091a 29–b 112		<i>FGH</i> 124 F 56	265
<i>Ach.</i> 605	280	<i>Metaph.</i> 14.5,	43	<i>Carmina Popularia</i>	
<i>Au.</i> 690–702	7	1092a 11–17		Fr. 871 PMG	129
<i>Au.</i> 693–702	86	<i>Mete.</i> 1.3, 339b–	209	Catullus	
<i>Au.</i> 695	90	340a		64.260	3
<i>Au.</i> 696	241 f.	<i>Mete.</i> 1.9, 346b 32–	388	Censorinus	
<i>Ec.</i> 1108–1111	295	347a 1	300	<i>De die nat.</i> 18	159
<i>Nu.</i> 206	366	<i>Mete.</i> 1.12, 347b 37		Choeroboscus	
<i>Nu.</i> 332	280	<i>Mete.</i> 2.1; 2.2, 354b	389	<i>De orthographia,</i>	
<i>Pax</i> 418–420	186	34–355a 21	388	<i>s. v. Εἰραφιώτης</i>	130
<i>Ra.</i> 139–140	232	<i>Mete.</i> 2.4, 359b 34	389	Chrysippus	
<i>Ra.</i> 170–270	232	<i>Mete.</i> 4.9	301	<i>SVF</i> II 527	382
<i>Ra.</i> 186	165, 180	<i>Mu.</i> 4.392b 8		<i>SVF</i> II 619	382
<i>Ra.</i> 290–296	293	<i>Mu.</i> 7.401a	143, 252	<i>SVF</i> II 642	382
<i>Ra.</i> 323–459	187	12–25	336	<i>SVF</i> II 652	390
<i>Ra.</i> 448–449	181	<i>PA</i> 673a 19–31	95	<i>SVF</i> II 655	390
<i>Ra.</i> 1032–1033	294	<i>Ph.</i> 223b	191	<i>SVF</i> II 656	390
<i>Th.</i> 957	216	<i>Po.</i> 1449b 13	361	<i>SVF</i> II 658	391
Aristoteles		<i>Rh.</i> 1407b 14		<i>SVF</i> II 661	391
<i>Cael.</i> 297b 28	362	Arius Didymus		<i>SVF</i> II 663	390
<i>Cael.</i> 2.14	388	Fr. 39 (<i>Dox. Gr.</i>	143	<i>SVF</i> II 664	381
<i>De An.</i> 404a 10	140	p. 471, 11 Diels)		<i>SVF</i> II 773	142
<i>De An.</i> 404a 16	140	Arrianus	265	<i>SVF</i> II 774	143
<i>De An.</i> 405b 28	145	<i>An.</i> 2.3	130	<i>SVF</i> II 778	143
<i>De An.</i> 407b 21	140	<i>Bith.</i> 42.5		<i>SVF</i> II 782	144
<i>De An.</i> 407b 22–27	141	Artemidorus Daldensis	301	<i>SVF</i> II 783	144
<i>De An.</i> 410b 27	139	2.8		<i>SVF</i> II 784	142
<i>De An.</i> 411b 27	139	Athenaeus	373	<i>SVF</i> II 790–791	142
<i>De An.</i> 413a 21	139	9.15	333	<i>SVF</i> II 790–800	142
<i>De An.</i> 416a 27	389	13.610A	264	<i>SVF</i> II 804	144
<i>Diu. somn.</i> 463b 1	366	14.515E–516C	317	<i>SVF</i> II 805	144
Fr. 7 Rose	139	14.632E		<i>SVF</i> II 806A	144
Fr. 15 Rose	16	Athenagoras	80	<i>SVF</i> II 807	144
Fr. 200 Rose	175	<i>Leg.</i> 18	80	<i>SVF</i> II 808	144
<i>HA</i> 559b 24	141	<i>Leg.</i> 19	79, 262	<i>SVF</i> II 821	143
<i>HA</i> 572a 14	141	<i>Leg.</i> 20		<i>SVF</i> II 1067	380
<i>Metaph.</i> 1.3,		Augustinus		<i>SVF</i> II 1078	144
983b 27–33	46	<i>Ciu.</i> 18.17	159		

SVF II 1087–1091	382	Cleomedes		Diogenes Apolloniates	
SVF II 1145	391	1.4	391	64 B 4–5 DK	140
		1.6.7	391	Diogenes Laertius	
Cicero				2.3	108
<i>Cato</i> 78	140	Cono		7.139	382
<i>Diu.</i> 1.59	193	<i>FGH</i> 26 F 1, 45	339	7.153	301
<i>Diu.</i> 1.64	408	Cornificius Longus		8.31–32	149
<i>Diu.</i> 1.78	265	<i>Grammaticae Romanae</i>		9.6	107
<i>Diu.</i> 2.66	265	<i>Fragmenta</i>			
<i>ND</i> 1.11.27	140	473–480	390	Dionysius Halicarnas-	
<i>ND</i> 1.41	144			sensis	
<i>ND</i> 2.40–41	390	Cornutus		<i>Antiq. Rom.</i> 1.28.1	267
<i>ND</i> 2.63–64	380	<i>ND</i> 30	63–64	<i>Antiq. Rom.</i> 8.52.4	165
<i>ND</i> 3.23.58	64	<i>ND</i> 56.5	123	<i>Comp.</i> 6.25.5 Heiberg =	
<i>ND</i> 3.35–37	390	<i>ND</i> 62.2	130	25 Radermacher	4, 14
<i>Resp.</i> 6.18–19	149	Cyrillus Alexandrinus		Empedocles	
<i>Tusc.</i> 1.114	265	<i>Contra Iul.</i> 2.10 f.	78	A 23 DK	291
		<i>Contra Iul.</i> 2.11	77–83	B 3.3–5 DK	2
Claudianus		<i>Contra Iul.</i> 4.1	81 f.	B 27–30 DK	396
<i>Pros.</i> 2, <i>praef.</i> 1–52	331	<i>Contra Iul.</i> 4.32	81	B 35 DK	396
<i>Pros.</i> 2, <i>praef.</i> 13–14	332			B 51.3 DK	216
<i>Pros.</i> 2.29–48	322	Democritus		B 115.47–58 DK	156
<i>Pros.</i> 2.204 ff.	124–125	B 21 DK	363	B 121 DK	181
<i>Carmina Minora</i>		Demosthenes		Ephraem Syrus	
31.23–32	322	18.130	293	1.99A	301
Cleanthes		18.259	114, 119, 277 f.	<i>Epigrammata Graeca</i>	
SVF I 495	143	19.113	284	790.5	144
SVF I 501	390	19.199	278	Epimenides	
SVF I 504	390	Diodorus Siculus		Fr. 43 Bernabé	237, 240
SVF I 505	391	1.11.2	257	Fr. 46 Bernabé	351
SVF I 518	142	1.11.3	251	Eratosthenes	
SVF I 519	143	1.12.3	223	<i>Cat.</i> 24	245, 339
SVF I 521	143	1.22.7	57	Etymologicum Genuinum	
SVF I 539	144	1.23.6–7	57	Λ 97.13ss.	298
SVF I 501	390	1.69.3–4	57	Etymologicum Gudianum	
SVF I 504	390	1.92.3	58	s. v. Εἰραφιώτης	130
SVF I 505	391	1.96	57	Etymologicum Magnum	
		3.36.3	335	s. v. Εἰραφιώτης	130
Clearchus		3.62.6	62–64, 71	Eudemus	
Fr. 41 Wehrli	242 f.	3.62.8	62	Fr. 146 Wehrli	362–363
Fr. 43a Wehrli	264	3.63.1–6	64	Fr. 150 Wehrli	351
Clemens Alexandrinus		4.2	331	Eumenius	
<i>Prot.</i> 2.13.3	265	4.25.3	57	<i>Pro rest. schol.</i> 7.8	264
<i>Prot.</i> 2.15–16	81	4.3.3	270	Eunapius	
<i>Prot.</i> 2.17–18	81, 115,	4.43.1	328	VS 6.11.6	286
	258, 332	4.48.5–6	328		
<i>Strom.</i> 1.19.92.3	284	5.3.4	124		
<i>Strom.</i> 5.1.12.4	2	5.75.4	62		
<i>Strom.</i> 5.3.17.4	284	7.1	328		
<i>Strom.</i> 6.2.17.1	153	26.3	301		

Euphorio		Eustathius Thessaloni-		Heraclitus	
Fr. 13 De Cuenca =		censis		A 1 DK	108
14 van Groningen	114	<i>Ad. Il.</i> 2.735,		A 1.10–11 DK	364
Fr. 29 De Cuenca =		p. 332.23–28	121	A 5 DK	49
92 van Groningen	62,	<i>Ad Il.</i> 21.259,		A 12 DK	364
	113, 120	p. 1235.61	339, 342	A 16 DK	140
Fr. 53 De Cuenca =		<i>Ad Il.</i> 24.721,		B 1 DK	361
39 van Groningen	63	p. 1372.31–32	264	B 3 DK	50, 361, 365, 388
		<i>Ad Od.</i> 8.267,		B 5 DK	364
Euripides		p. 1298.34	396	B 6 DK	364, 389
<i>Alc.</i> 20–27	191	<i>Ad Od.</i> 14.476,		B 30 DK	365
<i>Alc.</i> 179–190	150	p. 1770.21 ff.	299	B 34 DK	3
<i>Alc.</i> 356–360	319	<i>Opuscula</i> p. 331.62		B 36 DK	153 f.
<i>Alc.</i> 357–362	9	Tafel	342	B 52 DK	105–109, 368
<i>Alc.</i> 962–971	9			B 70 DK	108
<i>Alex.</i> fr. 63		Firmicus Maternus		B 79 DK	108
Kannicht	262	<i>Err. prof.</i>		B 93 DK	9, 397
<i>Ba.</i> 2–9	63	<i>relig.</i> 6.1–5	121, 128	B 94 DK	361, 365, 388
<i>Ba.</i> 91–92	63	Galenus		B 120 DK	363
<i>Ba.</i> 94–104	63, 128	<i>De hist. phil.</i> 19.273			
<i>Ba.</i> 242–245	128	Kühn	389	Herennius Philo Byblius	
<i>Ba.</i> 286–293	128	<i>De simpl. med. temper.</i>		Fr. 2 Kaldellis-López	
<i>Ba.</i> 471–474	24 f.	12.2 Kühn	24	Ruiz	103
<i>Ba.</i> 474	3	<i>De usu part</i> 12.6			
<i>Ba.</i> 520–529	128	Helmreich	4, 20, 24	Hero	
<i>Ba.</i> 902–905	215	<i>De usu resp.</i> 5		<i>Geom.</i> 23.68	298
Fr. 648 Kannicht	24–27	(vol. 4 p. 502 Kühn)	144	<i>Lib. Geop.</i> 102	298
Fr. 752g, 8–14		<i>In Hippocr. Epid.</i> 6 ed.		Herodianus	
Kannicht	9	Bas. V 509 (17 B 246		Περὶ ὁρθ. 2.375.12	
<i>Hel.</i> 1314	124	Kühn)	144	Lentz	129
<i>Heracl.</i> 613	3	Gaudentius		Περὶ ὁρθ. 502.6	
<i>Hipp.</i> 22	191	<i>Harm.</i> p. 327.3 Jan	24	Lentz	130
<i>Hipp.</i> 25	3				
<i>Hipp.</i> 948–954	9	Geminus		Herodotus	
<i>Hypsipyle</i> fr. 758a.		8.25	159	1.32–34	192
1103–1108 Kannicht	5	Gorgias		1.131.2	367
<i>Hypsipyle</i> fr. 759a.		B 11.6 DK	313	1.163	366
1619–1622 Kannicht	5			1.178	366
<i>IA</i> 1211–1214	319	Gregorius Nazianzenus		1.185	366
<i>IA</i> 1612–1613	192	<i>Carmen de se ipso</i> , PG		2.48.2	186
<i>IT</i> 143–147	150	37.1367	4	2.48.10	56
<i>Med.</i> 345	191	<i>Carm.</i> 7.22–25		2.59	358
<i>Med.</i> 370	191	(34 Moerschini)	113	2.79	358
<i>Ph.</i> 1579–1583	192	Harpocratio		2.81	57
<i>Ph.</i> 1689	193	s. v. ἀπομάττων	113, 120	2.101	366
Eusebius				2.146	128
<i>LC</i> 4	4	Heraclides Cumaeus		2.171	276
<i>PE</i> 3.11	266	<i>FGH</i> 689 F. 1.2	245	3.24	119
<i>PE</i> 3.7.1:	15	Heraclitus Allegorista		7.28	119
<i>PE</i> 10.36–37	103	69	396	7.210.2	284
				8.27.3–4	114

Hesiodus		<i>Il.</i> 5.696	140	<i>Il.</i> 24.527–528	395
Fr. 305 M.-W.	355	<i>Il.</i> 7.235–237	107	<i>Il.</i> 24.534–542	397
<i>Op.</i> 130–137	107	<i>Il.</i> 8.13–15	102, 150	<i>Il.</i> 24.543–548	397
<i>Op.</i> 300	123	<i>Il.</i> 8.44	214	<i>Od.</i> 2.276–277	284
<i>Op.</i> 504–512	297	<i>Il.</i> 8.128–129	214	<i>Od.</i> 3.174–175	215
<i>Op.</i> 607	303	<i>Il.</i> 8.512	214	<i>Od.</i> 4.521	214
<i>Op.</i> 765–770	192	<i>Il.</i> 9.133	214	<i>Od.</i> 4.708	214
<i>Op.</i> 769–774	94	<i>Il.</i> 9.363	193	<i>Od.</i> 5.125	123
<i>Op.</i> 780–784	94	<i>Il.</i> 9.453–457	129	<i>Od.</i> 5.303	134
<i>Op.</i> 822–828	192	<i>Il.</i> 10.513	214	<i>Od.</i> 5.399	215, 217
<i>Sc.</i> 452	216	<i>Il.</i> 11.430	190 f.	<i>Od.</i> 7.118	305
<i>Th.</i> 71–73	100	<i>Il.</i> 11.444	190 f.	<i>Od.</i> 7.196	214
<i>Th.</i> 77–79	331	<i>Il.</i> 11.517	214	<i>Od.</i> 7.223	214
<i>Th.</i> 116–122	241	<i>Il.</i> 13.234	190	<i>Od.</i> 8.70	301
<i>Th.</i> 133–138	387	<i>Il.</i> 13.828–829	191	<i>Od.</i> 8.266–366	395 f.
<i>Th.</i> 201–206	242	<i>Il.</i> 14.201	387	<i>Od.</i> 8.323–342	396
<i>Th.</i> 207	121	<i>Il.</i> 14.203	102	<i>Od.</i> 8.325	395
<i>Th.</i> 396	215	<i>Il.</i> 14.246	52, 389	<i>Od.</i> 8.335	395
<i>Th.</i> 459–460	129	<i>Il.</i> 14.246a	52	<i>Od.</i> 8.335–342	397
<i>Th.</i> 492	216	<i>Il.</i> 14.288	250, 386	<i>Od.</i> 8.370–381	396
<i>Th.</i> 577–578	213 f.	<i>Il.</i> 14.302	49	<i>Od.</i> 9.101	214
<i>Th.</i> 851	100, 102	<i>Il.</i> 14.326	123	<i>Od.</i> 10.334	214
<i>Th.</i> 886–890	224	<i>Il.</i> 14.433–436	190	<i>Od.</i> 11.48–50	373
<i>Th.</i> 940–941	129	<i>Il.</i> 15.251–252	191	<i>Od.</i> 11.166–167	214
		<i>Il.</i> 15.387	214	<i>Od.</i> 11.405–420	101
Hesychius		<i>Il.</i> 16.288	386	<i>Od.</i> 11.481–482	214
s. v. Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη	313	<i>Il.</i> 16.342	216	<i>Od.</i> 11.485	187
s. v. ἄγγελος	125	<i>Il.</i> 16.395–396	214	<i>Od.</i> 11.491	187
s. v. Εἰραφιώτης	130	<i>Il.</i> 16.453	140	<i>Od.</i> 11.538–539	181
s. v. Μίδα θεός	264	<i>Il.</i> 18.567–572	242	<i>Od.</i> 11.573	181
		<i>Il.</i> 18.570–572	358	<i>Od.</i> 12.45	181
Himerius		<i>Il.</i> 16.809	216	<i>Od.</i> 12.158	181
<i>Or.</i> 8.57, 61, 161	278	<i>Il.</i> 19.103–110	190 f.	<i>Od.</i> 14.476	299
<i>Or.</i> 46.18 Colonna	340	<i>Il.</i> 21.8	387	<i>Od.</i> 19.179	159
Hippocrates		<i>Il.</i> 21.130	387	<i>Od.</i> 19.399–404	129
<i>Lex</i> 5 (8.15 Heiberg)	24	<i>Il.</i> 21.157	386	<i>Od.</i> 20.117	190
		<i>Il.</i> 21.186	386	<i>Od.</i> 22.8–21	101
Hippolytus		<i>Il.</i> 21.190–199	387	<i>Od.</i> 23.238	215, 217
<i>Haer.</i> 1.21.3	144	<i>Il.</i> 21.194–197	52	<i>Od.</i> 24.13	181
<i>Haer.</i> 5.8.39–40	266	<i>Il.</i> 21.584	190		
<i>Haer.</i> 5.9.8	266	<i>Il.</i> 22.163–164	218	Hyginus	
<i>Haer.</i> 5.15	262	<i>Il.</i> 22.166	216, 218	<i>Fab.</i> 104	25
<i>Haer.</i> 9.9.3–4	368	<i>Il.</i> 22.467	140	<i>Fab.</i> 167	128
<i>Haer.</i> 9.9.4	105	<i>Il.</i> 23.71–74	374	<i>Fab.</i> 191	264
		<i>Il.</i> 23.379	214	<i>Fab.</i> 274	264
Homerus		<i>Il.</i> 24.720	357		
<i>Il.</i> 1.423–425	390	<i>Il.</i> 24.292	395	<i>Hymni Homerici</i>	
<i>Il.</i> 2.750–755	161	<i>Il.</i> 24.328	397	1.2	130
<i>Il.</i> 2.753	387	<i>Il.</i> 24.468–512	397	1.7	128
<i>Il.</i> 2.849	386	<i>Il.</i> 24.513–516	397	1.17	130
<i>Il.</i> 5.221	214	<i>Il.</i> 24.525–533	397	1.20	130
<i>Il.</i> 5.255	214				

16.1–3	128	<i>IGBulg.</i> 3(1).1517	269	Macrobius	
<i>h.Ap.</i> 49	215	<i>IKnidos</i> 303	168	<i>Comm.</i> 1.23	390
<i>h.Ap.</i> 101	123	<i>IMilet.</i> 754 Herrmann	167	<i>Comm.</i> 2.10.9–11	390
<i>h.Ap.</i> 281	216	<i>IMilet.</i> 755 Herrmann	166	<i>Sat.</i> 1.1	255
<i>h.Ap.</i> 331–342	401	<i>IUrb. Rom.</i> 160	269	<i>Sat.</i> 1.12.21–25	262
<i>h.Ap.</i> 335	402	Merkelbach – Stauber		<i>Sat.</i> 1.16.42	256
<i>h.Cer.</i> 24–28	125	(1998: nr 01/01/07)	166	<i>Sat.</i> 1.17.1	249, 256
<i>h.Cer.</i> 51	299	Merkelbach – Stauber		<i>Sat.</i> 1.17.2	249
<i>h.Cer.</i> 52–59	125	(1998: nr. 01/20/27)	167	<i>Sat.</i> 1.17.4	256
<i>h.Cer.</i> 53	125	Merkelbach – Stauber		<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.1	256
<i>h.Cer.</i> 331–332	215	(1998: nr. 01/20/29)	166	<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.7	249, 256
<i>h.Cer.</i> 371	216	<i>SEG</i> 4: 75	314	<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.12	249, 255 f.
<i>h.Cer.</i> 420	312	<i>SEG</i> 16: 193	114	<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.13	251
<i>h.Cer.</i> 424	124	<i>SEG</i> 30:1164	314	<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.13–15	250
<i>h.Cer.</i> 438–440	125	<i>SEG</i> 49: 703	231	<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.17	251, 256, 259
<i>h.Cer.</i> 480	3	<i>SEG</i> 49: 814	271	<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.18	256
<i>h.Merc.</i> 113	303	<i>SEG</i> 52: 607	227	<i>Sat.</i> 1.18.20	252
<i>h.Merc.</i> 172–173	215	<i>SEG</i> 52: 626	227		
<i>h.Merc.</i> 221	181	<i>SEG</i> 56: 754	271	Maximus Astrologus	
<i>h.Merc.</i> 225	216	Iulianus		456–465 Ludwig	303
<i>h.Merc.</i> 334	181	<i>Ep.</i> 89.292a–b Bidez		Maximus Tyrius	
<i>h.Ven.</i> 218	242	(<i>OF</i> 320 IX)	79	5.1D	265
Horatius		<i>Fr.</i> 23.22 f.		Menander Rhetor	
<i>C.</i> 3.1.1	4	Masaracchia	81	333.12.6; 337.24.14	
Iamblichus		<i>Gal.</i> fr. 4	77	Russell-Wilson	289–291
<i>de An. ap. Stob.</i> 1.49.38.2–		<i>Her.</i> 12.217c–d	82		
10 (<i>I</i> 376, 2 Wachsm.)		<i>Her.</i> 14.219a	79	Michael Ephesius	
143		<i>In matr. deor.</i> 10.170a	82	(= Pseudo-Alexander)	
<i>de An. ap. Stob.</i> 1.49.32 (<i>I</i>		<i>Or.</i> 4.131d	305	<i>In Metaph.</i> 821	45
366, 17 Wachsm.)	142	<i>Or.</i> 10	78 f.		
<i>Myst.</i> 3.2	408	<i>Or.</i> 11(4).136a	251	Mimnermus	
<i>VP</i> 18.82	149	<i>Or.</i> 12.217b–c	79	<i>Fr.</i> 9.1–2 West	214
<i>VP</i> 28.146	339	Libanius		Moschopulus	
Idomeneus Lampsacenus		<i>Decl.</i> 1.182		<i>Ad Hes. Op.</i> 503	298
<i>FGH</i> 338 F 2	293–294	[<i>V</i> 119, 13 Foerster]	340	Musaeus	
Inscriptiones		Licymnius		<i>Fr.</i> 14 Bernabé	351
<i>CIL</i> III, 125	313	768A Campbell	353	<i>Fr.</i> 59 Bernabé	4
<i>ICallatis</i> 35.39–40	273	Linus		<i>Test. Nov.</i>	353
<i>ICallatis</i> 44.42	273	<i>Fr.</i> 2 Bernabé	355–358	Myrsilus	
<i>ICallatis</i> 61.3	273	Lucianus		<i>F.</i> 1 Giannini	333
<i>IG</i> IV, 659	270	<i>Astr.</i> 10	319	<i>F.</i> 2 Giannini	333
<i>IG</i> IV, 1326	313	<i>Luct.</i> 5	165	Nemesianus	
<i>IG</i> V (1), 364 = Sokolowski		<i>Sacr.</i> 6	141	<i>Buc.</i> 1.24–29	322
(1969: nr. 63)	313	<i>Sat.</i> 2	120	Nicolaus Damascenus	
<i>IG</i> XII, 7, 62 (Amorgos)	130	<i>Vit. Auct.</i> 14	368	<i>FGH</i> 90 F 15	264
<i>IG</i> XIV, 636	314	Lydus		Nicetas Choniates	
<i>IG</i> XIV, 1442	402	<i>Mens.</i> 4.51		2.37	301
<i>IGBulg.</i> 1 ² .23	270	<i>OF</i> 327 I, 497 II	64		
<i>IGBulg.</i> 1 ² .167	270				

Nonnus		<i>H.</i> 13.1–5	102	<i>OF</i> 75	80, 88
<i>D.</i> 2.528	301	<i>H.</i> 18.2	181	<i>OF</i> 76	80, 88
<i>D.</i> 5.563–580	112	<i>H.</i> 30.2	252	<i>OF</i> 77	89
<i>D.</i> 6.155–205	112	<i>H.</i> 37	399–402	<i>OF</i> 78	250
<i>D.</i> 6.162–168	113	<i>H.</i> 38.22	142	<i>OF</i> 79	85, 80, 88
<i>D.</i> 6.169–173	113, 119	<i>H.</i> 39.9	400	<i>OF</i> 80	80
<i>D.</i> 6.170	115, 116	<i>H.</i> 48.2	130	<i>OF</i> 82	80, 90
<i>D.</i> 6.206	112	<i>H.</i> 52	255, 257 f.	<i>OF</i> 83	80
<i>D.</i> 9.23	130	<i>H.</i> 52.6	252	<i>OF</i> 84	80
<i>D.</i> 9.23–24	130	<i>H.</i> 56	259	<i>OF</i> 87	80
<i>D.</i> 14.118	130	<i>H.</i> 59.2–3	181	<i>OF</i> 88	80
<i>D.</i> 14.229	130	<i>H.</i> 72	313	<i>OF</i> 89	80 f.
<i>D.</i> 21.81	130	<i>H.</i> 78	409	<i>OF</i> 94	81
<i>D.</i> 27.204	116	<i>H.</i> 85	408	<i>OF</i> 98	57
<i>D.</i> 27.204–205	120	<i>H.</i> 85.4	405	<i>OF</i> 101	3
<i>D.</i> 27.228	116	<i>H.</i> 86	405–410	<i>OF</i> 109	97
<i>D.</i> 29.274	116	<i>H.</i> 87	406	<i>OF</i> 111	93
<i>D.</i> 30.122	116	<i>H.</i> 87.3–5	406	<i>OF</i> 114	7, 85, 88
<i>D.</i> 30.122–123	120	<i>OF</i> 1	1–5, 7–10, 13–16,	<i>OF</i> 117–120	88
<i>D.</i> 34.144	116		17–21, 23–27	<i>OF</i> 121	7, 272
<i>D.</i> 42.35	130	<i>OF</i> 8	377	<i>OF</i> 140	224, 251 f.
<i>D.</i> 47.733	116, 120	<i>OF</i> 10.2	378, 382	<i>OF</i> 141	252
<i>Nostoi</i>		<i>OF</i> 12	29–33	<i>OF</i> 189	96
Fr. 11 Bernabé	216	<i>OF</i> 14	35, 36	<i>OF</i> 222	99, 100, 102
		<i>OF</i> 20 IV	41	<i>OF</i> 223	100
Olympiodorus		<i>OF</i> 22	49	<i>OF</i> 224	100
<i>Prol.</i> 11–12	15	<i>OF</i> 31	33, 35 f., 143, 237,	<i>OF</i> 225	99, 101
			239, 252, 254	<i>OF</i> 242	105 f.
Origenes		<i>OF</i> 34–39	61, 258	<i>OF</i> 243	35–36, 252, 254,
<i>Cels.</i> 1.16–17	322	<i>OF</i> 34	80	419 f.	
<i>Cels.</i> 1.17	81	<i>OF</i> 35	113, 116, 120	<i>OF</i> 268	134
<i>Cels.</i> 1.25	81	<i>OF</i> 36	81, 114	<i>OF</i> 270.4	299
<i>Cels.</i> 4.10	121	<i>OF</i> 40	55	<i>OF</i> 279	79
<i>Cels.</i> 4.48	81	<i>OF</i> 41	55	<i>OF</i> 283	62, 80
<i>Orphica</i>		<i>OF</i> 42	56	<i>OF</i> 287	134, 386
<i>A.</i> 12–33	250, 320	<i>OF</i> 43	56	<i>OF</i> 299–300	106, 131
<i>A.</i> 14–16	251	<i>OF</i> 44	57, 169	<i>OF</i> 301–333	61
<i>A.</i> 18	79	<i>OF</i> 45	57	<i>OF</i> 306	81, 106, 108, 114
<i>A.</i> 43–45	55	<i>OF</i> 46	57	<i>OF</i> 307	115
<i>A.</i> 50–53	339	<i>OF</i> 47	57	<i>OF</i> 308	111, 113 f., 119,
<i>A.</i> 252–265	321	<i>OF</i> 48	57 f.		121
<i>A.</i> 421–431	250	<i>OF</i> 55	57 f.	<i>OF</i> 311	62
<i>A.</i> 422	252	<i>OF</i> 57–59	58, 61	<i>OF</i> 312	81
<i>A.</i> 406–440	321	<i>OF</i> 58	62	<i>OF</i> 314–316	81, 124
<i>A.</i> 1268–1291	321	<i>OF</i> 59	61–65, 70 f.	<i>OF</i> 317	123 f.
<i>A.</i> 1373–1376	339	<i>OF</i> 59	63, 64, 69, 70 f., 77	<i>OF</i> 318	81
<i>H. ad Mus.</i> 19	123	<i>OF</i> 60	58, 251, 257	<i>OF</i> 320	79
<i>H.</i> 6	251, 252, 257	<i>OF</i> 61	57	<i>OF</i> 322	81
<i>H.</i> 6.1	251	<i>OF</i> 61–63	58	<i>OF</i> 325	121, 128
<i>H.</i> 6.7	251	<i>OF</i> 64	8, 85, 241	<i>OF</i> 327	58, 64, 69, 71,
<i>H.</i> 9	409	<i>OF</i> 65	5		81, 128

OF 328	127–131	OF 531	241	OF 1067	340
OF 329	133	OF 537	312	OF 1069	339
OF 339	141	OF 538–546	249	OF 1070	339
OF 340	181	OF 540	249–252, 255 f.	OF 1076–1077	345
OF 342	181	OF 542	251, 256	OF 1084	339
OF 358	237	OF 543	251 f., 259	Orpheus Paradoxographus	
OF 377–378	15	OF 547	293	F. 2 Giannini	334
OF 389	124 f.	OF 550	79	F. 3–5 Giannini	335
OF 400	123	OF 564	312	Ouidius	
OF 417	147–151	OF 573	10	AA 3.168	264
OF 418	150	OF 576	283 f.	Fast. 4.313–330	263
OF 421	139–146	OF 577	114	Fast. 6.812	264
OF 422	142	OF 578	258	Met. 3.256–315	128
OF 435	79	OF 584	261	Met. 10.1–63	421 f.
OF 437	153–159	OF 586	269 f.	Met. 10.11–17, 50–52	345
OF 439	407	OF 588	108, 258	Met. 10.15–39	321
OF 442	406	OF 588	81	Met. 10.26	345
OF 443.2	159	OF 589	81	Met. 10.56	345
OF 447	2	OF 594	406	Met. 10.60–61	345
OF 463	66, 131, 312	OF 613	81	Met. 10.72–108	423
OF 464–465	312	OF 625	25	Met. 10.72–77	345
OF 471	371	OF 627	9	Met. 10.78–82	345
OF 474	3, 147, 163–168, 165–170, 180	OF 653	275	Met. 10.83–85	345, 348
OF 474.4–6	167	OF 654	275–280	Met. 10.147–739	321
OF 474.11–12	215	OF 655	275	Met. 11.1–66	423–425
OF 474.13	167, 187	OF 674	283–288	Met. 11.1–8	345
OF 474.15	186	OF 676	79	Met. 11.50–60	345 f.
OF 474.15–16	167, 194	OF 683	289–291	Met. 11.85	265
OF 475	147, 167	OF 710	79	Met. 11.86	346
OF 475.13	215	OF 713–716	293–296	Met. 11.89–93	265
OF 476	108, 167, 171, 179 f., 185, 194, 215, 299	OF 750	297–302	Met. 11.174	264
OF 477	108, 165, 215	OF 773	303–309	Papyri	
OF 478–483	171, 215	OF 787	334	BGU VI 1211	169
OF 484	171	OF 790, 793–794	335	Papyrus Derveni	
OF 485–486	186 f., 189–195, 216, 205, 209	OF 812	9	col. II 7	373
OF 487	213, 313	OF 830c	311–312	col. IV	362–364
OF 488	313	OF 937	339	col. IV 1	363
OF 489	313	OF 980	9	col. IV 2	362 f.
OF 490	313	OF 994, 996	345	col. IV 5	361, 363
OF 492	219–222, 313	OF 1003–1004	345	col. IV 7	362, 365
OF 493	168, 181, 193, 221	OF 1007	9	col. IV 8	366 f.
OF 496	227–235	OF 1009	5	col. IV 10	361 f., 366
OF 497	64	OF 1018	323–330	col. IV 10–14	365–369
OF 507	339	OF 1021	79	col. V	371, 374, 405
OF 524	237	OF 1035	345	col. V 6	8
OF 530	62	OF 1039	339	col. V 11	8
		OF 1054	345	col. VI	371, 373 f.
		OF 1055	339	col. VII 14 f., 361, 371, 393	
		OF 1064	340	col. VII 5	51
		OF 1065	333		

col. VII 7–8	371	Parmenides	<i>Ebr.</i> 204	408
col. VII 7–11	1 f.	A 20 DK	<i>Leg.</i> 2.30	409
col. VIII 5	224	B 1.26 DK	<i>Migr.</i> 222	409
col. VIII 6	361, 366	B 8.52 DK	<i>Prou.</i> fr. 2.43	301
col. IX 2	3, 8	Paroemiographi	<i>Sobr.</i> 5	409
col. IX 5	8	Apostolius 10.50	<i>Somn.</i> 1.1	409
col. XII 5	3, 8	<i>Collectio Bodleiana</i>	<i>Somn.</i> 1.167–168	409
col. XIII	5, 31, 223, 377–383	107	<i>Spec.</i> 1.298	408 f.
		<i>Collectio Coislinana</i>	<i>Spec.</i> 2.103	409
col. XIV	377–383	177 nr. 27	Philo Mechanicus	
col. XV 3	381	Diogenianus 2.26, 7.86	<i>Bel.</i> 102.20	144
col. XV 3–4	379	Diogenianus	Philodemus	
col. XV 6	224, 379	Vindobonensis 1.37	<i>Piet.</i> (Henrichs, <i>Cron.</i>	
col. XVI	223	Zenobius Athous 3.1, 5.39	<i>Erc.</i> 5, 1975: 35)	71
col. XVI 3	5	341	<i>Piet.</i> (P.Herc. 1428 VI	
col. XVII 3–4	386	Zenobius Vulgatus	16 p. 80 Gomperz)	144
cols. XVII–XIX	143	1.79	<i>Piet.</i> N 247 III 1–13	
col. XVIII 5	3, 8	Zenobius Vulgatus	(OF 59 I)	6 f., 65, 71
col. XVIII 14	8	5.75	<i>Piet.</i> N 1088 XI	
col. XIX	246	Zenobius Vulgatus	(OF 59 II)	63 f., 71
col. XIX 12–13	369	5.77	<i>Piet.</i> P. Herc. 243 fr. 6	353
col. XX	3, 8, 16	Pausanias	<i>Piet.</i> P.Herc. 1610 fr. 3 +	
col. XXI 7–10	394	1.4.5	247 fr. 6 col. I	351 f.
col. XXII	50	1.22.7	<i>De Poem.</i> P.Herc. 1074,	
col. XXII 2	8	2.19.8	fr. 30	275
col. XXII 12–13	8, 81	2.26.7	Philolaus	
col. XXIII	385–392	2.37.5	A 27 DK	144
col. XXIII 2	3, 8	4.1.6	Philoponus	
col. XXIII 5	3, 8	4.1.7	<i>In. de An.</i> 201, 33–202,	
col. XXIII 10	386	4.30.6	7 Hayd.	139
col. XXIV 5	362	8.2	Philostratus	
col. XXV 13	3, 8	8.38.10	<i>Im.</i> 2.9.6	25
col. XXVI	50, 393–397	9.27.2	VA 4.14	330
col. XXVI 2	395	9.27.3	VA 6.27	265
col. XXVI 8	3, 8	9.29.4	Phlegon	
col. XXVI 9	81	9.29.6	<i>Mir.</i> 1–2	336
fr. G 4	367	9.29.8	<i>Mir.</i> 2	337
fr. H 8	367 f.	9.30.6	<i>Mir.</i> 3	336
fr. H 66	368 f.	9.30.9–11	Pindarus	
fr. I 62	367	9.30.12	<i>Dith.</i> fr. 85 Maehler	129
fr. I 80	367	9.39–40	Fr. 59.2–5 Maehler	406
<i>P.Gurôb</i> 1.23	258	9.39.4–8	Fr. 129 Maehler	181
<i>P.Gurôb</i> 23b	259	9.39.7	Fr. 129.1 Maehler	407
<i>P.Köln</i> 429	243	10.1.11	Fr. 137.1 Maehler	3
<i>P.Köln</i> 430	430	10.1.3–11	O. 2.25–27	129
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 52 nr. 3647	363		O. 2.71–74	181
PGM IV, 3093–3095	100, 102	Philo Alexandrinus	O. 2.83–85	1
PGM IV, 3099–3100	100, 102	<i>Abr.</i> 70		
PGM IV, 2325–2329	102	<i>Contempl.</i> 26		
		<i>Ebr.</i> 131, 200		

O. 3.8	318	<i>Tht.</i> 146a	107	<i>Def. orac.</i> 415F	237 f.
O. 6.28	189	<i>Tht.</i> 152e	51	<i>Def. orac.</i> 436D	237–239
P. 3.1–58	128	<i>Tht.</i> 179e–180d	50	<i>De sera num. uind.</i>	
P. 4.2	189	<i>Ti.</i> 22a	103	565C	206
P. 4.176	318	<i>Ti.</i> 22b	108	<i>De sera num. uind.</i>	
P. 11.7	161	<i>Ti.</i> 37d	106, 250	566E–568A	207
P. 12.20	216	<i>Ti.</i> 37d–e	94	<i>De tuend. san.</i> 129C	206
<i>Pae.</i> 2.49	125	<i>Ti.</i> 38	94	<i>Exil.</i> 604A	365
<i>Pae.</i> 9, fr. 52k Maehler	366	<i>Ti.</i> 41e	207	<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i> 938D	52
<i>Pae.</i> 15 Maehler	189	<i>Ti.</i> 60e	250	<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i> 942A	103
		<i>Ti.</i> 71e	410	<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i> 943C	205 f.
Plato				<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i> 943E	144
<i>Cra.</i> 399e	144	[Plato]		<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i> 944B	207
<i>Cra.</i> 402a–c	49	<i>Ax.</i> 371c	181	<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i> 944E	206
<i>Cra.</i> 404a5	102	<i>Ax.</i> 371e	180	<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i> 945B	206
<i>Cri.</i> 44a	193 f.	Plinius		Fr. 177.2 Sandbach	210
<i>Cri.</i> 45c	193	7.204	264	Fr. 178 Sandbach	
<i>Criti.</i> 109d	103	7.178–179	336	(OF 594)	208 f.
<i>Criti.</i> 111b	103	8.81	159	Fr. 200 Sandbach	207,
<i>Criti.</i> 112a	103	22.32	334		210, 406 f.
<i>Grg.</i> 493b	180	28.34, 43	335	Fr. 202 Sandbach	15
<i>Lg.</i> 677a	103	35.66	264	<i>Is. et Os.</i> 35 (364DE)	57
<i>Lg.</i> 702a	103			<i>Is. et Os.</i> 41 (367E)	390
<i>Lg.</i> 713b	102	Plotinus		<i>Is. et Os.</i> 359A–B	168
<i>Lg.</i> 821c–d	367	4.7.8	144	<i>Is. et Os.</i> 370D	365
<i>Lg.</i> 903d	369	Plutarchus		<i>Mul. Virt.</i> 244B–E	119
<i>Lg.</i> 909b5–6	278	<i>Aet. Gr. Rom.</i>		<i>Plat. Quaest.</i> 1007B	95
<i>Men.</i> 70b	162	268D–E	160, 263	<i>Quaest. Conv.</i> 636D	3
<i>Men.</i> 81a	277	<i>Aet. Gr. Rom.</i> 271A	366	<i>Stoic. rep.</i> 1052F	144
<i>Min.</i> 319a–e	159	<i>Aet. Gr. Rom.</i> 293B–F	160	<i>Them.</i> 1	4
<i>Phd.</i> 69c	476, 283	<i>Alex.</i> 2	262	[Plu.]	
<i>Phd.</i> 79c	207	<i>Alex.</i> 14	339	<i>Fluu.</i> 10	265
<i>Phd.</i> 108a	172	<i>Apophth. Lac.</i> 224E	275	<i>Plac. philos.</i> 1.3.1	
<i>Phdr.</i> 246a–247b	85	<i>Arist.</i> 9	134	(875E–F)	389
<i>Phdr.</i> 248b	209	<i>Caes.</i> 9–10	261 f.	<i>Plac. philos.</i> 2.17.2–3	
<i>Plt.</i> 269a–270d	103	<i>Comm. not.</i> 1074E	239	(889D)	389
<i>Plt.</i> 271d–272c	102	<i>Cons. ad Apoll.</i>		<i>Plac. philos.</i> 2.20.3	
<i>Plt.</i> 273a	103	115B–D	265	(890A)	389
<i>Plt.</i> 273d	103	<i>Cons. ad Apoll.</i>		<i>Plac. philos.</i> 2.20.4	
<i>Prt.</i> 315A	318	120D5	406	(890A)	390
<i>Prt.</i> 343e	361	<i>Cons. ad Apoll.</i>			
<i>R.</i> 364e	10, 14, 278	120C6	407	Poetae Melici Graeci	
<i>R.</i> 571c–e	410	<i>Cons. ad ux.</i> 602A–D	262	Fr. 1045.2 Page	
<i>R.</i> 614a	209	<i>Cons. ad ux.</i>		(adesp.)	130
<i>R.</i> 614c	179	611D 6–10	278	Pollux	
<i>R.</i> 617a–621a	207	<i>Def. orac.</i> 409E	237, 239	9.106	107
<i>R.</i> 621a–b	165, 207	<i>Def. orac.</i> 413D	367	Polyaenus	
<i>R.</i> 621c	180	<i>Def. orac.</i> 414E–		6.18.1	116
<i>Smp.</i> 188a–b	301	431E	237	7.5.1	266
<i>Smp.</i> 218b	1	<i>Def. orac.</i> 415A	237		

Porphyrus		sch. Hes. <i>Op.</i> 504–	Strabo	
<i>Abst.</i> 3.17	130	506	5.2.2	267
<i>Antr.</i> 16 p. 58	99	sch. Hom. <i>Il.</i> 8.368	14.3	107
Fr. 351 Smyth	15	sch. Hom. <i>Il.</i> 18.570	Suda	
<i>Phil.</i> p. 141 Wolff, 1–2	150	sch. Hom. <i>Od.</i> 8.267	s. v. Μίδαξ	265
<i>Plot.</i> 10	373	sch. Hom. <i>Od.</i> 11.51	s. v. Ὀρφεύς	339
Posidonius		sch. Hom. <i>Od.</i> 14.476	Synesius	
<i>ap. Cic. Div.</i> 1.64	408	sch. Hom. A 39b,	<i>Dio</i> 6–8	284
<i>ap. D.L.</i> 7.153	301	I 21 Erbse	<i>Dio</i> 6.38–40	285
Proclus		sch. Pi. <i>P.</i> 3.14	<i>Dio</i> 7	283–288
<i>De Sacr.</i> 150	373	sch. Pl. <i>Tht.</i> 146a	<i>Ep.</i> 16, 143, 154	287
<i>H.</i> 7.11–15 (<i>OF</i> 327 II)	71	sch. S. <i>OT</i> 489	Syrianus	
<i>In Cra.</i> 106.25		sch. Theoc. 2.12	<i>In Metaph.</i> 14.4,	
Pasquali	123	sch. Theoc. 2.36	1091a 29b	112
<i>Ad Hes.</i> 502,		Seruius		
p. 308 G.	298, 301	<i>Aen.</i> 2.325	Tatianus	
<i>In R.</i> I 339.17 Kroll	141	<i>Aen.</i> 6.645	<i>Orat.</i> 8.6–8	81
<i>In R.</i> II 115.7–116.18	337	<i>Aen.</i> 7.761	<i>Ann.</i> 4.55	267
<i>In R.</i> II 115.14–15	337	<i>Buc.</i> 6.13	Tertullianus	
<i>In R.</i> II 119 Kroll	149	Sextus Empiricus	<i>De An.</i> 2.3	265
<i>In R.</i> II 129–130 Kroll	149	<i>M.</i> 7.129	<i>De An.</i> 25	144
<i>In Ti. E Prooem.</i> ,		Sidonius Apollinaris	<i>De An.</i> 47.1–3	408
III 169.22	223	6.1–30	<i>Adv. Hermog.</i> 25	265
<i>In Ti.</i> I 407, 22 Diehl	133	Simonides	Themistius	
<i>In Ti.</i> I 451	224	Fr. 542 <i>PMG</i>	<i>In de An.</i> 35.17 Heinze	140
<i>In Ti.</i> III 168, 11		Simplicius	<i>In Ph.</i> 268.2	365
Diehl	339	<i>Cael.</i> 471.4	Theodoretus Cyrensis	
Propertius		Solon	<i>Affect.</i> 2.30	58
4.9	263	Fr. 1.2 West	<i>Affect.</i> 3.97	81
Prudentius		Fr. 27 West	<i>Affect.</i> 12.35	284
<i>Cathemerinon</i> 6	408	Sophocles	Theognis	
Quintilianus		<i>Ai.</i> 753	4	2
<i>Inst.</i> 8.6.65	361	<i>El.</i> 1363–1366	Theophrastus	
Sallustius		Fr. 753.2 Radt	<i>Ch.</i> 9.5	279
<i>Hist.</i> fr. 61		<i>OT</i> 437–438	<i>Ch.</i> 10.6	279
Maurenbrecher	267	<i>OT</i> 1282–1285	<i>Ch.</i> 10.9	277
Sappho		<i>OC</i> 1612 f	<i>Ch.</i> 13.10	279
Fr. 15.11–12 Voigt	246	Status	<i>Ch.</i> 16	275–280, 405
Fr. 58 Voigt	242–246	<i>Silu.</i> 3.5.49	<i>Ch.</i> 18.3	277
Fr. 104 Voigt	299	Stesichorus	<i>Ch.</i> 21.10	277
Fr. 140 Voigt	357	Fr. S150, col. II 6	<i>Ch.</i> 27.8	275
Fr. 160.2 Voigt	2	Stobaeus	<i>CP</i> 5.13.6	301
Fr. 198c Voigt	241, 244	1.25.3i.3	Thucydides	
Fr. 214 Voigt	242	1.49.32.98	2.80	305
Scholia		3.1.199	Thugenides	
sch. Clem. Al. <i>Prot.</i>		3.41.9	Fr. 5 K.-A.	342
3.12	266			

<i>Titanomachia</i>	G. 4.620	347	<i>Chândogya-Upaniṣad</i>	
Fr. 1B Davies =	G. 4.626–627	348	3.19.1–2	90
1 Bernabé	351		5.4–9	156
Tzetzes	Vettius Valens		<i>Kaṭha-Upaniṣad</i>	
<i>Ad Hes. Op.</i> 503ss.	187.4 Pingree	1	3.3–9	85
<i>Ad Hes. Op.</i> 504ss.	199.2 Pingree	1	<i>Mānavadharmasāstra</i>	
<i>Ad Hes. Op.</i> p. 18	317.19 Pingree	142	1.1.5ff	87
Gaisford	Xenopho		<i>Rgveda</i>	
<i>Ad Lyc.</i> 208	An. 1.2.13	265	10.82	87
(98.6 Scheer)	Cyr. 8.7.2	367	10.90	89
<i>Ad Lyc.</i> 409	Oec. 5.18	301	10.121	31, 33, 87
Valerius Flaccus	Zeno Citieus		10.129	30–32, 86–87
1.287–293	SVFI 121	390	<i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>	
1.471–473	SVFI 135–136	142	11.1.6	31–32, 89–90
4.85–90	SVFI 137–138	142	<i>Taittiriya Āraṇyaka</i>	
4.349–422	SVFI 140	143	10.1	32
5.343	SVFI 142	142	Iranian texts	
5.438–439	Zonaras		<i>Bundahišn</i>	
Valerius Maximus	p. 1294 Tittmann	341	30.5–6	294
1.6(ext).2–3			<i>Hadōxt Nask</i>	
Varro, M. Terentius	Bible		2.9–14	294
<i>Rer. diu. rel.</i> 1, p. 154	<i>Genesis</i>		<i>Vidēvdāt</i>	
Agahd	9.20	101	19.30	294
Varro Atacinus	<i>Euangelium secundum</i>		<i>Yašt</i>	
Fr. 14 Morel	<i>Matthaeum</i>		6	307
Vergilius	20.16	284	Ugaritic Texts	
<i>Aen.</i> 3.112	22.14	284	CTA 5	72
<i>Aen.</i> 6.258			CTA 6	72
<i>Aen.</i> 6.475	Indian texts		CAT 1.23	101
<i>Aen.</i> 6.540–543	<i>Atharvaveda</i>		CAT 1.114 (RS 24.258)	100
<i>Aen.</i> 6.650–676	4.2.8	87–88		
G. 1.5–7	19.53	88–89		
G. 4.86–87	19.54	88		
G. 4.106–107				
G. 4.212	<i>Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad</i>			
G. 4.464–467	6.2.9–14	156		

